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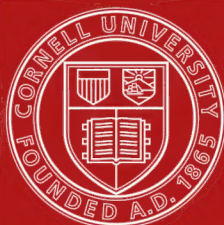
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BRITISH DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE
CONCERNING THE REPUBLIC
OF TEXAS—1838-1846

EDITED BY

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS

Professor of History in Leland Stanford Jr. University

*Reprinted from The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,
XV, Nos. 3 and 4, and from The Southwestern Historical
Quarterly, XVI, No. 1—XXI, No. 2. January,
1912—October, 1917*

The Texas State Historical Association
Austin, Texas

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INTRODUCTION

British interest in Texas was manifested from the time of her declaration of independence in 1836, and Texan diplomats were early in communication with the British government. It was not until 1840, however, that the Texan appeal for recognition met with active official approval in England, and the first steps were taken toward a conclusion of treaties. Thus very little correspondence from Texas is to be found in the British archives previous to that year. The present publication consists mainly of letters and reports to the British government, hitherto unpublished, written by the two principal British officials stationed in Texas. These were Charles Elliot, *chargé d'affaires*, and William Kennedy, consul at Galveston. Further biographical detail is given in footnotes where these men appear in the correspondence. Elliot did not arrive in Texas until the fall of 1842, while Kennedy, though in Texas in 1839-1840, and again in 1842, did not assume his duties as consul until 1843. But as the purpose is to present British evidence as to political, social, and industrial conditions in Texas, as well as of the activities of British agents, various letters from other officials are included in this first installment. On the other hand, in the later years of the Republic, instructions to Elliot and Kennedy have been omitted in most cases. Their substance will be stated in footnotes whenever the connection requires it.

The bulk of the manuscript material in the Public Record Office, treating of Texas,—from which these documents are exclusively drawn—is in the form of bound manuscript volumes, some twenty-five in number, containing the instructions of the Foreign Office to British agents in Texas and the reports of these agents. A few of the volumes comprise the records of Elliot's office while in Texas, which were transferred to London when Texas ceased to be a republic. The archives of Elliot's legation, thus transferred, contain, in addition to the usual material that one would expect to find there, copies of a great deal of the correspondence between Aberdeen, the British Foreign Secretary, and British diplomats in the United States, France, and Mexico. Copies of all important instructions to these countries, treating of Texan affairs, were sent

to Elliot for his information. In general, all the Texas material is in very usable shape, being arranged by volumes in chronological order.

The material here presented has been transcribed by a copyist, Mr. W. H. Powell, employed by the Texas State Historical Association, and is printed exactly as copied. Final comparison of proof with the manuscripts in the Record Office has not been feasible, but it is believed that the matter as now printed is in the main correct, though in the case of Elliot's letters there is always a chance of error because of his atrocious handwriting. Here, however, Mr. Powell's copy has been checked with that of the editor, who had previously himself made transcripts of the letters. The spelling and punctuation of the original have been followed, and usually without calling attention to errors, where the meaning is clear. The chronological order has been used, save in the case of enclosures, which are marked as such and follow the letters in which they were enclosed. It is not intended to print documents that have elsewhere appeared in print, in generally accessible form, but no minute search of printed materials has seemed necessary, save in the three volumes of "Texan Diplomatic Correspondence" edited by the late Professor Garrison. The few documents of this collection there printed or calendared, are here omitted, with notations as to where they may be found.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE BRITISH ARCHIVES CONCERNING TEXAS, 1837-1846

CRAWFORD TO BIDWELL¹

No. 1.

British Consulate
Tampico. 9th February 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, that having received Instructions from His Majesty's Consul General in Mexico in consequence of Lord Viscount Palmerston's letter to Mr. Pakenham, of the 27th. of August last, I shall within a few days proceed to Matamoros and the Mexican Territory to the Northward, and shall use my utmost exertions and zeal in the objects of my journey, communicating thro' His Majesty's Minister in Mexico the result of my observations from time to time as opportunities offer.

I beg leave to acquaint you that this Vice Consulate during my absence will be under the charge of Stewart L. Jolly, Esqr. a most respectable British Merchant in this City, which nomination has met the approval of Mr. Pakenham and the Consul General in a Confidential communication which I made to Mr. O'Gorman to that effect, and when Officially made, I hope will be approved by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.

Jos. T. Crawford,

To John Bidwell, Esqr. etc. etc. etc.

Vice Consul.

Foreign Office London

[Endorsed as received April 17, and answered.]

CRAWFORD TO BIDWELL²

No. 2.

British Consulate
Tampico, 24 March 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour of acquainting you that I embark this day on Board His Majesty's Sloop Racer for Matamoros and the Northern

¹F. O., Mexico, Vol. 110.

²*Ibid.*

ports of this Republick, and that Mr. Stewart L. Jolly remains
 .. acting V. Consul during my absence, to whom I this morning
 handed over the Archives, and had previously received the appro-
 bation of His Majesty's Minister and the Consul General to this
 nomination which has been notified to this Government and by
 me to the Local Authorities.

Jos. T. Crawford,
 Vice Consul.

To John Bidwell, Esqr. etc. etc. etc.
 Foreign Office. London.

[Endorsed as received June 14th.]

CRAWFORD TO BACKHOUSE¹

No. 1. New Orleans.
 5th. June 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith for the information of
 His Majesty's Government Copies of my dispatches from Houston,
 Texas dated the 13th. Ultimo, addressed to the Consul General at
 Mexico, and of the 26th. from this place to Mr. Pakenham, rela-
 tive to the present state of Texas, accompanied with a large pile
 of papers for reference as to the Constitution and Laws of that
 province which I request you will be pleased to lay before Lord
 Viscount Palmerston.

Having concluded my visit to the Northern ports, I am to Sail
 this day for Tampico where on arrival I shall resume the exercise
 of my Consular duties.

Jos. T. Crawford

To John Backhouse, Esqr.
 Under Secretary of State etc. etc. etc.
 Foreign Office London.

]Endorsed . . . Received July 18th. Answered. 2.
 Inclosures. . . .

Copy to Bd. of Trade Sept. 16/37. Dft. to Con. Parkinson
 Augt. 31/37. This is an intelligent Report. 60. P.

¹F. O., Mexico, Vol. 110.

CRAWFORD TO O'GORMAN¹

Houston, Texas.

13th May 1837.

Sir,

I left Matamoros on the 5th. Ultimo embarked on board His Majesty's Sloop Racer from Braso de Santiago on the 8th. and sailed from the Anchorage same day at noon.

The wind being favourable Capt. Hope run down the Coast to the Northward as close as prudence would admit our doing. Thus we saw the entrances to Copano, Aransas and Matagorda Bays and the Rio Sñ Bernardo making our passage in sight of the land all the distance and arrived off the Brasos River on the 9th.² in the Evening.

The entrance to Corpus Christi or Copano Bay is in Lat. 27° 36' N, Latitude 97° 28' W: Long: and has on its Bar generally but 6 to 7 feet Water. The trade, carried on by vessels of suitable construction, is not of much consequence, and at present is less than it was formerly, because the Inhabitants have been obliged to abandon that part of the Country which lays between the Texian Army and Matamoros. This Bay is shallow and altho' surrounded by the finest lands with several streams emptying themselves into it, each stream has its separate Bar, so that excepting for small Craft or Steamers built on purpose, neither this Bay, nor indeed any of the Bays to the Northward, can ever be of consequence as harbours.

The Coast is very low all the way, and the Soundings lessen gradually till you have 9 or 10 fathoms at about three miles from the Shore, good holding ground, but without any shelter from the Violence of the Northers in Winter, altho' would be safe enough during the Six Months Summer from May till Novr.

The entrance to Aransas is in 27° 55' N. Lat: and 97° 9' W. Long: Vessels drawing 8 ft. Water may enter here. The observations as to Trade into Copano Bay, at present apply to this part of the Coast, but in peaceable times will be very considerable for the supply of all the interior to the Westward, as far as Sñ Anto. de Besar, and for the transmission of the Crops of Cotton

¹F. O., Mexico, Vol. 110.

²The correct date of arrival at the Brazos River is April 12th; see Crawford to Pakenham, May 26, 1837.

and other produce, Besar and its neighbourhood being represented to me as the province best Cultivated, having also the best Climate and the richest lands.

The Entrance to Matagorda Bay called Pasa de Cavallo lays in Lat. $28^{\circ} 18'$ Long: $96^{\circ} 33'$ West,—here Vessels drawing 10 feet may enter at Spring tides. The Bay is large and the places where Vessels discharge are at various distances from the entrance, according to the point in the Interior where the Goods are destined, as several Rivers empty into this Bay and the trade is very considerable, prosperous and increasing, the Bernard and Caney Rivers are very inconsiderable, offering no facilities for Commerce.

At the Mouth of the Brasos in Lat. 29° N. Long. $95^{\circ} 37'$ W. there is good anchorage in 5 fathoms Water, with the entrance bearing West and about three miles off. The Town of Velasco is begun to be built at the north side and Quintana is rising on the south at the Bar of this River—which I ascended on board a Steamer thirty Miles to Brasoria, a small Town on the South or Right Bank, where there is a good deal of business going on and several large and well assorted Stores.—Fifteen miles further up by the River, on the same side is the Village, or as it is here called “Landing” of Marion, distant from which inland and in a Southern direction is Columbia, the late Seat of Government, an inconsiderable place, and almost abandoned, but situated in a fine country with some good plantations in its neighbourhood.

I crossed the Brasos River at Bolivar Ferry about thirty miles above Marion, and the last of Steam boat Navigation in the dry Season. When the Rivers are high large Steamers go up 200 miles from the Mouth of the River, which is skirted with the finest timber of Live Oak and other valuable qualities and dotted with Cotton plantations for the like distance. On the Bernard there is also a good deal of Cultivation and more land is being brought into Cultivation.

The destruction of the Crops all over the country from the Rio del Norte to the Trinity, which empties itself into the N. E. of Galveston Bay, owing to the whole of that part of Texas having been overrun by the Mexican Army previous to the Battle of Sñ Jacinto, and especially the loss of the Grain last year has occasioned the planters to sow much Corn this Season and less Cotton will be produced than would otherways have been the case. I

have been variously informed as to the number of Bales, which has been stated as high as 60,000, but I conceive the present Crop equal to the exportation of 30,000 Bales averaging 450@500 lbs each.

The City of Houston is situated upon Buffalo Bayou, which runs into the Bay of San Jacinto and the latter into Galveston Bay, distant from Galveston Island about 80 miles. Galveston is the best and indeed the only harbour in Texas, for Vessels of any Burden, but has not at its entrance sufficient water for Ships of War of much force unless purposely constructed. There are three Channels between the Shoals leading into the anchorage at the East end of the Island. The depth of Water marked on the accompanying map in English feet may be depended upon, and at Spring tides a foot more. It will be seen by the Map that large Vessels must discharge and load in the Harbour of Galveston, whilst smaller Craft can go up about 15 miles to Red fish Bar from whence their Cargoes are carried away by Steamers and lighters to Houston or other points as may be required.

During my stay of some weeks in this part of Texas there were about 20 arrivals all Americans, mostly from New Orleans and loaded with provisions, merchandise of all sorts, bringing also their full allowance of passengers.

I endeavoured to obtain returns of the Trade corresponding to each port, but as they have had no Duties to collect till this time, so they have had no Collectors nor port Officers to collect information, and I am only enabled to form an estimate of what the trade is at present, by what I have seen and conjecture that it will increase proportionately with the population crowding in. At present about 40 Vessels averaging 100 Tons ea[ch] carry on the whole Commerce monthly which would give an aggregate of 48000 Tons in the year, and they are all under the flag of the United States, with the exception of two or three sailing under the single Star of Texas.

The pilotage at the several ports is on the average about 10/= Sterling for the foot of water which the Vessel draws. The charge by the Steamers and other lighters for unloading and transporting of the Cargoes to the several points of destination beyond the place of discharge, is borne by the Merchandise and is generally done by agreement according to the distance and the nature of the Cargo.

According to the Act passed 20th. Decr. last, Authorising the raising of a Revenue by Import duties, from and after the 1st. June next, the following duties are to be exacted, viz:—Upon all Wines, Spirituous and Malt liquours an ad valorem duty upon Invoice Cost of 45 per Centum, Upon all Silk Goods and all Manufactures of Silk 50 per Cent: Upon Sugar and Coffee $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent: Upon Teas 25 per Cent, upon Bread Stuffs, one per Cent: upon Iron and Castings 10 per Cent: upon all coarse Clothing, coarse Shirting, Shoes, Blankets Kersies, Sattinetts and Clothes of a mixture of Cotton and Wool 10 per Ct.: upon all other goods not enumerated 20 per Ct. ad valorem upon the Invoice Cost. And upon all Vessels of 10 Tons and upwards 25 Cents per Ton—each time they enter from a foreign port.

The Appointment of the necessary Revenue Officers will no doubt be made forthwith, but I have some reason to think that a modification of the Tariff will be carried by the present Congress, to the effect of authorizing the President to exempt from duty for one year all articles for Agricultural use, provisions of all kinds, seeds and plants, Saddlery and Harness, Artificers Tools, Lumber and framed houses with the Glass and fastenings they require, etc. The depot of Goods so as to create a transit of Merchandise is also one of the alterations intended to be recommended to the Legislature by the Finance Committee during the present Session of Congress.¹

Should Texas maintain its Independence of Mexico an advantageous Barter trade can be established with other Countries who will supply manufactures and take Cotton and other produce in return. Almost any quantity of the finest and most durable timber for the purposes of Naval architecture can be furnished from the forests for little more than the expence of felling and taking away.

Jos. T. Crawford

To Charles Th: O'Gorman, Esqr.

H. M. Consul General, etc. etc. etc.

Mexico.

[Endorsed] . . . Copy to Bd. of Trade Sept. 16/37. Copy to Adm'y. . . .

¹Some of these modifications of the tariff were embodied in an act approved June 12, 1837. (Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1313-1319.)

CRAWFORD TO PAKENHAM¹

No. 3.

New Orleans.

Sir,

26th May, 1837.

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I arrived here last Evening on my return to Tampico, last from Galveston Bay, I sailed from Matamoros on the 8th. Ultimo and landed at the Mouth of the Brasos River on the 12th., proceeded to Bratoria and Marion and reached Columbia, the seat of the Texas Government² on the 13th., where I was well received by the President General Sam Houston, from whom I experienced very great attention during my residence of one Month in that Country.

I was careful to explain to General Houston that my visit was wholly one of a Consular nature to collect satisfactory information, respecting the Commerce of the ports to the Northward of the District of Tampico,³ and I found every disposition on his part to assist me in the object of my journey. Under date 13th. Instant from Houston, I addressed a report to His Majesty's Consul General in Mexico upon the subject of the Trade at the ports from Matamoros to the Sabine, to which, as it has doubtless been laid before you I beg leave respectfully to refer, and I shall in the present dispatch convey to you for the information of His Majesty's Government such details of the state of Texas as it has been in my power to collect in so short a time.—

I need not recur to the circumstances which have produced the

¹F. O., Mexico, Vol. 110. Sir Richard Pakenham, British Minister at Mexico, 1835-1843; at Washington, 1844-1847.

²Columbia had been the seat of government since August, 1836, but during the first session of the first congress Houston was selected as the seat of government until 1840. The adjourned session of the first congress would meet there on May 1st. The delay in completing the necessary buildings caused the president and officers of the government to tarry at Columbia until April 13th. They set out within a few days, and Mr. Crawford spent the greater portion of his month's visit at Houston.

³While in his official intercourse Mr. Crawford may have guarded his remarks very carefully, the *Telegraph and Texas Register* of May 2, 1837, interpreted his mission as follows: "On the morning of the 12th ult. Mr. Crawford arrived at Columbia, accompanied by several of the officers of H. B. M. Brig of War, Racer, Captain Hope. The object of this gentleman's visit to Texas, is we understand to investigate the civil and political condition of the country and report to the British government."

Revolution in that Province, nor the events of the Campaigns, which have failed on the part of Mexico to reduce the Colonists to subjection, nor to repeat the facts already manifest to the World, that they have, set up for themselves, as a Separate, free and independent Nation, based upon an Elective Representation, with an Executive Government, Senate and House of Representatives, unrecognized by Mexico and that the War of Subjugation by the present State is still continued.

Having made these preliminary observations, I shall state the Nature of the Government existing in Texas, composed of a President, Vice President, Principal Secretary of State, Ministers of War and Marine, Minister of Finance and Attorney General.

The Legislature consists of the Senate and House of Representatives.

All Elections are popular, and the powers conferred upon the Government and Congress are those described in the Constitution, of which a Copy will be found in the "Telegraph" of the 2nd. August 1836, as adopted by the Convention on the 17th. March of the same year, which paper I have the honour to transmit herewith.—

The Government consists at present of, General Sam Houston, President, Mirabeau B. Lamar, V. President, Henry Smith, Secretary of the Treasury, Genl. Henderson, Sec. of State, W. S. Fisher, Sec. at War, S. Rhodes Fisher, Sec. of the Navy, P. W. Grayson, Attorney General.

During the first Session of Congress many salutary laws were enacted, which are in operation, rigidly administered by the Judges and other Authorities in the several districts and Counties apertaining to their Jurisdiction.

I have not been able to obtain the Laws which have been passed in a pamphlet form, as they are not yet so arranged, but I have the honour of transmitting a file of the "Telegraph" Newspaper which contains them all and to which I must beg reference. Much order prevails in the Villages and Towns, if they may be so designated, as well as throughout the Country and the detection of Crime is surely followed by the infliction of the corresponding punishment established by Law upon conviction of the offender by an impartial Jury.—Such is the State of Texas at present as regards its Government and the execution of the Laws and it is

internally tranquil, the roads safe for travellers, unless on the Indian Frontier at a distance from Settlements.

The Campaign of 1836, unsettled the whole Country, between the Rio Bravo del Norte and the San Jacinto which falls into the N. West Corner of Galveston Bay. Most of the crops were lost, the Corn all destroyed and the Towns as well as many of the Houses on the plantations were burnt, generally by the Colonists themselves, to leave the Mexican Army without shelter and by the Mexicans also in many instances, but the inhabitants are again upon their lands and the Cultivation goes on, as far as the River La Baca or the Navidad, where the Texian Head quarters has been for some time past.

The Army is composed of about 2000 Men enlisted for 2 Years Service, the effective strength on the 1st May was 1830 Bayonets in Camp.—They are said to be well disciplined and they certainly have borne considerable privations without murmuring, having had to subsist of late wholly upon Beef, their Supplies of Bread, and flour having been captured by the Mexn. Fleet.—Besides this, the regular Army, Texas has several Companies of Rangers on the various Frontiers to check the Indian Tribes.—These last however have but little occupation, as the Policy of General Houston has been conciliatory and he has very lately entered into Treaties with the most influential Chiefs, who were at the Seat of Government on a “Big Talk” and retired well satisfied.

All Volunteers have been disbanded from the Texan Service, and the Militia which could be in the Field on a very short Notice would be very effective, in a Country where there are so many Brakes and so much Timber, where every man is a Marksman and carries his Rifle

Between the present Camp of the Army and Matamoros few of the Settlers have as yet resumed the occupation of their lands, situated between the Armies of the contending parties those poor people dread a repetition of the Scenes of Goliad and the difficulties of their distressed situation is still fresh in the sad recollection of our poor countrymen Colonists at San Patricio, whose case I particularly stated in my letter from Matamoros of the 4th. Ultimo. Many of those are here and in no very comfortable circumstances, but it would be highly imprudent in them to return to their Colonies at present.

Should the Mexicans undertake another Campaign into Texas, they will probably never reach beyond the Colorado. They would be met by the full quota of the Militia and their Army can count upon no resources, but what their Fleet may supply from Seaward, or they can bring with them, as the Cattle will be driven back the Prairies fired and the whole Country left more devastated if possible than it is in that direction at present, whilst every stream, every tree and Cane Brake will be studded with Riflemen, so that, the rapid advance practiced last Campaign could not be repeated and if they hesitate and remain inactive they are lost for want of sustenance and destroyed by the Guerillas of the Colonists.—

The subjugation of Texas by Mexico, can only in my opinion be effected by a systematic operation and the establishment of posts and Depots, giving time for the occupation of such posts and Depots by fresh troops and by slow progress with a strong Army putting down the spirit of Rebellion by degrees, which is only to be done at last by an effectively continued Military occupation of the whole Country.

Such a plan of operation it is impossible for Mexico to undertake or execute, things have gone so far, the population of Texas is too great now, their confidence from past experience so established in themselves and the superiority of the men contending for the Independence they have assumed and for the possession of the Soil they have determined to adopt, is so great, both as to intelligence and energy, compared with the harrassed and ill paid Mexican Soldiery, that I may be warranted in concluding that Texas has conquered or will ultimately conquer her Independence of Mexico.

Having arrived at this Conclusion I shall now state what the opinion is in that Country as to its Annexation to the United State of North America

At the time of the Election of the President last year the opinion was decidedly in favour of Annexation, and the Minister or Commissioner sent to Washington was instructed to endeavour to bring about that desideratum upon the recognition of their political Independence

Since that time reflection has taught them that their interests are at variance with some portion of the North American Union, and that annexation, would be disadvantageous with a Territory

extending 560,000 Square Miles under a benign climate, and a soil capable of producing, as much if not more Cotton than is grown in America and of a rich quality, what could be gained to Texas by exchanging her produce against manufactures, which She requires, if that produce was to pass thro' America and the Manufactures be received thro' the same medium. She would lose the advantage of Competition, and could reap no solid benefit by the adding her Cottons into the growth of the United States.

The opinion then has changed and they are very anxious to have a Separate, free and recognised Independent Government, to trade directly with other Nations, giving the Raw produce for the Manufactures they require, for it must be long ere there are Manufactories in Texas. I am not aware whether other Instructions are sent to the Minister in Washington but I know that annexation to that Government is not wished by the people or the Government of Texas, nor will it now be sought for. By the Constitution Slaves are permitted to be introduced o^ver the frontier of the United States only.—No free Negro is permitted to reside in the Territory, and the introduction of Slaves, Africans or Negroes is forever prohibited and declared to be piracy, except those from the United States.

The number of Slaves as yet is by no means great and in general they are exceedingly well treated.

That notwithstanding the declaration of piracy, Slaves have been imported directly into Texas I lament to say is but too true, and whilst I make this statement it is due to the Government and especially to the President, that I should declare my conviction of their having tried every means in their power to detect the perpetrators and bring them to Justice.—I have good reason to believe that there is still one or more American Vessels employed in this most detestable traffick, landing the Slaves on the East Side of the Sabine and so evading the Laws of Texas.

It is also true that some Slaves were brought from Cuba and landed in Texas by the Am: Schooners *Waterwich* and *Emperor* a some few Months ago a Cargo was run at the *Brasos* River by a Vessel under Texas Colours

I have had several conversations with Genl. Houston upon this important subject, and I am satisfied of his sincere anxiety to put a stop to the traffick in future. I have been shewn his con-

fidential communications on the subject with the Government of the United States and I am happy to say that Mr. Poinsett's¹ promises to him have been carried into effect, there being at this moment 300 United States troops here destined to the Sabine upon that and other Service.

I would also beg leave to call your attention to the Message delivered at which I had the honour of being present in the House of Representatives on the 4th Instant,² in which General Houston laments the inability of their Navy to put an end to the traffick in Slaves, and calls upon the Government of His Majesty and of America to put it down. The burst of approbation upon the delivery of that part of the Message was irrestrainable and I am confident that in the present sense of the people of Texas, before the introduction of Slaves from the United States becomes much greater, it would not be a matter of very great difficulty to induce the alteration and have that blot expunged from their Constitutional Charter. During the present year, emigration from all the Western Country of the United States owing to the Commercial distress which has of late affected this Country, is expected to be very extensive and all the planters from thence will carry in their Slaves along with them. So that in twelve months from this time, the Slave population of Texas will probably be doubled unless some remedy be applied to prevent it.

Consequent of the change of the opinion of the People and Government as to their annexation to the United States, has been the authorization of the President to send a Commissioner to England in order to open if possible a Communication with His Majesty's Government, and General Houston's wish was to appoint and dispatch the Commissioner forthwith, in all probability Colonel Grayson the present Attorney General will be selected for this appointment.³

¹Joel R. Poinsett was Secretary of War of the United States from March 14, 1837, to March 3, 1841.

²The message was delivered May 5th, and is printed in the *House Journal*, 1 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 9-16.

³A joint resolution, requesting the president to appoint an agent to the Court of Great Britain, was approved May 15, 1837 (Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1287). A secret joint resolution, authorizing the president to instruct this agent to visit the Court of St. Cloud, was approved June 7, 1837 (*Secret Journals of the Senate*, 315.) J. Pinckney Henderson

The Government Vessels of this incipient Republick, are too small Schooners, they had issued numerous letters of marque at one time, but these have prudently been recalled excepting one, whose Cruize will not be out for two Months, after which it will not be renewed. Their Vessels have not committed any excesses upon the Commerce of any Nation excepting in the Instance of the *Am: Brigantine Pocket*,¹ and the Cargo being contraband of War destined for the supply of the Mexican Army, the United States have been satisfied that the Texas Government should make good the Value of the Vessel to the Owners, which has been done and the Vessel is moored at a depot in Galveston Bay.

I beg leave to acquaint you, that I made all and every enquiry during my stay in Texas as to the assistance which that Country has received from the United States, and I am quite satisfied that none whatever has been furnished by that Government or connived at in any way. Means have been found to evade the laws and assistance has been furnished by Individuals to a great extent but wherever there was a suspicion attached to such expeditions, there has been a prosecution of the parties by the United States, but generally such prosecutions have failed, because of the difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence owing to the Sympathies of this people of America being roused by the atrocities of the Campaign of 1836, and their Interests also been deeply engaged in the success of the Struggle of their Sons and other relatives the Colonists of Texas.

Great inducements are held out to Settlers the price of land being 50 Cts. or 2/= Sterling pr. Acre, if purchased from the Government, but large Grants are given to Emigrants, under the Conditions of the 24th Sec. of the Land Office Act passed on the 22d December 1836, to which I beg leave to refer, in the Telegraph No. 49.

Upon the whole, Texas at present offers perfect Security of persons and property, a large field is opening there for the Consumpt[ion] of our Manufactures of every kind. Their Laws and Language are like our own and unless Mexico receives assistance,

was commissioned minister to Great Britain June 20, 1837; he arrived at London on October 9th.

¹For an account of the case of the Brig *Pocket*, see THE QUARTERLY, XII, 276-295.

at this time unforeseen, that Territory will never be subject to her Controul.

Their Bane is the having sanctioned Slavery, a mistake which they would not again fall into, and which even now, were it made a Condition, might be remedied by Treaty with some influential Nation, before the evil has grown greater.

America is deriving all the benefit of their Trade and a transit duty of 3 Cts. per lb. on the Cotton taken in return. It is true that this is draw back upon its exportation to Europe but the advantages of a direct trade are wanting to Texas, of which they are well aware and would make a sacrifice to obtain commercial Inter-course with the rest of the World.

The finances of Texas are in the very worst possible state, a Species of Scrip called Land Scrip, is issued and some of this paper has been negotiated here and elsewhere in America, the amounts of these Bonds are redeemable in Lands.

Bonds under similar Security to the extent of five Millions of Dollars have lately been issued and two Millions have been confided to some Commissioners who are gone to attempt their negotiation in the Middle and Northern Cities of this Republick.—In the meantime all the publick Authorities and Officers support themselves out of their private means, and as their pay tickets are issued dispose of them as they best can. A considerable and immediate Revenue will however arise out of the Import duties which take effect on the 1st. proximo, and will give means for the more pressing wants of the Government

Jos. T. Crawford.

To Richard Pakenham, Esqr.

His Majesty's Minister Plenipotio. etc. etc. etc.

Mexico.

[Endorsed] . . . Ext. to Bd. of Trade. . . .

HAMILTON TO MACGREGOR¹

Copy.

No. 1.

Barbados.

Sir,

23d June 1840.

During my Stay in Texas, I was afforded frequent opportunities of conversing with a Number of Merchants, among them, some

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 1. Sir Evan John Murray MacGregor, governor of the Windward Islands, in 1840 sent Commander Joseph Hamilton of the

English, and others equally interested in the Trade with Great Britain, also many Cotton Planters, the tenor of their conversation verged to one and the same focus, namely; that they were most anxious to have a Commercial Treaty negotiated between Great Britain and that Country.

I was assured by some of the most influential and enlightened persons there, that a Treaty of the description would meet with the greatest encouragement, and be placed upon the most favourable footing by that Country; Notwithstanding France might by her Treaty,¹ consider herself entitled to a prior claim as the most favoured Nation.

The Planters and those Speculating in Cotton are most anxious to ship their produce direct to England rather than send it to the United States of North America where they only receive eight Cents per pound for the finest Staple and equal to any grown in that Country

The advantages of such a Treaty would be reciprocal, moreover it would secure to Great Britain the Trade now carrying on between that Country and the United States and in a very few years, all Commerce between those Countries would dwindle into mere insignificance.

Should such a treaty be considered by Her Majesty's Government unnecessary or impracticable, I trust I am, not assuming too much, in recommending the appointment of a Government Agent to Texas, as an essential requisite for the purpose of protecting the British Commercial Interest now so rapidly increasing.

Jos. Hamilton.

His Excellency.

Sir Evan John Macgregor, Bart.: etc. etc. etc.

British Navy to Texas to reclaim certain negroes reported to have come into Texas as indentured servants, and then to have been made slaves. (Worley, "Diplomatic Relations of England and the Republic of Texas," *THE QUARTERLY*, IX, 9-10; Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 901-905 and 911-914, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II. The Diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas, edited by Dr. George P. Garrison, is published in two parts; part one appeared as volume two of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1907, part two (in two volumes) appeared as volume two of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1908.

¹Concluded at Paris, September 25, 1839, by J. Pinckney Henderson; ratified by Texas, January 13, 1840. (*British and Foreign State Papers*, XXX, 1227-1233.)

SHERIDAN TO GARRAWAY¹

Copy.

No. 3.

Secretary's Office.

July. 12. 1840.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th Instant together with its enclosure, a Copy of a letter from Captain Hamilton to His Excellency the Governor suggesting the propriety of establishing a British Resident in Texas for the purpose of protecting the British Commercial interest in that Country.

With reference to this proposal His Excellency has been pleased to request that I should afford such observations as it may appear to me desirable to submit with the view of enabling Her Majesty's Government to become aware of the actual Condition of the Texian, authorities and people and the merits of Captain Hamilton's proposal for the employment of a political Agent in that Country.

Before I speak of Captain Hamilton's proposition. It will be necessary for me, in justice to so important a subject and with the desire of affording all the information in my power according to His Excellency's wishes, to give 1st a brief account of Texas and her resources, 2dly. of the Government and Population, and 3rd of such reasons as naturally occur for the acknowledgment of that Country as a Republic by Great Britain.

Texas contains a superficial territory which may be fairly estimated at 200,000,000 acres, and lying between Lat. 26, 27 to 29½. 34. 35 and 37½ and Long. 93. 30 to 103. 30 West from Greenwich. This I mention because the Admiralty Charts with respect to the Coast are a degree and from 20 to 30 miles in error

The value of land throughout Texas is at present from 50 Cents to 15 and 20 Dollars per Acre.

The Cotton lands of Texas, from all the information, I could collect, will yield 3 times as much Cotton as the Carolinas or Georgia to the Acre twice as much as Albana [Alabama] and from 25 to 40 per Cent, more than the lands of Louisiana or Mississippi.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 1. Francis C. Sheridan, Colonial Secretary under Governor MacGregor, Windward Islands, stationed at Barbados in 1840.

Joseph Garraway, Acting Private Secretary to Governor MacGregor, and also a Judge of Assistant Court of Appeals in Barbados. (Brit. Sess. Papers, 1840—Commons—Vol. 35. Papers relative to the affairs of Barbados, pp. 41, 145, 149.)

The value of Merchandize imported from the 30th June 37 to 30th June 1838 was estimated at 2,000,000, and a half Dollars.

The imports [exports] this year may be estimated at 20,000 bales of Cotton being about double the amount Shipped the year proceeding.

The Four principal Sea Ports are, The Sabine, Galveston Matagorda, and Aransas.

In consequence of Sand Bars which Stretch across the Mouths of all the Harbours of Texas there is none which will permit a vessel of any considerable draught to enter, Galveston is the best, and that has but 12 to 13 feet on the Bar.

Texas has a small Navy which is about to be laid up in consequence of inability on the part of the Country to support it.

To the best of my belief Texas may challenge the World to show richer and more productive Soil, than is to be found in her Territory. That, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and on the Banks of the Rivers is unquestionably the best adapted to the growth of the Cane and Cotton Plants.

The latter is, and in my opinion will continue to be the Staple produce of the Country. Experiments in the culture of the Cane have been attempted and with fair success. Maize and Corn grow well in all parts of Texas but the growth of Wheat and Rye has not answered.

It is fair however to state that this has only been attempted within 110 English Miles of the Coast; and it is the general opinion of the Settlers that when the population of Texas shall have advanced into the interior 150 or 200 Miles further the increased elevation and difference of Soil will afford a Region for the growth of Corn inferior to none on that Continent. The Lands very generally within the Coast Region have been selected and located by the early Settlers of Texas, and those who have emigrated to the Country within the last 3 years including the Bounty lands of Soldiers which are at present in progress of location. I believe that a correct Estimate would give 100,000,000 of Acres as the property of Individuals on closing up the existing Claims, and 100,000,000 as National Property of which 20,000,000 is good Cotton Land.

The Government is carried on, as in America, and the Laws of Texas have with a very few slight alterations been copied from

those of the United States, but are only nominally in force, for from the disturbed state of Society and the lawless characters of the Inhabitants the Authorities are as yet comparatively powerless.

The population which may be estimated at 150,000¹ Souls are chiefly Americans, a few Germans, and some English and Irish.—These are principally Bankrupts, Swindlers and Felons from the United States occasionally diversified with an Oasis of respectability which only renders the Desert of Villainy around more conspicuous by contrast.

The Amount of Emigration into the Country at this time may be reckoned at 5000 Souls per Month, and indeed so anxious are the Texians that it should be rapid and abundant and so utterly reckless as to the component parts that their Newspapers teem with invitations to the Debtors of America to seek for safety in the New Republic.

At present I believe the most notable Vagabonds who settle in Texas are importations from New Orleans, owing to the contiguity of the latter, the deranged state of the Money Market in Louisiana the hourly Bankruptcies and because greater facility is afforded for absconding from thence by the Steam Communication kept up between New Orleans and Galveston with which place alone, any thing like a direct and constant trade is carried on.

Murder and every other Crime is of great frequency in Texas and the perpetrators escape with the greatest impunity.

Many Murders were committed in the Island of Galveston and in the Country during my stay on the Coast, and I could never learn that one offender was brought to justice. It is considered unsafe to walk through the Streets of the principal Towns without being armed.

The Bowie Knife is the weapon most in vogue and it may not be uninteresting here to state that the greater number of these Weapons are manufactured in Sheffield and Birmingham and brought over in British Ships as a profitable Speculation. I have seen one manufactured by "Bunting & Son" of Sheffield, the blade of which was 18 inches long and ornamented in beautiful trace[r]y on the Steel as "The genuine Arkansas Tooth Pick" and I have

¹This, of course, is an excessive estimate. There are no authentic figures available for this date, but as late as 1847 the white population was but a little more than a hundred thousand.

been offered another for Sale also of English make the vender of which hinted that I ought to pay him a Dollar more than he demanded, as he could assure me it had tasted Blood.

The Monetary Affairs of the Country are in a desperate state. The National Debt is only two Millions of Dollars¹ but the Notes issued by Government are unavailable out of the Country except at New Orleans and even there, the Texian Dollar Note is at 80 per cent discount.

A great part of the Government liabilities have been bought up at these prices by Speculators in New York, Baltimore etc, in expectation of the loan which Texas is endeavouring to raise, being obtained.

The Sum desired to be raised is 5,000,000 of Dollars to be contracted for under the following terms,² 1,000,000 would be required in 6 or 9 months, the remaining 4 by instalments of 1,000,000 in every 6 months there after 2,000,000, to be redeemed in less than 30 Years but not less than 5 Years with interest not exceeding 10 per Cent per Annum.

With respect to the Government resources the Special Report of the Secretary of the Treasury gives the following Account.

The estimated receipts for the ensuing year (i. e. 1840) as derived from the internal resources of the Country are 1,300,000 Dollars 500,000 of which are derived from direct Taxes and land Dues 400,000, from Customs and the remainder from Sales of Land. Under the present Laws however owing to the great defects in prescribing the manner of Assessing and Collecting the direct Tax, and the inability of this Department to compel the receivers of Public Money to pay them into the Treasury. It is believed that not one fourth of that Sum would be realized to the Government.

He then adds that by certain Sales of land an additional Sum of 283,000 Dollars would be obtained which gives \$1,441,900 as "the estimated internal resources of the Country for the year 1840 it being but 53,939. less than the current expenditure for the same period."

¹\$2,164,000, in September, 1838 (Morphis, *History of Texas*, 399) ; but at the date of this letter, approximately \$5,000,000.

²Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1484-1486.

The funds requested for this year by what are termed the Disbursing Bureaus, are as follows

War Department \$784,351-27 Cents out of which 76,186, is required for the year 1839 and 148,632 for the year 38.

The Naval Department 550,787

The President and his Secretary etc. 12,800 out of which the first gets 10,000.

The State Department 80,400.

The Congress in consideration of their Gigantic labours, and the risk they run of being "Bowie" knived during Debate (a custom of by no means rare occurrence) 135,000.

Mr. Speaker appropriating 840 for his share and the Honorable Members 22,800. The Senate 20,950 of which the President and Members content themselves with 18,240 and there is one Striking peculiarity in the Conduct of these Gentlemen, which is, that although they deplore the condition of the ill paid Navy and regret that Government should be in arrears with the Army they take very good care to see that their exertions are strictly and regularly recompensed.

The Estimated expenses of the Civil Department of the Government Amount to 276,520 Dollars, and there is a further demand of 71,000 for Civil and Contingent expenses.

Before quitting this part of the subject, it may be as well to state that the Texian Governments had prior to my leaving the Coast determined to make one last struggle to relieve the Country of its debt of 2 Millions. This was to be effected by a land Tax which was [to] supersede every thing else of the kind ever attempted before.

This Tax, which was to come into operation on the 1st of the present Month, ranges from 50 Cents (the minimum), or upwards, per every hundred Acres, on all lands whether cultivated or not and the value of the Lands were to be determined by Government Surveyors. By the collection of this impost they calculated not only to shake off the national encumbrances and establish the Credit of the Country, but also to put a considerable Sum into the Treasury Coffers; and I do not doubt it in the least, provided they could collect the Tax. But unfortunately the deranged State of Society and the general indisposition to pay anything will militate strongly against the levy, added to which there are vast numbers of men in

Texas who have more acres of Land than half pennies, and to give some idea of the wretched poverty of some of these landed proprietors. I have only to state, that many to whom lands have been granted, have been known to hand over half their acres to the person appointed to locate them, in lieu of his (the locators) fees which they were unable to pay in Cash.

Having thus to the best of my ability given a brief outline of the present State of Texas and its Government I will return to Captain Hamilton's Proposal.

If the British Government have finally decided not to acknowledge Texas as an independent Republic,¹ I cannot see of what use a resident in that Country, as proposed by Captain Hamilton, could possibly be or what protection he could afford to British Commercial Interests; But if the Government have it in the remotest contemplation to grant the recognition. It is my humble opinion that a competent person should be at once sent there to examine the Country, make himself acquainted with the character and habits of the people and report thereon.

And he might in particular to be directed to obtain a thorough knowledge of the history of, and frauderlent dealings in the different descriptions of "Land Titles" and locations with a view to the protection and assistance of British Emigrants on their arrival in Texas and also to obtain as much information with respect to that part of the Country (of which little is known) which is best adapted for the growth of Grain and rearing of Cattle for to that region I think the tide of British Emigration will tend.

Although the Character and I believe it to be a correct one, which I have given of the Texian people is certainly not a very pleasing one, still I do not wish to convey the idea that they are all Outcasts from Society on the contrary there are individual instances of talent, worth and respectability. On the example and exertions of these Men the future prosperity of Texas mainly depends and what is more to the purpose, the Mass tacitly acknowledge this, and do not seek to shackle their efforts by interference.

I will most respectfully advance for consideration, as connected

¹Application for recognition made by J. Pinckney Henderson, October 13, 1837; refused by Palmerston. January 27, 1838. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 812 and 839, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

with the present condition of the Texian Republic, a few reasons for believing that a recognition of her Independence by Great Britain would be of ultimate advantage to the Mother Country

One of the greatest objections raised against this Step, in England as I understand is, that Texas being a Slave holding Country, presents an immense field for the traffic in Slaves. But with the greatest deference, I can but think that a prompt recognition of Texas by Great Britain if accompanied by encouragement and protection to Emigration would have a directly contrary effect.

By the Laws of Texas, Slaves may be introduced from the United States but not from the Main. Introducing them from other Countries being considered "piracy" and nominally punishable by Death. I say nominally for although it is death according to Law and a matter of boast on the Score of humanity among the Texians, no sort of steps are taken to discover and punish Offenders, who consequently run their Cargoes with reckless impunity, and in order that no doubt may exist as to the laxity of the authorities with the respect of this Law, there are persons, residents on some parts of the Coast, who are very generally known to be Slave Agents. The price of Slaves in Texas is enormous owing to the great demand for labour and the high price of Fetches.¹ Slaves have been known to bring 1,500 to 2000 dollars a head there, while at the same time I saw them selling at 3 and 400 Dollars in the Havannah Market.

In consequence of this there is a competition between the Spanish Slave holders and others and those of the United States particularly those of Virginia, Carolinas, Georgia, Kentuchie Missouri and Tenisee, which rivalry will continue until Texas is stocked with sufficient Labourers to work the Lands already in process of cultivation.

The anxiety of the Texians that Great Britain should recognize their Republic is so evident, that I need not dilate on it, further than to state (and that from the very best authority,) that if it were done, they would allow England almost, to make her own terms upon every, even the Slave question, in which case The Home Department might not only insist upon the severest restrictions and penalties being imposed at once on the introduction of Slaves from

¹Cost of transporting slaves to Texas (?).

the Main, but might appoint their own Agent to suprintend and see that these penalties were inflicted

In the mean while Emigration would be increasing gradually, making a proportionate decrease in the price of labour and consequently in the price of Slaves, till at length the Market price for them in Texas would hardly hold out sufficient inducement to the Speculator from the United States and most unquestionably little temptation to the Captain and Crews of Slave Vessels, when they found, that in addition to the deteriorating value they received from their ventures, a strict watch was kept upon their nefarious proceedings, and severe and certain punishment followed on detection.

In addition I will with confidence state that in yielding a recognition Great Britain might make it a "*sine quâ non*" that Slavery should ultimately be altogether extinguished, and that, at no very distant period. For it must be borne in mind, that with the exception of the Coast Region, the Climate of Texas does not require the Constitution of the "Negro," on the contrary, in some parts the cold is too severe in Winter, to admit of his working without greatly suffering in health. And one White man will in such cases easily do the Work of two Blacks. Again with reference to British Emigration, the Maladies peculiar to the Coast region, will, if what I before advanced prove correct, be encountered by those who are accustomed to them.—Vizt. the American Cotton and Cane Planters, and as I do not think that these Plantations, can be carried on by white Labourers, it will become a matter of consideration whether they could not be worked for the next five Years by the Coloured Population now in Texas under the System of Apprenticeship, as in the West Indies, prior to thorough emancipation; And I think this might the more easily be done now, considering the small number of Slaves in Texas the Sum total not exceeding 20,000.

I need hardly remind you that about 2 years ago, an offer of annexation was made on the part of Texas to the United States.¹ This, the latter thought fit to decline, a step which gave the greatest affront to the young Republic and engendered a feeling of hos-

¹Refused by the United States in August, 1837. Texan independence was recognized by the United States in March, 1837; by France, 1839; by Holland and by Belgium, 1840; and by Great Britain, 1842.

tility, which though rapidly dying away, has yet sufficient life to render the renewal of such a proposition, and [out?] of the question, particularly as the population of Texas is quadrupled since the offer was made and the successes of the Settlers at the Battles of San Jacinto etc have inflated them with such sentiments of admiration at their own prowess as are only equalled by their profound contempt, for the Mexicans and Indians; in consequence of which they consider themselves competent to stand alone, I mention this because in a few years, They will become almost as indifferent towards Great Britain, as they certainly now are towards America, which contemplating the superior terms to be made with them, is another reason for yielding an early recognition

Premising this is granted (but again I must add, provided it is accompanied by encouragement and protection to Emigrants from home) England would derive in a few years from Texas a full supply of Cotton for her manufactures, equal if not superior to that now obtained from Louisiana, and Mississippi and if some slight and marked preference were given to her produce in England, the Planter and Labourer now working their nearly worn out land in the States would be found cultivating the Virgin Soil of Texas, and I really believe that twenty years would not pass away, before England (if necessary) might exclude every Bale of Cotton made in the States.

I[n] conclusion I will add from Sources on which I can rely, that if England will grant a recognition, her recommendation to the Texians would induce them to pay Mexico from 3 to 5 Millions of Dollars for a recognition of their independence, by that Country and would also assume a portion of the Debt due by Mexico to British Merchants. For these purposes she would agree to issue Bonds, paying interest semi-annually to pledge the National Lands, or any portion of the Revenue derived from Customs as Security for the punctual Payment of such Bonds for the Satisfaction of the Mexican Government and the British Creditor

Francis C. Sheridan
Col. Secy.

Joseph Ganaway, Esqr.
A. P. Sy.

[Endorsed] In letter from the Colonial Office of 7 Sept, 1840.

MAILLARD TO PALMERSTON¹

66 Ernest Street
Albany Street
Regents Park.
15th Sept. 1840.

My Lord,

Immediately on my Arrival at Liverpool from the Republic of Texas I forwarded to the Government Journal an Account of the latest Movements of the Federalists in Texas, Which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the 17th Ult. Showing the course which the Texain Government has managed to pursue, pending the Struggle between the Centralists and Federalists of Mexico. In addition to which I beg to direct your Lordship's Attention to the traffic in Slaves, which is carried on at this Moment in the Most bare-faced Manner between the Southern States of America and the Republic of Texas.

The Vessels employed in this branch of the American Slave Trade are Steamers of the first Class, of which there are no less than three the Neptune, Colombia, and New York. These Boats make two Voyages a Month from the States to Texas and the Number of Slaves thus transported across the Gulf of Mexico may be estimated at one hundred each Boat per Month. Nothing would be deemed more just My Lord than the Seizure of the Boats thus employed,—Con[s]idering that Mexico the Country which in the

¹F. O., Mexico, Vol. 142. Nicholas Doran Maillard, an English barrister at law, who came to Texas in 1840 in search of health and resided there six months. After the appearance of Kennedy's *Texas* (see note 1, p. 43), Maillard published a *History of the Republic of Texas* (London, 1842), in which he sought to refute Kennedy, to uphold the cause of Mexico, to prevent the ratification of British treaties with Texas, and to warn his countrymen against emigration to that state. (Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 141.)

Palmerston, British Foreign Secretary in Melbourne's Government until August 30, 1841, when the Tories came into power under Peel, and Aberdeen succeeded Palmerston at the Foreign Office. The great English anti-slave trade movement had waned somewhat between 1835 and 1840, but in the latter year was revived. Maillard's letter evidently seeks to use this revival of public interest to the disadvantage of Texas. Great Britain had treaties with various European powers granting mutual right of search of vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, but the United States had refused to make such a treaty. The position of Texas in the matter was therefore of importance. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 55.)

eyes of Great Britain still holds the Sovereignty of Texas, Was the first civilized Nation that abolished Slavery, and that, that act was not only seized by the British Government of 1824 as the Medium of renewing our intercourse, which had been suspended for four or five Years, but was also made the ostensible basis on which our future relationship with Mexico was to rest,—And that the Legislature of Texas, (if she may for an instant be deemed an Independent Republic) the Country to which the Slaves are taken, has made the Importation of Slaves by Sea piracy, and lastly the United States, the Country to which the Boats belong, as if to demonstrate to the World Her repugnance to the Slave Trade, In the Month of May last seized six small vessels in the Port of New York on a mere suspicion that they were fitting out for the Slave Trade. The Federalist Standard has been used, and is for the most part supported by the Texain and American Citizens. The Government of United States, have commenced pouring supplies into Texas, in order that She may be able to fulfil her engagements with the Federalists, and if Texas can only get sufficient Slave labour to develope her resources the Federalists must succeed eventually, when we shall see Slavery revived and perpetuated, and other Institutions still more injurious to our Interests, and repugnant to our National prejudices established throughout Mexico, whose dismemberment at this or any future period must prove most ruinous to British Interests in that quarter.

The recent alterations which have been made, with regard to the Western Boundary of Texas is also worthy of Your Lordship's attention. Up to the Month of May 1840 the Republic of Texas claimed the whole territory West of the Sabine River which divides Texas from the United States to the Rio Grande or Rio del Norte, but at the period above mentioned, the Republic of Texas ceded the Territory lying between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande, to the New Republic of Rio Grande.¹ The Nueces being the Eastern Boundary of the State of Cohahula which separated it from the Province of Texas as laid down by the Council of Department, for the Provinces or States, established under the Federal Constitutional Act of 1824, but should the Federalists fail in their at-

¹Needless to say, this statement had no foundation in fact. For an account of the Republic of the Rio Grande see Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 326-32.

tempt to establish the Independence of the Republic of Rio Grande, Texas will doubtless lay Claim again to the Territory in question.

Should Your Lordship wish any further information on the Subject of the Importation of Slaves to Texas, or any other relative to the present state of that Country, I shall any time feel great pleasure in supplying Your Lordship with such facts as come under My own immediate Notice

Nichs. Maillard

To The Right Honourable.

Viscount Palmerston. M. P.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs etc. etc. etc.

HOOK TO PALMERSTON¹

Copy.

April 30th, 1841.

My Lord,

In the Month of March last year I had the honor of submitting for your Lordship's perusal a short sketch of the Republic of Texas. Since that period, a combination of circumstances, Political, Commercial and Moral have taken place there, which in my humble opinion, justly claims the early attention of Her Majesty's Government.

In soliciting the honor of Your Lordship's consideration of the following Statements, I beg leave most respectfully, to inform you, that I have used much exertion to obtain my information from sources on which I can rely for Correctness, and that in adopting this Method of addressing Your Lordship, I have two grand objects in view, viz:—The *extention of British Commerce* and the Abolition of Slavery.

The political Change which has taken place in Texas since March last cannot be unknown to Your Lordship. Since that period the Govmt of France has officially acknowledged the independence of Texas, and her Ambassador, Genl Henderson, has been received at

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 2. Hook has not been positively identified. A James Hook was appointed in July, 1842, as "Commissioner of Arbitration in the mixed British and Foreign Courts for the Suppression of the Slave Trade," at Sierra Leone, and arrived at that place, from England, on December 3, 1842. Whether or not he was the writer of this letter is uncertain. (British Sessional Papers, 1843—Commons—Vol. LVIII. Correspondence on the Slave Trade, Class A, p. 1.)

Court by His Majesty, the King of the French, and M. Soligny,¹ Minister of France to the Republic of Texas has been received by the President at Austin with marked respect.² Since March last year many thousands of Anglo Americans, British and Germans have with their families and property become settlers in the Republic of Texas. This together with the recognition of her independence three years ago, by the United States has greatly consolidated her power. She now possesses a Civil, Military and Naval Strength more than adequate to secure her self against any attempt which Mexico might make to reconquer her lost Province. Indeed the daily encreasing power of Texas, and the continued revolutions and counter revolutions of Mexico are sufficient proof for my making this assertion.

Before entering on the purport of my letter, *extention of Commerce and the Abolition of the Slave trade and Slavery in Texas*, permit me briefly to call Your Lordship's attention to the happy position of this new Republic as a Commercial Country, and its immense value to Great Britain as such. And the[n] point out a plan by which I firmly believe that Slavery may be forthwith abolished in Texas, which, when accomplished, would prove a powerful engine in the hands of Abolitionists towards extinguishing that moral pest in the United States, an event devoutly to be wished

¹Saligny.

²Three treaties had been concluded also by Hamilton, for Texas, and Palmerston, for Great Britain; (a) a treaty of amity and commerce, involving recognition of Texas (November 13, 1840); (b) a treaty providing British mediation between Texas and Mexico (November 14, 1840); (c) a treaty giving mutual right of search of vessels engaged in the African slave-trade (November 16, 1840). The first and second of these treaties were transmitted to Texas on December 3, 1840, but the third was not sent until January 4, 1841, Hamilton writing that the delay was due to his anxiety that the slave-trade treaty should be carried to Texas by a confidential friend, A. T. Burnley, who could explain the necessity Hamilton was under of signing a treaty he had had no authority to negotiate. British agents suspected Hamilton of delaying the treaty in the hope that when Texan approval of the first and second treaties was received, Great Britain would ratify them without waiting for the third. The result was unfortunate. Texan sanction of the first and second treaties was transmitted to Hamilton on February 12, 1841. On February 21, Burnley, writing from Houston, sent the slave-trade treaty to the Texan government too late for approval by congress, which had adjourned. Great Britain insisted on exchanging ratifications of all three treaties at the same time, and thus all were unduly delayed until June 28, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 919-943, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II; Worley, in *THE QUARTERLY*, IX, 11-16; Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 67-68.)

for;—An event which all Europe and Millions in America wish to see accomplished, and which must infallibly take place.

Should I be so fortunate as to succeed in inducing Your Lordship to honor my suggestions by taking effective Measures to exterminate Slavery in Texas, I shall ever rejoice in having been the humble Agent who called Your Lordship's Attention to a Measure which, when attained will prove an endless [blessing?] to the human family; and to Your Lordship, it will add another Claim of gratitude for Your invaluable labours in this holy cause, from every friend of freedom in the British Empire.

Though I am possessed of a minute account, written by an eye witness of the rise, progress, and final achievement of the manner in which the Texians gained their independence of Mexico, as made known to the World by the proclamation of their delegates dated March 17th¹ 1836, yet as such account, though interesting, is not absolutely necessary for my object, I shall not increase the length of my letter by inserting its details.

The Republic of Texas is of much greater extent than was the Province of Texas while forming part of the late Mexican Confederacy. When Texas declared her independence of Mexico in 1836 she was joined by the State of Tamaulipas which lies North and east of the Rio del Norte, and likewise by all that part of New Mexico which lies east of the same, together with the Province of Santa Fé. The boundary of Texas as at present defined, is as follows. Beginning at the Mouth of the Rio del Norte, about the 26th. degree of North latitude, and up that River to its source thence a due North course to the source of the River Arkansas, the boundary line of the United States, following that River in its various windings to the 100th. degree of longitude from London. Then a line due North [South] to the Red River, following the course of the Red River to a line due North from the junction of the Sabine River with the 33d [32d] parallel of latitude, and about the 94th degree of longitude, then following the course of the Sabine River to its termination in the Gulf of Mexico, taking the Coast Westward, include the various Islands, to the Mouth of the Rio del Norte. Texas, therefore has a mean length of about 700 Miles, a breadth of about 450 Miles and a sea coast of nearly 500

¹The independence of Texas was declared March 2, 1836; the constitution was adopted by the convention March 17.

Miles in extent, containing in all about 250,000 Square Miles. These and other corrections together with the Sites etc, are duly set forth in the Map of Texas attached to this letter,¹ but of course allowances must be made for this early geographical Map of the new Republic of Texas.

It is extremely difficult to give any thing like a correct statistical account of the Republic of Texas. The reports from thence, even from persons just returned, are so much at variance with each other, that but little reliance can be placed on them.

The Independent Republic of Texas is, in extent much larger than France, and is now inhabited by freemen, chiefly Anglo-Americans and Britons, who have carried with them the language, the habits and lofty love of liberty, that has always characterised and distinguished their Ancestors, and must infallibly produce important effects on Mexico, as well as the Slave States of the Union. To the latter it will form a barrier against her extending the pestelential system of Negro Slavery. And extensive dealings with Mexico cannot fail to introduce great improvement into that rich and interesting Country.

The population of Texas exclusive of Indians and Slaves is about 220,000, and about 40,000 Indians.² As to the number of Slaves, I find it quite impossible to ascertain its correctness, but from what I have learned, I believe that their number is yet under 10,000. A copy of an important Tariff as published by the Government is added at the end of this letter.³ Documents containing an account of the Exports and imports of the Republic have not yet reached this Country.

Perhaps there is not in the records of history any instance of a Nation rising so *rapidly* as the Republic of Texas has done. Within three years upwards of 200,000 emigrants have settled in that Country, and Towns and villages have been raised as by magic. The Town of Galveston, three years ago, consisted of only *three* houses; now, 1840, there are more than six hundred houses many of them elegant dwellings, and a population of upwards of 4,000 Souls. Similar occurrences have taken place at Matagorda, Hous-

¹Not found.

²Concerning this excessive estimate of the population see note, page 20.

³Not found.

tan, Austin, and other places. The increase of the population in Canada,—Demerara etc. can bear no comparison with this

One of the most striking features of the character of Texas, is the number of her Rivers, which empty themselves into the Gulf of Mexico, and afford the means of extending inland traffic by water. The principal are the Brazos, Colorâdo, Trinidad, Guadalupe, Sabine, San Antonio, Rio de las Nuecis and Naches. Some of these afford the means of Navigation for hundreds of Miles into the upper parts of the Country. Already Steam boats are employed on some of those Rivers.

A mere glance at the accompanying Map¹ will at once show the immense advantage which must accrue to Texas from its fine rivers and local position. In an inland direction, its Commerce by means of these rivers, may be extended many hundreds of Miles into Mexico, on the one side and the United States on the other. Her means of foreign intercourse from her Shores on the Gulf are excellent. From Galveston to the Mouth of the great river Mississippi, is only two days sail, and from thence we may penetrate by water as far as Canada. In an additional day or two's sail we may reach Vera Cruz, Havanna and other West India Markets. Within thirty days sail from Galveston we may arrive in an English Port, and now that Steam conveyance is about being established, the voyage to Liverpool may be accomplished in sixteen days.

Such is a hasty sketch of the above unequalled Commercial position of Texas, but in this outline I have omitted to notice her means of trade in *furs* with the various Nations of Indians adjoining her territory.

Here it may be necessary briefly to notice the climate, soil and productions of Texas. As to its climate its salubrity is proverbial all over America. The Country has hitherto been exempt from pestelential diseases, and the yellow fever, so common in the West Indies, is here unknown. February is the only winter month, and so very mild is it, that snow is rarely seen, and ice only when the wind blows from the North at that season. The thermometer falls in winter to about 68, and in summer seldom rises higher than 80. In a word the mildness and salubrity of the Climate of Texas has no equal in America.

¹Not found.

The newly arrived Anglo American or European Agriculturist and Mechanic are quite capable of pursuing their calling in the same way and to the same extent as they did in their Native Country. In the Northern part of this Republic the climate differs but little from that of the South of Europe.

As to the soil its capabilities are vast.—Perhaps there is no section on the surface of the globe possessing so much fruitful land and so little barrenness. Its virgin soil needs no manure and but little agricultural labour to prepare it for producing all that is valuable either in Europe, Asia or Africa, so very rich and productive is the land in Texas that it will produce two Crops of grain in one year. Good land will raise one bale and a half of Cotton per acre, each weighing from 500 to 600 pounds, and at the present time, worth about Ninety dollars. It will raise from forty to sixty bushells of Indian Corn per Acre.—Its delightful prairies, even in a state of Nature, are perpetual gardens, producing the most delicious fruits,—Flowers the most beautifully variegated and all kinds of garden vegetables, may be obtained in every season of the year.

To enumerate the various productions and capabilities of the "*Garden of the West*" would require the space of a volume, but it would be unpardonable not to point out its *leading productions* and growing commercial worth to Great Britain.

Nature has evidently given to Texas commercial advantages which she has denied to every part of Mexico and other surrounding States. Few Countries, if any, are more favorably situated for carrying on an extensive and lucrative foreign and domestic trade. Its resources are immense.—Bounded on the South and West by the rich mining districts of San Louis Potosi, New Mexico and Santa Fé, it must form the medium of Communication between those parts and the civilized world. This circumstance, and the commercial position of Texas cannot fail to have a considerable influence on the future destiny of the surrounding Nations, while at the same time, its trade in *bullion* will be extensive and profitable.

It is true that Texas is capable of producing almost every thing which we import in a raw state from foreign Countries, but like other Nations, she too, has her *staple articles*. The first, and decidedly, to Great Britain, the most important is her *Cotton*. Her soil, climate and position for producing this most valuable Article has no equal, and though in England more than one Million and a

half of people are employed in this trade, Texas can produce more Cotton, and at a cheaper rate than we at present consume. I would here beg leave to observe, that we, in payment for this and other raw Materials, give our manufactured goods of Manchester, Glasgow, Sheffield and Birmingham. I need not stop to point out the great advantage which must arise to our merchants and manufacturers from such a Commerce. The immense value of a growing customer like the Republic of Texas, must be obvious to all. She is, and will be for more than a hundred years to come, destitute of all kinds of manufacturies, whilst her daily encreasing population and wealth will require a supply of almost every thing made in this Country, for the payment of which, as before stated, she will give us bullion and *raw Materials*.

Among the many valuable productions of Texas, its *timber* may be mentioned. The live oak is one of the largest; it grows to an enormous size, some trees measuring fifteen feet in circumference and maintaining this size, more than thirty feet from the ground. Besides the live oak, there are the White oaks, elm, cedar, cypress etc. For ship building the live oak of Texas is superior to any other on the Continent, and what renders this timber still more valuable for exportation is, that it grows mostly near the rivers, by means of which it can be cheaply floated down to the sea coast for shipping. And as shippers embarking Cotton would be glad to ship Oak as ballast, it could be imported into England at a much less cost than the teak of Sierra Leone or any other place.

In addition to the bullion, cotton and timber, Texas also exports, Hides, Furs, Beeswax, Salted provisions, Flour, grain, horses, cattle, etc.

The Republic of Texas offers a field for almost unbounded enterprise, it[s] wonderful capabilities for productions—Its happy position and enterprising inhabitants prove that it possesses within itself, all the elements of national greatness and prosperity.

The contiguity of the rich, but feebly governed Republic of Mexico and its almost total ignorance of Manufacturies, will of course be taken advantage of by the enterprising Merchants and traders of Texas. It is not only the consumption of British Merchandize in the Markets of Texas to which we ought to look but also through her with Mexico and the adjoining Countries.

The prospects of trade between our own Country and Texas are

highly important and are founded on the great reciprocal principle of the latter being able to furnish us with nearly all that we want in the way of produce, cheaply and in return, she will take our manufactured Cottons, Woolens, Silks, Hardwares etc.—A commerce founded on such a basis must become flourishing and tend to cement a valuable connection between the two Countries.

The Texian Government has adopted in her judicial Code, trial by jury, and allows free exercise of all religions. She has authorised the adoption of the English language in all legal proceedings, and it is the general language throughout Texas. In January last both houses of Congress passed a resolution, establishing the Common law of England as the basis of Texian jurisprudence.

The importation of Slaves by sea into Texas, constitutes the crime of felony, and is punishable by *death*. But, unhappily, she permits Slaves to be brought across the boundary line between her and the United States. And though in one sense this may not increase the number of Slaves in America, yet as the Climate of Texas is infinitely superior to that of the Slave districts of the United States it will tend to prolong the existence of Slavery.

Having thus sketched the commercial position and capabilities of Texas, it needs but little argument to prove that an immense advantage would accrue both to Great Britain and the Republic, by forming a Treaty of Commerce between the two Nations.

The government of the United States ever alert in fostering and extending her commerce, was the first to acknowledge the Independence of Texas, by which Act she secured commercial privileges of great value to her Merchants. In Europe, France was the next to follow the example of the Government of Washington. An important Treaty of Commerce between France and Texas has been effected, and which treaty was duly signed and ratified by the Senate of Texas on January 22nd 1840.¹ This act on the part of France was not done without due enquiry into the Affairs and stability of the Government of Texas, for which purpose a Mission, consisting of two commercial Gentlemen, was sent out by the French Government to collect correct information as to the commercial and political Affairs of Texas.² On the report of this Mission a treaty as above stated was the consequence.

¹The treaty with France was ratified January 13.

²The writer, perhaps, had in mind the visit of M. Saligny to Texas in

The latter observations naturally bring me to the most important part of my letter, viz—to suggest to Her Majesty's Government, the propriety, I had almost said the necessity of our forming a treaty of commerce with the valuable Commercial Republic of Texas. Indeed, from the immense amount of British property already embarked in the Texian trade a Government protection of our interest appears indispensable.

I have good reasons for stating that the Government of Texas is most desirous of forming a Commercial treaty with Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and that to obtain this it would gladly listen to the most liberal terms, as to commercial intercourse. And also conclude Arrangements for the final abolition of Slavery throughout the Texian Republic. In order to accomplish this great object, I think the present circumstances are peculiarly favorable, and that Her Majesty's Ministers have now an opportunity of inflicting a Mortal wound on the giant slavery existing in the United States, by simply forming a Commercial treaty with the Independent Republic of Texas, but in which treaty the full Abolition of slavery should be made the *Sine quâ Non*.

When Texas first achieved her Independence, her population was small, and in her hour of need and difficulty, her then Government sanctioned the Planters and Slave Owners of the United States, with their Slaves, to settle in the New Republic, but *now* her situation is greatly altered.—Her population has immensely increased, and is daily increasing, not only in numbers but also in physical and moral power. In this respect she has exceeded the expectations of her most sanguine friends

The number of Slaves already in Texas is, as before mentioned, not large, and it is generally believed that her Government would readily entertain any feasible plan by which this blighting section of her laws might be for ever expelled from her judicial Code.—The friends of abolition are numerous and powerful even in that Republic.—The persons in Authority at present are also disposed to get rid of Slavery and would gladly listen to the proposal if accompanied with a treaty of Commerce from Great Britain. Indeed the moral tone and influence already produced by the large numbers of Emigrants from Europe and the Northern States of

America already begin to assume an import station [important character?] in favor of freedom.

Many of the Slaves now labouring in Texas are only *hired* out by their owners in the United States to the Texian Planters, who can afford a much higher rate of Wages to labourers than is paid in the Union, with such there could be no difficulty

The very important commercial treaties lately effected by Your Lordship, and your coadjutors afford a most substantial proof of willingness and activity in behalf of the general commerce of our Country, and as the cause which I am humbly advocating, combines both Commercial interest and philanthropy, I am induced to hope that Her Majesty's Ministers will be pleased to undertake this additional great Measure towards the extinction of Slavery in America.—A Measure which could not fail to establish their popularity throughout Great Britain, and call forth the lasting gratitude of every friend of the human race.

By effecting the final abolition of Slavery in Texas, we at once extinguish that horrid traffic in a Country which, *without* our interference, might become one of the most extensive Slave Markets in America. And instead of a Slave State, we should, by our aid, raise up a *Free* and powerful Republic between Mexico and the United States which must ultimately, by example and sympathy, effect a mighty change in the Slave districts across the Sabine River.

Should the proposed plan for extinguishing Slavery in Texas, be followed by a treaty for a similar purpose, with Spain, and Brazil, Slavery would, thereby receive its death blow in the New World, and its nefarious pursuit on the Coast of Africa be rendered fruitless. In a word, this would *effectually close all the great Markets for Slaves*, and do more towards putting an end to the export Slave trade in Africa than any number of Ships which we may send to sea for that purpose. I need say nothing about the immense saving of expence and valuable lives which would result from this plan.

Before closing my observations, permit me to give an extract from an able writer on the present Chinese question which appears to me scarcely less applicable to our connection with Texas than the Celestial Empire

"It is, says he, "practically impossible for any Nation to carry

on a quiet lucrative commerce with others, and yet refuse to enter into some species of deplomatic relation with them. The inconvenience of the want of such recognized relations may be indured for a season, but individual violations on one side or the other, are sure at some time or other to bring the *reductio ad absurdum*."

In concluding I would beg to add, that if ever there was a period when the general trade and commerce of Great Britain required the aid of Government in securing New Markets for our Merchandise, it is certainly the present. Our powerful oponents in Europe, and the United States of America, meet us as rivals in every Market in the Universe.

The Government of France and the United States have gained the start on us in Texas, but I trust that the day is at hand, when our Merchants and Ship Owners shall have their persons and property, in the New Republic, protected by an Agent or Consul of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and if necessary, that She will be pleased to order a Mission, as was done by France last year, to be sent out for the purpose of making an authentic report of the present situation of the Government.—Commerce—Slavery, etc of Texas. The commercial interests of our Country and the sacred cause of philanthropy equally join in the appeal to Her Majesty's Government.

James Hook.

The Right Honorable.

Lord Viscount Palmerston. M. P. etc. etc. etc.

NEPEAN TO DOUGLAS¹

Copy.

H. M. Sloop "Comus."

Confidential.

Jamaica 24 July. 1841.

Sir.

As far as I can understand the nature of these Despatches, gleaned from Messrs. Welde and Harrison,² the Commissioners, our Government at home, are desirous of bringing about a reconciliation between Mexico and her lost province of Texas, and I have been given to understand that Mr. Pakenham has been ordered

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 2. Evan Nepean, Commander of the *Comus* from May 9, 1839, to March 4, 1842. Peter John Douglas, Commodore on the *Magnificent* from 1838 to November, 1841; and Commander-in-Chief of West Indian Squadron, June 21 to September 30, 1841. (Brit. Sess. Papers, 1852—Lords—Vol. 17. Return of Naval Appointments, 1831 to 1851.)

²Not identified.

to act as Mediator between the two parties, but I fear hitherto with little or no success.¹

It is very certain that Mexico has great reason to feel indignant, at the bad faith and total want of honesty on the part of the Texians in the first instance, but as these people are now become a free and independent Republic and recognized as such by the great powers of Europe, it is folly to contend any longer against the state of things which is totally out of the power of Mexico to remedy.

So far the Texians have made a very fair offer, namely, that if Mexico will recognize her as an independent nation she will take upon herself a portion of the debt due to England, to the amount of one Million Sterling to be paid by instalments a most exorbitant sum for a people just emerged out of the forest. But by all accounts the resources are being developed with a most surprising activity, and her population has increased within this five or six years from 4,000 to 300,000,² and is continuing to augment in the same ratio indeed even with the physical strength She now possesses, She may bid defiance to the Mexican Armies. It will therefore be good policy on the part of Mexico to accept the terms proposed, less a more disadvantageous state of things should arise, which might oblige [her] to make a still greater sacrifice for sooner or later Texas will, by force of Arms oblige her to come to terms, and instead of losing one Province, she may find herself sure of [losing] one or two more.

The totally disorganized state of the Government of Mexico is such, that she will in all probability fall to pieces even without any

¹Various overtures for peace had been made. In October, 1838, Palmerston instructed Pakenham to use his good offices toward peace; and, in 1839, the latter sounded the Mexican government but received little encouragement. In the same year, Bee, aided by Pakenham, began overtures to Mexico but with no result; while in December, 1839, Hamilton outlined to Pakenham the terms of the Texan offer, and a little later James Treat was officially commissioned to present these terms to Mexico. Thus Pakenham had been active *before* the treaty of November 14, 1840, providing British mediation was negotiated; but did practically nothing after that date until June, 1841, when he supported unsuccessfully the proposals of Texas made through Judge Webb. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 27-62; Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 340; Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 470, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

²See note, page 20.

external aid; the whole body politic is corrupt, beyond what in Europe would be supposed.

I heard from good authority that Tampico, and the province to which it belongs were on the eve of separating, the crisis will in all probability be hastened since the refusal on the part of Mexico, to receive either by word or deed, the advances made by the Texian Commissioners which I heard at the Havana, had been the case and that all communications had been refused

I expect that on their return, this circumstance will exasperate their Countrymen to the utmost, and unless England can keep them within bounds, they will make Mexico with every man that is capable of carrying a Rifle, taking into consideration their being well stocked with funds, having made a very successful loan in France,¹ and that they have already a large party in the Country in their favour, they will in all probability succeed for the Yucatanians will so combine their movements as to make a simultaneous attack on both extremities at the same moment.

I understand that these latter people have a strong party in their favour at Vera Cruz, as elsewhere along the Coast they have already the nucleus of an Army in the field, and their Cruizers have several times appeared off the Castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa, to reconnoitre while we were lying at Sacrificios.²

To give you some idea of the Gaspillage³ going on even at Vera Cruz, I heard it repeated over and over again that the Battery erected against the Schooner San Bernard⁴ was merely to draw Money out of the Treasury, the Sand Bags cost nearly 7,000 Dollars, and afterwards resold:—the Military and those employed pocketed nearly two thirds of the sum, it is in this manner the public Money is fritted away from one end of the Republic to the other.

General Vittoria, the Governor, has long been in a deplorable state of health, brought on, I understand, by intemperance: he

¹The negotiations for a loan in France were not successful.

²Sacrificios, a small island south of Vera Cruz. "Vessels of war of other nations anchor about three miles below [San Juan de Ulloa], near the island of Sacrificios." (Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico*, 2.)

³That is, wastefulness.

⁴This incident is also referred to by James Webb. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 751, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

was not expected to live when I left. I believe he knew little of what was going on, at the period just mentioned.

With this state of things there appears a most perfect apathy of the Republic at large, or more particularly in the interior; All the bigoted old Spanish prejudices against foreigners appear to be again reviving, and the present rulers have come to the mild decision, that as they have every thing they want in their own Territory, they can do without Foreign Commerce: thus the heavy duties on every Article of Manufacture. Every one appears to be aware of the unfitness of the present Men to govern them, and they are now groaning under a complete Military Despotism

I mention these circumstances, thinking it adviseable for the public Service that one British Man of War at least should be permanently stationed at Vera Cruz. The French have always two, and others; I understand are expected. The Americans have also two, these Squadrons have their rendezvous at Pensacola The Spaniards have one Vessel.

Evan Nepean.

Commander P. T. Douglas.

Commander.

Senior Officer. etc. etc. etc.

Jamaica

[Endorsed] In letter from Admy. of Octr. 21. 1841.

PALMERSTON TO ELLIOT¹

F. O.

Draft to Captain Elliot.

August 4, 1841.

Sir,

I have to acquaint you that The Queen has been graciously pleased to select you to be Her Majesty's Consul General to the

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3. Sir Charles Elliot (1801-1875), entered the British navy in 1815, and saw active service until 1828, when he virtually retired, being thereafter employed in the service of the foreign or colonial office. In 1834 he went to China as secretary to the trade commissioners, and in 1837 became chief superintendent, thus being the British official in authority at Canton at the time of the Opium War of 1840. The war was checked by a preliminary treaty arranged by Elliot; but the treaty was disavowed by both British and Chinese governments, and the war was revived, while Elliot was superseded. On his return home, he was for a time unemployed, but was subsequently sent to Texas, where he held the position of British chargé d'affaires until Texas was annexed to the United States. He later was governor of Bermuda, 1846-

Republick of Texas. Your Commission in that Character, under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, will be forthwith prepared, and on your arrival in England, you will be furnished with the Instructions of H. M's Government for your guidance in the Post to which Her Majesty has appointed you

I have at the same time to state to you that Her Majesty has also been graciously pleased to signify Her intention of causing you to be accredited to the Government of Texas in the further Character of Her Chargé d'Affaires, so soon as the Ratification of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation which has been concluded between Her Majesty and the Republick of Texas, shall have been exchanged.

P.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

31 Surrey St. Strand.

October 12th. 1841.

My Lord,

At the interview with which I was honored yesterday, I took leave to suggest the expediency of having an Agent (unaccredited as he must necessarily be) to visit the Capital of Texas, and report to Your Lordship of the progress of Affairs there, and such Matters as may have an important bearing on British interests, ere the con-

54; of Trinidad, 1854-56, and of St. Helena, 1863-69. (Stephen and Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 2. William Kennedy, born 1799 and educated in Ireland; early took up journalism and literature as a profession. He came to London in 1830, where acquaintance with The Earl of Durham resulted in Kennedy's accompanying the latter to Canada in 1838. On Durham's retirement, Kennedy traveled during 1839 in the United States and resided some months in Texas gathering material for a book, which was published in London in 1841 under the title *The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* (2 Vols.), in which the cause of Texan independence of Mexico was maintained and great prosperity prophesied for the new state. Kennedy's subsequent career in Texas will be clearly brought out in the correspondence. This letter marks the beginning of a special mission he undertook to Texas in 1841. On his return to England in 1842, he acted for a short time as Texan consul in London, but later in that year was sent to Galveston as British consul, holding this position until the end of the Texan Republic. Broken in health he retired on a pension, and from 1849 until his death in 1871 resided in Paris. (Stephen and Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

Aberdeen succeeded Palmerston as British Foreign Secretary, August 30, 1841.

summation, of the Treaties with Texas by the Government of this Country.

Those Treaties will certainly be the Subject of debate in Parliament¹

The publication of the Correspondence between Lord Palmerston and General Hamilton on the Slave Trade Treaty, in the Times Newspaper of today,² strengthens my conviction of the expediency of sending a British Agent to Texas.—I cannot doubt that the arrival of that paper in the United States will be followed by instructions to the American Chargé d’Affaires in Texas to oppose the ratification of the Treaty in question.

Now, My Lord; as the Texain Congress will meet in November, it would be necessary, for the efficiency of an Agent, that he should leave England, at the latest, on the 4th of November.

As the Service of an unaccredited Agent at such a Season of the year, in a New Country, would be accompanied by toil and privation, without ostensible reward—and as I ventured to exhibit reasons in favour of the appointment—I beg to state that I shall be happy to undertake the duty Myself—in case Your Lordship should not have a more competent person in View—desiring merely the allowance of my reasonable expences—but relying on my efficient discharge of the delicate trust devolved upon Me as the basis of my future claims to consideration at Your Lordship’s hands.

I am not without hope that My presence as an Englishman possessing some popularity in Texas, would be useful in counteracting French influence—promoting the Ratification of the Slave Trade Treaty, and, perhaps, in opening the way to the mitigation or abolition of domestic Slavery.

I shall be in London on Thursday, to await the favour of Your Lordship’s reply.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

¹See note 2, p. 30, for a list of the treaties and a statement of the cause of delay in ratification.

²Also printed in *British and Foreign State Papers*, (1840-1841), XXIX, 617-621.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹*Private*

31 Surrey St. Strand

October 20th. 1841

My Lord,

I have been in London since the evening of Thursday last, for the purpose of awaiting the favor of Your Lordship's reply to my Communication of the 12th Inst. On Saturday next my affairs constrain me to return to the Country.

Before my departure I beg to inform Your Lordship that I have reason to believe that General Houston, who has heretofore appeared as the leading advocate of French interests in Texas, has been elected President of that Republic. The reintroduction of the Franco-Texan Bill,² under his Presidency, may naturally be expected

A new revolution has broken out in Mexico—Military Associations,³ for the purpose of overthrowing British rule and influence in North America, have been formed, from Maine to Missouri—the planters of Cuba are growing impatient of British interference in the Slave Trade—these matters—which necessarily fall under Your Lordship's Cognizance—may, I humbly conceive, be referred to in support of my opinion that the interests of this Country require the early presence of an Agent in Texas.

I believe there are few among the great party leaders in the United States who do not look to the speedy extension of the Federal Union from Hudson's Bay to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of California with the Island of Cuba as an insular appendage.

I beg to enclose to Your Lordship some remarks on the North-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 2.

²The Franco-Texan bill provided for the establishment of a French company, with authority to introduce 8,000 French colonists who were to settle near forts, at least twenty in number, erected and maintained for twenty years by the company along the northern and western frontier from Red River to the Rio Grande. The company was to receive for its services 3,000,000 acres of land, provided the colonists were introduced and located according to contract. Other concessions to be granted the company related to the working of mines and to trade and commerce. (*Austin City Gazette*, July 21, 1841.) The bill passed the house of representatives of the fifth congress but was defeated in the senate.

³The reference is to the "Hunters' Lodges" and similar organizations along the northern border of the United States, formed to express sympathy with and give aid to Canadian rebels in the rebellion of 1837-1839.

Western Boundary question, published in the *Times* Newspaper of the 9th Inst. which I wrote for the purpose of awakening attention to the subject of American encroachment in that quarter, being thoroughly convinced that, unless English influence be employed in raising up a stable independent power on the South-Western and North Western frontiers of the Union, a very few years will suffice to place the whole of the territory they covet under the Sovereignty of the United States. *There* lies the danger to the Maritime and Commercial supremacy of Great Britain.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

Gregory's Hotel. Arundel St.

Haymarket. Novr. 6th. 1841

My Lord,

When I was last in London, I submitted to Your Lordship's consideration a copy of an Act of incorporation which, in 1840, nearly passed the Congress of Texas—and which aimed at securing to a French Company commercial and territorial advantages pregnant with mischief to British interests both in Mexico and Texas. I remarked, with reference, to this Act, that its reintroduction into the Texain Legislature, during the present year, was contemplated, and that I had strong grounds for believing that its principal advocate, General Houston, would, in the meantime be chosen President of the Republic.

It now appears, My Lord, by Texan Newspapers recently received, that General Houston has been elected President, and by such large Majorities as warrant the inference that his popularity has not been materially affected by his advocacy of the Franco-Texan Company's mischievous bill.

It will be in Your Lordship's recollection that I volunteered my services, in the capacity of an unaccredited Agent, to proceed to Texas, in the beginning of the present Month; for the purpose of Watching events, and exercising whatever influence I might possess for the benefit of my Country—I took leave especially to advert to the subject of domestic Slavery, which the Slave holding

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 2.

people of the South will not even *discuss* except with those in whose fair dealing and friendly intentions they repose full confidence. The trust of the Texans in me, as the disinterested chronicler of their social rise and progress, is admitted to be considerable and, were I in a suitable position to give strength to my opinions, I indulge the hope that I might succeed in effecting some mitigation of the system, as inducing them to assent to its early abandonment. A leading member of the Anti-Slavery Society¹—(a body whose mode of operating upon Foreign States is perhaps more zealous than judicious) admitted, when discussing the matter with me, that any representations I might make were likely to have peculiar weight with the planters of Texas.

It is my thorough Conviction that it is essentially the interest of Texas to link herself closely with England, and, as a natural incident of the connexion, to substitute free for compulsory labour. The arguments I should offer for the relinquishment of domestic Slavery would be based on this Conviction

On my return from Texas in 1839, I had some reason to look forward to such an Appointment in the Republic as would have enabled me to promote directly the general policy of England in that quarter. But Lord Durham who had conveyed to me in a manner the most gratifying to my feelings his approval of my Canadian Services and his desire to advance my public fortunes, stood aloof from the Ministry of the day, and I restricted my application to the Office of Consul at Galveston, as a Situation which, if affording fewer opportunities of active usefulness, promised to be more attainable by a Man whose personal pretensions derived but little support from Parliamentary influence, or family connexion.

From the Considerations which are known to govern Your Lordship in the discharge of your official duties, I am encouraged to believe that these details will not be deemed irrelevant to the application which I have the honor to submit to Your Lordship, and for the courteous and considerate acknowledgment of which I shall always esteem myself Your debtor.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

¹Meaning the British Society.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹*Private.*Gregory's Hotel, Arundel St.
Haymarket. Novr. 9th. 1841.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's Note of Yesterday, and, in accordance with the intimation it conveys, shall do myself the pleasure of waiting upon Your Lordship, at the Foreign Office, on Thursday next, at two o'clock.

I have just been assured that the United States are actively intriguing to effect the Annexation of Texas, and that the newly-elected President, General Houston, (the friend and protégé of General Jackson) is not unfavourable to their object.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²*Private.*Gregory's Hotel. Arundel St.
Haymarket. Novr. 12th /41.

My Lord,

I leave town today, and shall not return previous to my Voyage, unless Your Lordship should entrust me with despatches for Washington, and require my presence to receive them. In requesting despatches it is under the impression that the travelling expences of the bearer are allowed by the Government.

In order that the safe and speedy transmission of my correspondence be secured, it will be requisite, that I should have a letter to the British Consul at New Orleans, instructing him to aid in forwarding my Communications

May I beg the favour of such a letter addressed to me under cover at 3 King's Road Bedford Row (London) whence it will be transmitted by my Agent Mr. Pringle. I shall be also glad to receive, through the same channel, any special instructions which Your Lordship may be pleased to give, and to learn, after the arrival of the Halifax Steam Ship, whether or not I shall be en-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 2.²*Ibid.*

trusted with despatches, and on what day I shall be in London to receive them.

I shall be rather pressed for time, in consequence of remaining in London for the purpose of having the interview of yesterday with Your Lordship.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

P. S.

I have taken my passage by the Halifax Steamer of the 19th. Inst.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

Marine Villa, Hornsea,
East Riding of Yorkshire November 13th. 1841.

My Lord,

I beg respectfully to submit to Your Lordship the following points in reference to my contemplated Communication on the Affairs of Texas.

Leaving Liverpool by Steam on the 19th. Inst. I cannot calculate on reaching the Republic, at this season of the Year, in less than five weeks. It is of importance that I should arrive at Austin, the Capital of Texas, before the Congress has closed its Session. To effect this object, I shall travel onward with all possible despatch

So far as present circumstances enable me to form an opinion, I think the best course I can adopt is to draw up a short Report on the political and economic condition of Texas, and transmit it to Your Lordship, through the British Consul at New Orleans. Allowing me a Month or six weeks for local observation, the Report can hardly be placed in Your Lordship's hands before the close of next March, or the beginning of April

In the absence of instructions to the contrary from Your Lordship, I propose to draw up a short Report and forward it to the Foreign Office through the Consul at New Orleans.

My confidential Agent Mr. Wm. Pringle, 3 King's Road, Bedford Row (London) will take care that I receive any Communica-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 2.

tion addressed under cover to him previous to the day of my departure.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Marine Villa, Hornsea.

Est. Ridg. of York. Nov. 16th. 1841

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's Communication of the 15th Inst. enclosing a letter to the British Consul at New Orleans.

On the presumption that the letter to Mr. Crawford [can] only refer to the Subject of my request, I shall, probably delay its presentation to that gentleman until I have occasion to require his services

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

53 Cadogan Place.

Decr. 6. 1841.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Lord Palmerston's duplicate Despatch dated August 4, 1841, signifying my appointment as Her Majesty's Consul General to the Republic of Texas.

With my thanks, I beg to express my readiness to proceed to my post when ever it may suit the convenience of Her Majesty's Government that I should do so. But if there be no necessity for my immediate departure I would request Your Lordship to grant me leave to remain in England for one Month from this date.

The Right Honorable.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T. etc. etc. etc.

CANNING TO ELLIOT³

Dft. Capt. Elliot.

F. O. Decr. 14. 1841.

Sir.

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the re-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 2.

²*Ibid.*, Vol. 3.

³*Ibid.* Charles John Canning, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1841-1846.

ceipt of your letter of the 6 inst—expressing your readiness to proceed to Texas as H. M's Consul General whenever it may suit the convenience of Her Majesty's Government that you should do so, but if there be no necessity for your immediate departure you request leave to remain in England for one Month; and I am to state to you in reply, that Lord Aberdeen accedes to your request to remain in London for the time specified

Canning.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Galveston. Texas.

Jan'y 10th. 1842.

My Lord.

I had the honor to address a Communication to Your Lordship from New York on the 10th Ultmo.² which I left in the hands of Mr. Chas. Edwards³ (an Englishman occasionally employed as a legal adviser by Mr. Fox)⁴ to be by him forwarded by the Acadia, Halifax Mail Steam Packet

On the 28th of last Month I reached New Orleans, which I left on the 5th Inst. for Galveston, where I arrived on Sunday the 9th. I proceed by Steam today to Houston, about eighty Miles from this place, and from Houston I shall go on direct to Austin, the Capital of the Republic, in the hope of arriving there before Congress breaks up. My course will be through a wild Country, where rivers are to be crossed without the aid of bridges or boats, and Indians to be avoided. The rainy season has set in, and if I can get over thirty Miles a day I shall consider Myself fortunate.

Writing as I do, upon the wing, I can only touch briefly and generally upon such Matters as have fallen under my observation.

During my short^t stay in the United States I had good opportunities of ascertaining the state of Commercial and Monetary affairs. It is deplorable—and if the lately passed Bankrupt Law goes into operation at the specified time (next February) the last remains of an unwholesome System of Credit and overtrading will be swept away. In New Orleans, the banks (which were chiefly created by

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

²Letter not found.

³Charles Edwards, an English lawyer in New York City, and for twenty-five years counsel to the British consulate at that place. (Appleton, *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, II, 305.)

⁴Henry Stephen Fox, British Minister at Washington, D. C.

British Capital) are sustained in a course of virtual insolvency by the apprehensions of the traders and planters, who are anxious to procrastinate the evil day. My own experience supplies a curious illustration of banking management in New Orleans: When I reached that City, the Bank of Louisiana and one or two kindred establishments (capable of paying their Notes, but incapable of repaying the Shareholders) evinced a determination to resume specie payments and to discredit the Notes of such Banks as did not follow their example. Having a letter of credit on the Correspondent of Messers Baring & Co., I received from him a cheque on the Bank of Louisiana for a certain sum, the said Bank having, with its partners, in policy, agreed to defer the resumption of specie payments for some Months, to afford time for the weaker establishments to strengthen themselves or arrange for liquidation. On presenting the cheque at the Bank of Louisiana, I was not only unable to obtain specie—but the Notes of the Bank itself and was obliged to accept the Notes of the weaker institutions which had been to a material extent discredited by the directors of the Bank on which the Cheque was drawn,—I was obliged to call upon a friend to effect an exchange of the Notes I received for others of a less unstable character.

In furnishing information, at the instance of Mr. Fox, early in the Spring of 1839, I expressed the opinion that the United States was on the Verge of bankruptcy.—The justice of that opinion is manifested by the existing state of the Country which, abounding in the Means of Material prosperity, presents a lamentable appearance of exhaustion and demoralization. Before its energies are recruited and confidence restored, England will, I fear, be yet a greater sufferer than She has been.

The condition of the United States is both favourable and unfavourable for Texas, favourable, inasmuch as distress has induced many of the planters to emigrate to her rich lands and unfavourable as it deprives her of pecuniary aid under the financial embarrassment of her Government. These embarrassments are extreme—in fact, the local currency issued by the Government is, for circulation, useless, and almost unmarketable at any price.

Planters and farmers with some Capital are the only Settlers at present suitable to Texas, the population of which, I have reason to believe, has been over rated. This class of persons is succeeding

very well, notwithstanding the prostration of public credit. A better class of emigrants has entered Texas during the last year than at any preceeding period. I still consider the successful invasion of the Country by Mexico as *wholly impracticable*—Nor am I disposed—(so far as I have recently observed)—to think that the Texans would seek annexation to the United States unless constrained by financial exigency and inability to defray the cost of Government, which has been greatly augmented by the unsettled state of their relations with Mexico. The President of the United States being a Virginian, and anxious to strengthen the Southern interest in Congress, is understood to be desirous of annexation. It is alleged in the Texan Newspapers that the question will be raised on the proposition to admit the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa as free States into the Union,—the Southern delegation opposing their admission, unless they are allowed, as an equivalent, to receive Texas into the Confederacy. I see, by an Austin Journal of a late date, that a resolution for empowering President Houston to treat for the Annexation of Texas to the United States has been submitted to the Senate.

I beg to enclose to Your Lordship the Inaugural Message of President Houston, delivered at Austin on the 20th of last Month.¹ It is a vague and uninstrusive document, and its Author is charged with exaggerating the debt and difficulties of the Country, with a view to depreciate the character of the preceeding administration. The administrative Machinery of the Republic has, however, been worked under the most discouraging circumstances, and to me the marvel is how they have contrived to keep it in operation at all, in a thinly populated territory, unsustained by Capital, harrassed by border inroads and threats of invasion. Whether the continued pressure upon a young and struggling Country has not created, or may not create, a general desire to seek relief in the arms of the neighbouring Confederacy remains to be seen.

Houston. Wednesday, Jany 12th.

I arrived here this Morning from Galveston and start tomorrow Morning on horseback for Austin.

The France-Texan Bill to which I invited Your Lordship's at-

¹Correct date, December 13.

tention in London, has been again brought before Congress in a modified form. The nature of the modifications and the reception given to the Bill I have not yet learned. I believe its [*sic*] will fall to the ground.

The Slave Trade Treaty between Great Britain and Texas remains unratified.¹ Not, I am informed—from any hostility to its provisions, but in accordance with the wish of General Hamilton to be present at its discussion. General Hamilton who has been expected for some time, has not yet arrived here. It is anticipated that his powers as a Commissioner to negotiate a Loan, will be withdrawn. Should Congress be in Session when I reach Austin, I shall inquire whether the Slave Trade Treaty may not be ratified *at once* and the necessary instrument transmitted to England.

The late President Lamar, without the requisite Authority from the Legislature, fitted out an expedition of two hundred and eighty men, for the purpose of diverting the Santa Fé trade, hitherto in the hands of the Mexicans, to Texas. Goods were sent with the expedition, and it was supposed that the people of Santa Fé would give it a friendly reception. The expedition has however been captured by the Mexicans, whether by force or treachery the statements at present made public do not enable me to say. Much excitement on the Subject prevails in New Orleans, where, it is said, funds have been subscribed and associations organized for raising Volunteers against Mexico. In the meantime, this petty achievement seems to have awakened a war spirit among the Mexicans, and it is rumoured that Santa Ana is preparing to attack Texas by land and Sea. There is another report that he is willing to cede it as a Mexican Department to the United States, in liquidation of certain indemnity Claims. Under every aspect of its affairs, the tendency of Texas is towards annexation with the Mexican [American] Union, unless she is sustained by the friendly offices of England. A few years of quiet would render her prosperous and populous supplying to British Emigrants a new field for their industry, and to our Manufacturers a profitable Market for their goods. But she will require for some time a superintending eye and prudent Counsels.

¹See note 2, p. 30.

My tour in the Western Settlements will probably occupy me for four or five weeks. Until I return to Galveston I shall be unable to transmit letters to Europe.

Requesting Your Lordship's indulgence for the defects of a hasty Correspondence, and sincerely anxious to forward such information as may advance the interests of my Country.

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Austin. Texas. Jany. 28th. 1842.

My Lord,

I arrived at Austin on the 17th of this Month, and fortunately found Congress still in Session, and both the Government and the people well disposed to listen to my representations

In consideration of my work in [on?] Texas, I received a vote of thanks from both Houses of Congress, and was invited to a Seat within the bar of the Senate and Chamber of Representatives.

On inquiring respecting the Slave Trade Treaty, I was informed that, at the Special request of General Hamilton its presentation to the Senate had been delayed until his arrival in Texas, where he has not yet appeared. Apprehending nothing but Mischief from another twelve Month's delay, I urged the immediate ratification of the Treaty upon the President and Senators, and am happy to say that on the 22d Inst. it passed the Senate by a *unanimous vote*²

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

²While it is true that General Hamilton had requested that the senate's action on the treaty for the suppression of the African slave trade be delayed until his arrival in Texas, the prospect of an adjournment of congress before Hamilton could arrive prompted President Houston to submit the treaty by message dated January 12, 1842. The president made no comment whatever, but referred to "the letters of General Hamilton explanatory of the objects of the Treaty." (*Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 214, 215.) Kennedy arrived at Austin January 17th; Hamilton on January 31st. The treaty was read the first time on January 14, and ratified on the 22d. Kennedy cannot be credited with having influenced the president's action in submitting the treaty to the senate; how much his advocacy during the interval from January 17 to 22 contributed toward the unanimous ratification of the treaty it is impossible

I have the honor to enclose the copy of a Note from the President, which I beg respectfully to submit for Your Lordship's consideration. It strikingly indicates the financial embarrassments of the Government.

The popular feeling is undoubtedly swaying strongly towards annexation to the United States. And if this feeling is to be allayed, Great Britain must interpose her Mediation with effect for an *early* Settlement of the differences between Mexico and Texas. To a young Country the threat of invasion is hardly less injurious than invasion itself. *Mexico can never reconquer Texas*, and the sooner the present dubious condition of affairs is terminated the better for both

General Hamilton's popularity here is gone; his powers as a Loan Commissioner have been revoked and he will no longer be authorized to act as a diplomatic agent of the Republic

Although the Government suffers from an exhausted Treasury, the Settlements are extending and prospering, and such are the natural resources of this magnificent Country, that three years of peace and wise administration would suffice to relieve it from all its difficulties.

At the request of General Houston (the President) I have volunteered a communication to Mr. Pakenham at Mexico respecting the Santa Fe prisoners of whom between forty and fifty are, I understand, British Subjects. I have ascertained the names of fourteen (four of whom are Natives of Scotland) and have transmitted them to Mr. Pakenham, whose interposition on behalf of those prisoners who may be Citizens of Texas would be a grateful and opportune act

Congress is to rise on Monday,¹ and I shall proceed immediately after farther West; then return by the Coast to Galveston and thence to New Orleans, where I shall embark for England which I hope to reach in April.

Having only received recent intimation of the departure of a

to ascertain; that his advocacy was necessary to secure favorable action may well be doubted. But see Houston to Kennedy, below, page 57.

¹Monday, January 31, 1842; congress adjourned Saturday, February 5, 1842.

Government Messenger with Despatches for Galveston, I have been obliged to use all despatch in writing this Communication

William Kennedy

The Right Honble.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

HOUSTON TO KENNEDY¹

Copy.

City of Austin Texas.

28 Jan'y. 1842.

My Dear Sir.

Before your departure from this place, I must be permitted to make a request of you

Should you find it within your control, you will much oblige me by informing the British Government of the particulars touching the delay, and subsequent ratification of the Treaty on the subject of the "Slave Trade" by this Government

For the consummation of this business, I cannot but feel that the Executive is under many obligations to you for the lights afforded him upon this subject by yourself. Owing to the representations of our agent at London, had you not been here, I am inclined to believe, or rather I am satisfied, that it would not have been ratified at the present session of Congress.

In making this request of you, I claim the right of an apology, on the ground that our agent at London, Gen. Hamilton, has been recalled under a resolution of Congress. And with a perfect knowledge of our situation you will not suppose that an agent, such as would be desirable for us, will be sent to England, owing to the condition of our *finances*.

Should I not have the pleasure of meeting you again, previous to your departure for England, I will anticipate the happiness of again meeting you in Texas; as I sincerely hope Her Majesty's Government may think proper to send you to Texas in some relation which may be agreeable to you, as your return will be to the people, and particularly to your very sincere friend

Sam Houston.

[Endorsed] In Mr. Kennedy's Letter of Jan 28/42

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3. Enclosed in the preceding letter.

HAMILTON TO ABERDEEN¹

(Duplicate)

Galveston Texas. Feby. 20th. 1842

My Lord,

I desire to revoke the recommendation which I made in behalf of Mr. Kennedy, for the Consulate of Her B. M. at Galveston, Texas, as I deem that individual as utterly unworthy of Your Lordship's confidence.

I have transmitted Mr. Kennedy a Copy of this letter.

J. Hamilton.

The Right Hon. Lord Aberdeen.

Her Majesty's P. Sec. of Foreign Affairs.

HAMILTON TO KENNEDY²

(Copy)

New Orleans, March 4th. 1842

Sir,

I beg leave to enclose you a letter³ I addressed to Lord Aberdeen, which not following the course you pursued towards myself at Austin, I think it both frank and honourable to communicate to yourself.

Gen Johnson will receive any Communication you may have for me. I beg leave to inform you that you will find me on your way through the States to [at?] Charleston until the 1st. July—In this as in all other Cases responsible for my own acts and seeking neither shelter or concealment

J. Hamilton

Wm. Kennedy, Esq.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁴

New Orleans, March 8th. 1842

My Lord,

I arrived here yesterday from Galveston in Texas, and having just learned that letters are about to be forwarded by the Solway, West India Mail Steamer, I hasten to apprise Your Lordship that

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.²*Ibid.*³See preceding letter, Hamilton to Aberdeen, February 20, 1842.⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

I intend proceeding direct for England in a day or two, and on my arrival in London shall be happy to submit to Your Lordship information which I have obtained during my recent visit to the neighbouring Republic

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. etc. etc. etc.

HAMILTON TO ABERDEEN¹

(Private and Confidential).

Per Halifax Steamer.

Charleston, March 25th. 1842

My Dear Lord,

I enclose You duplicates of a dispatch addressed you from New Orleans by the Royal Mail West India Steamer, for fear of the apparent irregularity which seems to attend that mode of conveyance

Mr. Kennedy has behaved with such perfidy and ingratitude towards myself that I am convinced he is totally destitute of all principle.

He reached Texas before me, and finding from the Jealousy of the present President of Texas, Gen. Houston to myself, (lest I should supplant him in influence with the people of Texas) that he would obtain favour by joining in the current of prejudice which thro' the instrumentality of the President was running against me, and strange to say (he an Englishman and I a Slave Holder) one of the grounds of his assault was, that I was confederating with an association at Exeter Hall² to abolish slavery in Texas.

His flattery of President Houston (who to say the best of him, is one of the least respectable persons in Texas) has secured to him a large Empesari or Grant of Land,³ and the understanding that Mr. Kennedy is to write Gen. Houston's Life, has perhaps

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

²A building on the Strand, London, used for religious and charitable assemblies, and long the customary meeting place of the British Anti-Slavery Society.

³William Kennedy, William Pringle, and associates obtained a contract to introduce 600 families. A number of contracts similar to this one were made about this time.

been equally influential in procuring for him the Consul Generalship to Great Britain.¹

In relation to this last Appointment Your Lordship must allow me to make a remark or two. In the first place the Appointment is unknown to the Laws of Texas, but this of course is not a question for Her Majesty's Govt., if President Houston, thinks proper to be guilty of an act without the authority of Law. But there is one ground upon which I think Her Majesty's Govt. might deny him an Exequatur, and that is, his assertion that by not appointing him to the Consulate at Galveston,² you have been guilty of an implied breach of faith and injustice.—If you think proper to take this ground you are quite at liberty to give me as your authority. He not only said this to me, but to other Gentlemen of respectability.

Lord Palmerston will give you some items of intelligence respecting Kennedy, which will let you not the less understandingly into his character. If you were to refuse to recognise him as Consul Genl. you would gratify a great many of the most influential and respectable of the people of Texas, who have regarded his ingratitude to me and sycophency to Houston with unspeakable disgust.

He will undoubtedly lay claim to having done many things of inestimatable value to Her Majesty's Govt., in Texas. His acts of value were to himself, if they turn out such?—to evil in defeating a measure for the Sale of the Public Lands on Government account³ and getting grants for a French Company* and himself—by which I am sure not a few Air-bubbles will be blown, to take in the unwary.

The Treaties will go over for Exchange by the next Steamer, about which I trust there will be no difficulty.

I shall be in London in July ready to offer to your Govt.—a Contract for Live Oak, in conformity with the advices, I gave Your Lordship last Autumn, and about which I shall write Sir

¹Kennedy was nominated Texan consul-general in London and was confirmed by the senate February 3, 1842.

²Kennedy was tendered the British consulate at Galveston in June, 1842.

³For the details of this plan, see *Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 221-224.

*Henri Castro obtained a contract to introduce 600 colonists on the same date that Kennedy concluded his contract.

Robt. Peel, by this opportunity, with whom I shall be gratified if Your Lordship will confer and lend your co-operation.

You will have seen Santa Anna's Letter¹ to myself—which has since been confirmed by an actual invasion of the Country by Genl. Aristo² at the head of 14,000 Men. I have no doubt Aristo will be crushed before he reaches the Colorado. If he is not I shall claim my privileges of citizenship in Texas, and strike as hard and as heavy as I can

The Star of Empire will travel West, and no Man can tell *where* we shall stop

Nothing can exceed the infatuation of this people, apparently doomed, or the Union and enthusiasm of the People of Texas—In any event be assured we will take care of English interest.

J. Hamilton

The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen

Her B. M. P. S. for Foreign Affairs.

P. S. If the Republic of Texas had passed the Act providing for the international Guarantee of its Loan,³ I should have offered the Commercial privileges to G. Britain or Belgium, which ever Govt. would have accepted them. But President Houston found it, a cheaper policy to recommend repudiation, than to Contract a new Loan

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN*

Private.

On board the Roseins,
Liverpool. April 20th. 1842.

My Lord,

I take the earliest Moment of informing Your Lordship of my arrival in the port of Liverpool, by the packet ship Roseins, from

¹Presumably this refers to Hamilton's letter to Santa Anna, offering an indemnity of \$5,000,000 to be paid by Texas in consideration of her recognition of independence by Mexico. Santa Anna's reply declared that an immediate reconquest of Texas was to be undertaken. (*Niles' Register*, LXII, 50.)

²Arista. A force of 500 men under General Vasquez penetrated Texas as far as San Antonio, but after two days retreated quite as precipitately as it had come.

³General Hamilton's reference is to a project of a commercial legislative compact between Belgium and the Republic of Texas. (*Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 222, 223.)

⁴F. O., Mexico, Vol. 158.

New York. In a day or two,—after the arrangement of some private affairs—I shall be in London, and wait upon Your Lordship's leisure for an interview.

Since my departure from England, in November last, I have addressed four Communications to Your Lordship, from the following places in succession—New York—Houston (Texas), Austin (Texas) and New Orleans. The letter from Austin announced the Ratification of the Slave Trade Convention by the Senate of Texas, and enclosed the copy of a Note upon the subject, addressed to me by the President, General Houston

In reference to my Communication from New York, I beg to state that *no Belgian Loan Commissioner*, visited Texas during my sojourn there; but Captain Pirson (late Secty of Legation at Constantinople) arrived on a Mission of inquiry into the condition and resources of the Republic, and prosecuted his researches with great assiduity.¹ I left M. Pirson at Galveston and the bearer of despatches from him to M. van de Weger (Belgian Minister in London) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Brussels.

There is reason to believe that the story of the Belgian "Loan Commissioner" originated with General Hamilton, who may have deemed such a report not unfavourable to his financial operations and his friendly reception in Texas. If this were the calculation, General Hamilton must have been signally disappointed

I intimated to Your Lordship that a formal resolution for the Annexation of Texas to the United States had been submitted to the Texan Senate, during the late Session of Congress. This resolution was permitted to drop, at the suggestion of the Secty of State, who correctly stated that all action on the Matter must commence with the Executive;—the Confirmation of whose policy must rest with the people, in a Convention of the whole

I do not think I arrogate too much to myself in saying that the Confidence reposed in me by the Government and people of Texas materially contributed to allay the excitement in favour of immediate annexation to the United States, which prevailed at the period

¹In 1841, Hamilton had asked Belgium to guarantee a Texan loan for \$7,000,000, in return for which Belgian imports to Texas were to be favored by discriminating duties. Pirson was sent to Texas to investigate, and was there regarded and addressed as "Belgian Commissioner." (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 946, 1528, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

of my arrival in the Country. I obtained, at all events, a suspension of the question until the dispositions of Great Britain could be known. The position of that question is now materially altered by the Mexican invasion. Unacquainted, as I am, with the views of Her Majesty's Government, and the information in their possession, I am reluctant to hazard an opinion as to the probable result of the invasion, but I greatly fear that it will eventually prove as injurious to English interests, as it will be *temporarily* detrimental to Texas, and *permanently* injurious to Mexico. A few Months will determine every thing. Affairs are complicated and the times critical.

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. etc. etc. etc.

ADDINGTON TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

F. O. May 24. 1842.

Capt. Chas. Elliott. R. N.

Sir.

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acquaint you that his Lordship wishes you to proceed to Texas with as little delay as possible. Your Commission and Instructions are ready to be delivered to you at this Office.

H. U. Addington

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT²

Draft.

F. O. May 27. 1842.

Captain Elliot.

Texas No. 1.

Sir,

With reference to a Letter from this Department dated the 4th of August last, acquainting you that The Queen had been graciously pleased to appoint you to be H. M's Consul General to the Republic of Texas, I enclose to you herewith Her Majesty's

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3. Henry Unwin Addington (1790-1870), permanent under-secretary for foreign affairs. (Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

Commission to that Effect, and I have to desire you to proceed to your Post with all convenient Speed.

You will lose no time in making yourself conversant with the details of the Consular Service and with the Nature and extent of your Duties as pointed out in the General Instructions of H. M's Consuls, of which a Copy is herewith inclosed, and which contain full Instructions for the guidance of your Official conduct on all ordinary occasions.

I also inclose Copies of Circular Dispatches dated 30th Sept. 1833, and 1st Oct. 1836; and I have to call your particular attention to the directions contained in those Dispatches, enjoining a careful preservation of the Archives of the Consulate.

You will be punctual in forwarding to this Dept. the Returns required by the general Instructions, and it will be your Duty to avail yourself of every favourable opportunity for collecting and transmitting to me any further useful or interesting Information, relating to Commerce, Navigation and Agriculture, and to any other Branch of Statistics.

Your Salary has been fixed at £1,200 a year, and will commence ten days before the day of your departure from England; and you are to consider yourself restricted from engaging in Mercantile Pursuits

Aberdeen.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

F. O. May 27. 1842

Captain Elliot

Texas. No. 2.

Sir,

I think it right to call your attention to that Clause in your commission which empowers you to appoint Vice Consuls at those Ports and Places where the Interests of H. M's Service may appear to require them, and to explain to you that you are not to consider yourself authorized by that clause to appoint Vice Consuls without the previous Sanction of this Department, and I have to refer you upon this Subject to the 27th Paragraph of the General Instructions

Aberdeen.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Dft.

F. O. May 31st. 1842

Captain Elliot. R. N.

Texas. No. 3.

Sir,

In addition to Her Majesty's Commission and to the Consular Instructions with which you are furnished in my Dispatch No. 1, I enclose to you a Letter which I have addressed to the Secretary of the Republic of Texas,² requesting that every facility may be afforded to you by that Government in entering upon and fulfilling the Duties of your Situation.

You will deliver this Letter upon your arrival at the Seat of Government in Texas.

You will make it your duty to collect and transmit to me Information upon all matters of political Interest and importance in the Republic of Texas

Aberdeen.

P. S.

I enclose to you a Copy of my letter to the Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT³

Dft.

F. O. May 31st. 1842.

Capt. Elliot. R. N.

Texas. No. 4.

Sir.

I have informed H. M's Ministers at Washington and at Mexico of your appointment as H. M's Consul General in Texas, and I have instructed Mr. Fox and Mr. Pakenham to communicate with you upon all matters which may tend to promote the Interests of H. M's Subjects in those Countries. And I have also to instruct you to keep up a constant and unreserved Communication with Mr. Fox and Mr. Pakenham.

Aberdeen.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

²See Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 969, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Monday, [June 3, 1842] 1/2 past 3. P. M.

My Lord.

This idea has occurred to me since I had the honor of conversing with Your Lordship.

It appears to me that a *Suspension* of the blockade² (should such a Step be deemed expedient) might reasonably be conceded by the Government of Texas until Great Britain has acted upon that Convention in which She agrees to Mediate between Mexico and Texas. By suspending the blockade, time would be given for reconsidering the propriety of following up that Step. Of the disposition of the Government of Texas and the representative in this Country to meet any Suggestion of Her Majesty's Government in the very best spirit, I do not entertain the shadow of a doubt.

I content myself with vaguely indicating the idea for Your Lordship's consideration. Perhaps an early meeting between Mr. Smith³ and Your Lordship will be desirable.

The Earl of Aberdeen

William Kennedy

[Endorsed] June 3. 1842.

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL⁴

Waiting Room. Forgn. Office

Tuesday June 7th. [1842.]

Sir

In accordance with instructions from Lord Aberdeen I beg to request the favor of an interview in reference to my Appointment to the Consulship at Galveston in Texas.

If you cannot command leisure today, will you be so good as to name a time when it will be convenient for you to grant me an interview.

John Bidwell, Esqr.

William Kennedy

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.²On March 26, 1842, President Houston had declared a blockade of Mexican ports on the eastern coast.³Ashbel Smith, Texan chargé d'affaires in England, appointed in March, 1842.⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 3. John Bidwell, a permanent under official of the Foreign Office.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹*Private.*

Gregory's Hotel.

Arundel St. Haymarket, June 8th. /42.

My Lord,

In accordance with Your Lordship's suggestion, I had yesterday some conversation with Mr. Bidwell in reference to the Galveston Consulate.

When the Salary was fixed at £400, the Department, it appears from Mr. Bidwell, had no definite grounds to go upon. That gentleman has therefore recommended that I, being acquainted with Texas from personal experience, should submit a statement of facts for Your Lordship's consideration.

A residence in Texas will be expensive on two leading grounds—first, the newness of the Country—second, the existence of Slavery. The former will entail the expense of buying the Site of a house and bringing the house itself either direct from England, or from the United States. The latter must greatly increase the outlay on household servants, British Consuls being, very properly, prohibited from availing themselves of Slave labour.

The outlay on suitable buildings, taking wood as the Material, cannot on the most moderate estimate, be set down at less than £500—Galveston is a sandy island, destitute of building Materials.

Male servants cannot, I think, be had at less rate of wages than £50 a year, female servants about £30.

The style of living at Galveston among the more influential classes, will attain the usual expensive scale of the South, as the planters increase in wealth, and may be expected soon to reach the level of New Orleans, the Consul at which port complains of his inadequate income, although his Salary is £500 and his fees, I have understood an equal amount.

Mr. Bidwell concurs with me in thinking that the privilege of trading will be of little, if any, practical value to me at Galveston. There are always established British Merchants there, of large capital.—With one of these Mr. Power—(connected with the house of McCalmont Brothers & Co. of London and Liverpool) I was a guest for some days, and I was informed that the allowance to the clerks was £300 a year each

Your Lordship was so kind as to say that you would consider

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

the propriety of raising the Salary to £500 a year. Even with this augmentation, I am quite satisfied that, for the first three or four years, a Consul who should maintain independence and the decency of appearance due to his office must draw upon his personal resources for part of his expenditure. Texas will undoubtedly command an extensive trade, but some time must elapse ere the trade of Galveston can produce any considerable return of Consular fees. And I may remark that it, being the principal port of the Republic, the agent of the British Government resident there will be much more frequently called upon to exercise the rites of hospitality to his Countrymen than the officer charged with diplomatic functions and residing at the seat of Government

I am sorry to trouble Your Lordship with these details, but, as you good naturedly observed, the subject is necessarily of some importance to me. Perhaps, also, my case may be fairly considered to embrace peculiar claims to consideration, as I have devoted both time and money to acquiring a thorough knowledge of Texan affairs, and my services as a Municipal Commissioner in Canada, although perfectly satisfactory to the Government of the day, entailed upon me some pecuniary loss without securing any countervailing advantage.

I am desirous of serving in Texas because, from the information I possess, and the favourable opinion entertained of me by the Government and people of that Country, I am encouraged to hope that I may execute the duties assigned me with benefit to British interests and credit to myself. And I believe I should not greatly err in saying—that Her Majesty's Government, in assigning me a liberal provision for the maintenance of Consular rank, would incur no risk of Parliamentary or public censure

Perfectly and gratefully relying on Your Lordship's favourable dispositions, I have endeavoured on the matter in question to satisfy your sense of right

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Gregory's Hotel.

Arundel St. Haymarket June 15th /42

My Lord,

I have received a Communication from a trustworthy source, dated Galveston, Texas, May 17th in which I am informed that General Houston was about to proceed to the South Western frontier of the Republic, to take the Command of the Army, and that all was "in readiness for the invasion of Mexico". My correspondent—an Englishman—had, he intimates, forwarded to me a packet containing "much important information". This packet has not yet reached me.

The most strenuous endeavours have been made by the United States newspapers—more especially those in the interest of Mr. Clay—to create and fix the impression that Mexico was secretly prompted by England in her persevering hostility to Texas. The party favourable to "Annexation" use every available means to stimulate Texas into acts of aggression, under the anticipation that, borne down by the charges of war, she will have no alternative but to incorporate herself with the Northern Federation. No falsehood is too rampant to serve the purpose of the hour.

The non-completion² of the Treaties between Great Britain and Texas gives a colour to these representations, and strips the act of part of its grace as regards the Country claiming recognition and alliance. It would be very unfortunate if, after adjusting differences of the North Eastern frontier of the United States,³ new sources of difficulty should be opened in the South West.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.²Ratifications of the three treaties were finally exchanged on June 28, 1842.³This refers to the Webster-Ashburton negotiation then in progress, which resulted in the signing on August 9, 1842, of the Treaty of Washington. It was generally understood that Aberdeen hoped by this negotiation to remove all causes of difference with the United States.

POWER TO PEEL¹

(Duplicate)

Galveston, Texas. 20 June 1842

Sir Robert Peel etc.

Sir,

Although I have not the honor of personally being known to you, I presume from my family connections at Tamworth and in Warwickshire with whom you are acquainted to address you.

In 1840 I came out to this Country to form a Commercial house, and establish a trade between this Country and England and up to the present time have succeeded to my utmost wishes, finding the exports from hence very much more on the increase than I had at first anticipated. I have gone into large operations here and viewing with some alarm the position I hold in this Country at the present moment on the eve of a war in all probability with Mexico, and this too without a British Agent or Consul to protect my, and other subjects property, I am induced to hope that my letter may through you, in some way find itself in the hands of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the hope that some one may be sent out, to protect us from the certain destruction of our property should we be left entirely to the Mercy of the Mexicans.

The Commercial relations with Texas are now beginning to develop themselves and in proof of it, I may mention that in Feby. 1840 I could hardly load one of my Vessels here with Cotton whereas in 41 and 42 I have sent home some 14000 Bales.

The growth of this article as well as emigration from the Southern parts of United States is so much on the increase that I confidently state that in 10 years we shall export as much Cotton as Alabama now does, which is now from 4 to 500,000 Bales.

In the present state of matters politically I would suggest that it would tend much to British Interests could some arrangement be made to adjust if possible the difficulties between this Country and Mexico, and so raise up a Country which will afford our British Manufactures a considerable market for her products as well as the raw material without being so dependent on the United

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 5. See reference to Mr. Power in Kennedy's letter to Aberdeen, June 8, 1842.

States; whereas if something is not done I much fear from the financial state of matters here, that Texas may be lost to British enterprize and at last become annexed to the United States: Strong efforts to that end are even now making and the States to the South are more than desirous for this step, as well as the greater portion of the people here, from the conviction that with the distress we are lav[b]ouring under, that resources cannot be had to cope with energy against Mexico. Had we those means there can be no doubt of the result, but without them an effectual defence cannot be prolonged.

I do not go into particulars relative to the politics of this Country, not wishing to encroach too much upon your time, but beg to reiterate the solicitous wish of myself and that of the British subjects resident in this Country that some Consul come among us, to protect us and otherwise give such views to the Govt. as may induce them to give a more decided tone to the interests of the Republic as well as foster a rising Country—that by judicious management may be made a barrier to the encroachments of the United States

Apologizing for the liberty I have taken I am

Charles Power.

Galveston 7th July 1842.

I beg to enclose you a letter which has been sent by me to Mr. de Saligny the French Minister here in consequence of an application he made to me.

If it will afford H. M. Govt. at home any benefit I shall be happy to communicate with them from time to time upon any head on which they may desire information about this new Country. I am, Sir,

Charles Power

Rt. Honble. Sir Robert Peel, Bart.

Treasury. London.

[Endorsed] No. 1. In Sir R. Peel's Note of Aug. 15, 1842.

POWER TO SALIGNY¹

[Enclosure.]

Galveston 20th June 1842.

Monsieur Le Comte de Saligny.

You have requested that I would give you so far as I could any views about the Commerce of this Country as well as its position embarrassed as it now is, and as you are about going to Europe I do so in the hope that thro' your influence you may be able in a proper channel to represent the state of Texas as to its present resources, what it is destined some day to be, if aid can be afforded her now as an exporting as well as consuming Country of the Manufactures of both France and England.

In allusion to the exports even now in their infancy I would simply refer you back to my own commencement, here in 1840 and contrast the present increase in the growth of Cotton in the two Years, if such increase takes place as I will endeavour to shew you by a small table I have prepared, pending the uncertainty of our independence, what must be the result of 10 Years of peace and acknowledgment of that position which is so much to be desired by us here as Aliens, as well as by the Govts. of France and England could the matter be shewn to them in a proper light, by some party competent and on whose veracity could be relied upon and those Govts. take upon themselves the adjustment of the difficulty now existing with Mexico.

Another matter too cannot have escaped your notice and anxiety as regards the future prospects of this Country should the conflict with Mexico be prolonged, which is the certain annexation of Texas by the United States— it is even now desired by the Majority both of that and this Country and should by every scheme possible be thwarted; an annexation would completely put a stop to the introduction of European goods except in the finer fabrics and would in time lead on to a constant state of quarrel on the frontier, and ultimately to the March of the Anglo-Saxon race to the conquest of the South American Continent.

You know enough of the composition of the people to know and feel that the European Govts. ought not to allow the race to travel

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 5.

beyond its present limit, for travel they will with their energy and the sooner some arrangement of Mediation for this Country, with a guarantee of those powers United States, France, and England, in mediating a peace with Mexico the better, by this means the onward march may be arrested some 50 or 60 years and a good and lucrative trade carried on by them in the introduction of their manufactures: Every day is bringing the U. States in competition with us in manufactures of every description, and latterly the improvement is astonishing. The possession then of this Market, would afford them an increased stimulus to the export of their products and drive us completely out of Market. Too much attention cannot be given to this point unless our Govt. are really blind to their own interests and they must be made to see if possible that it is necessary to adopt some course which will at least for some time give us an outlet for our manufactures.

Let the United States on[ce] possess this Country and where is She to stop, 10 years will prove it to us in Europe, whereas 10 years hence by a determination that Mexico should recognize that [then?] you have a Country exporting as much Cotton as Alabama now does or nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ the amount of American cottons which are consumed in England.

There never was so fine an opportunity for Govts. at home shewing their philanthropy and nurturing this new Country the crisis which every one is suffering from in the United States, high prices of lands comparative uncertainty of Crops when compared to this as well as present low prices, will all conspire to force emigration to Texas, so soon as personal property can be guaranteed

It must be remembered that North Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and Carolina are all Cotton Countrys, but produce on an average about 3 Bales to the hand, this quantity when prices were high remunerated the growers, but at the present rates they cannot make both ends meet, here you will find the averages about 7 Bales. I have known 10 but seven will be within the mark, the staple a penny per lb. better and no more expense to convey to market when once the trade is open, but a decidedly less capital required to bring the article to maturity. Here lands are worth from one dollar to five per acre, there from twenty to forty, and

at the same time there is no one thing that is produced there, that we cannot do here.

I need not call your attention to the market, situated as Texas is for the supply of goods for both Mexico and the U. States, the high tariff in both these countries will always be a temptation to contraband introduction, and could a judicious system be organized and a peace established, here a free entry on such goods might be made and a lucrative and heavy trade carried on. What is to prevent the Trader from taking goods to Red River and thence scattering them over the Western States, the expences of transport when once the matter was organized would not be more than 3% or 4% on the value of goods and even now the distance with a loaded Waggon can be performed in 12 days.

I will instance the article of Cloth which pay now a duty in the States of from 32% to 40% not bulky for its value, in which alone a considerable trade could be carried on, and must to any one having the least fore sight be sufficiently obvious.—As to Mexico the matter is so notorious and tariff so high as admit on every article an infringement

The great supply of goods consumed at present in Texas is from the United States tho' even the major part of these are French and English which have paid duty in the States, the coarser fabrics being produced cheaper there. The amount altogether I estimate at about 3 Millions of dollars since 1840 up to this time say 2 Years¹

From England and France direct not more than 100,000 ff.

You must be aware that with Red River Countries [Counties] a great part of the Cottons go to New Orleans and are not bonded and considered Texas Cotton, when they are so strictly speaking, but are entered as Louisiana; in the same way goods are introduced and no benefit accrues in any way to the Govt. here and against the exports above mentioned I cannot take these exports to shew how the balance of trade exists—because no benefit accrues to this Country from the duties

I should nevertheless think that taking all the exports of Texas Cotton and Hides, that She only meets the imports about two-

¹The total imports by Texas for the year ending September 1, 1840, were \$1,378,568.98. (Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 128.)

fifths at most leaving a heavy balance against her which will be reduced in 5 years in a similar way to a calculation of compound interest, for every new Country will have on first Settlement a strong current against her of this sort but which is very much reduced yearly.

I have considered that it will perhaps be as well to give You some idea of the Cotton growing region of this Country including Brazoria, Washington, Ward¹ and Matagorda Counties as well as the lands upon Caney and Bernard. The quality of all these lands are superior to any that are known in the U. States and consist of Alluvial black Moulds, except on Caney and the upper part of Ward and Matagorda which are mulatto of a very strong and rich nature and more suitable to Cotton in my opinion from their not suffering so much from the drought which almost always happens in the lower Country, as well as producing a silky and long staple of cotton and with care and the same attention to cleaning would obtain the highest market rates in either Europe or New Orleans, indeed by a reference to the quality of the staple grown in the Western part of Texas it will be seen that Cottons here are decidedly superior to the general run of American Cottons and are equal to them except the Red River and Louisiana.

The value of these lands vary from 3 to 5 dollars the acre in the present hard times, but sales have been made at much higher and lower prices, the quantity grown to the hand varies according to the industry of the Planter, as an average each Slave on a plantation will cultivate 10 or 12 Acres, and the produce is about 1500 to 2000 lbs. in Cotton seed or about 300 to 400 lbs. of Gin'd Cotton pr. acre.

The Brazos has the preference among Planters from the Stream being navigable for about 60 miles, beyond this except in wet seasons when the River rises 20 or 30 feet, no certain communication can be had in consequence of the Shoals, the first that you meet with is between Bolivar and Richmond across which I can 10 months in the year wade over. You have heard I have

¹The judicial county of Ward was created from Matagorda and Colorado counties by act of January 19, 1841. This act was later held unconstitutional. Its territory was entirely distinct from that of the present county of Ward.

no doubt that this river is navigable to Washington. I have seen for Myself and without fear of contradiction say that up to Bolivar and no farther can a boat go except under the influence of the rise I before spoke of. The Bernard in the same way is navigable about 30 miles and dwindles away in 50 miles to a miserable swamp.

The Colorado in the same way presents many obstacles the first and greatest is the Raft which obstructs the mouth for about 2 miles but will ere long be removed, a Keel Boat now ascends to near Bastrop and the water varies from 10 feet to 14 inches

Every Stream in Texas unfortunately wants water to render them navigable. I believe that the Trinity that emptys into Galveston Bay will one day become the best river from the fact not generally known that that River heads within 5 miles of Red River which is about 10 feet higher than the Trinity and by cutting a Canal of about 15 Miles you could have a constant volumn of water that would render that stream navigable as well as throw the whole trade of Fannin, Bowie, Harrison and Red River Counties in this Bay, and which now goes to New Orleans thro' Natchitoches, of these upper counties I myself have no practical knowledge, what little I have learned is from Judge Mills who I think may be relied upon as being disinterested and who at the same time has been a resident in that Section of the Country for some time

They are all in the same parallel of latitude and their productions alike—Cotton, Corn, Wheat, Rye and Flax grow well. Settlers from Illinois report that for wheat and Flax they desire no better land and that the average of the former crop is about 25 Bushels to the acre a good average I should consider.

The Red River is navigable 1600 miles from the Mississipi to the junction of the Kiamiska and one hundred and fifty miles by land above the point where the boundary lies [line?] between the U. States and Texas strikes the River.

The quality of the lands upon this River are similar to those on the Mississipi and Brazos and are alluvial. The Prairie black rich mould and capable of producing almost any production. All the upper Country is much better wooded than on the Gulf side of the Republic and among its products is a wood called Bowdark or Bois d'Arc which is reported to have the same qualities of the

Campeachy Fustic, as well as being capable of hedging in a similar manner to the Black Thorn of our own Country.

The crop of Cotton this year may be calculated as follows and may be relied upon.

1841 and 42.

The Counties Harrison 2000, Fannin 700, Bowie 4000, Red River 3000, Lamar 2000—in all.....	11,700
Brazoria and Washington—Bernard.....	7,500
Matagorda, Ward, and Caney.....	3,000
Sabine—St. Augustine and Nacogdoches.....	5,500
Montgomery—Fort Bend—Richmond.....	7,000
Trinity, Harris, Houston, Chocolate.....	3,000
	37,700

Each Bag will average 450 lbs.

In 1840 and 41

Red River Counties.....	5,000
Nacogdoches, St. Augustine etc.....	2,500
Brazoria, Washington.....	5,400
Matagorda and Ward.....	1,300
Trinity	500
Sabine	1,000
	19,200 ¹

1839 and 40.

The returns of the Custom House shew about 5,600 Bales but I believe that the amount was greater and will be about 10,000 Bales.

I calculated from what I have seen and my knowledge of the Country together with the increased planting and acquisition of forces that the year of 1842 will yeild a crop of about 50% over the returns of last year or about 50, or 60,000 Bags.—I shall now conclude and beg to reiterate that if at any time I can give you

¹The addition is incorrect; the correct total is 15,700.

any information that will be of use to you or your Govt. I shall be most happy.—And Believe me¹

[Endorsed.] Copy of a letter addressed to Monsieur de Saligny. French Chargé d'Affaires. No. 2. In Sir R. Peel's Note of Aug 15. 1842.

ADDINGTON TO ELLIOT²

Draft.

F. O. June 28. 1842.

Capt. Elliot.

Texas. Consular No. 6.

Sir,

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acquaint you that in consequence of the Diplomatick Character with which you have been invested by His Lordship's Despatch Nos. 1—of this day's date, it will be expedient that you should separate your Diplomatick from your Consular Despatches, by affixing a distinct set of Numbers to each, and you will affix to your Despatches on Consular Subjects the word "*Consular*" in the same manner as that word is prefixed to the number of this Despatch.³

You will understand that the only Despatches which should be marked and numbered in your Consular Series, should be such as relate solely to the subjects specially treated of in the General Consular Instructions

H. U. Addington

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT⁴

Capt. Elliot.

F. O. 1 July 1842.

No. 3.⁵

Sir,

The ratifications of the three Treaties concluded in Novr. 1840 between Great Britain and the Republick of Texas, having been

¹The letter is unsigned.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

³Elliot's consular despatches were not numerous, and were for the most part merely formal reports of his presence at his post. These have been omitted, and only those bearing on his diplomatic activities and personal relations are here printed.

⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

⁵Despatches Nos. 1 and 2, Aberdeen to Elliot, July 1, 1842, are omitted; their substance is given in despatches Nos. 1 and 2, Elliot to Aberdeen, September 4, 1842, printed below.

exchanged on the 28th Ult. with the Texian Chargé d’Affaires accredited to this Government, you will take upon yourself the character and duties of H. M. Chargé d’Affaires to the Govt. of Texas, agreeably to the assurance which was prospectively given you to that effect by Visct: Palmerston in his dispatch dated the 4th of August last.

A brief instruction for the general guidance of your conduct in your new capacity may suffice in the present position of our relations with the Republick of Texas.

Those relations will necessarily, in the first instance, be namely, commercial; and, as such, they will come under your consideration in your capacity of Consul General, for the performance of the duties of which office you have already been sufficiently instructed.

With reference to our political relations I shall wish that you should, at first, assume the attitude, rather of an observer than of an actor, of a passive, but not inattentive spectator rather than of an energetic agent or counsellor.

You will watch closely all the proceedings of the Texian Govt., not with any hostile view, but simply with the object of putting Your own Govt. in possession of such facts and circumstances as may enable them to form a just estimate of the power and character of the Texian Govt. and Nation, and to judge thereby of the value of the new relations which H. M. has formed with that Republick

It is essential that we should be made well acquainted with the resources, military, naval, financial, and commercial, of Texas; with the feelings of her Govt. and her people as represented in the legislative chambers, both with respect to Great Britain, and also with respect to the U. States. And in judging and reporting on these matters I can not too strongly recommend to you to use your best endeavours to do so with the strictest impartiality, and not to allow any preconceived notions to bias your judgment in coming to a conclusion on these points

The exact truth without any extraneous colouring, is what H. M. Govt. desire in their present very imperfect knowledge of the state of affairs in Texas; and to you they must necessarily look for that information which is to guide their own judgment in those matters.

You will of course express to the rulers of Texas the desire of H. M. Govt. to cultivate the best understanding with them, and especially to do every thing in their power to bring about an amicable and early settlement of their differences with Mexico. But you will most carefully abstain from using any language which may, in the remotest manner, lead to a hope that we may ever be disposed to take any part in their contest with Mexico.

We should be well inclined, in conformity with our Treaty with Texas, to mediate between the two Govts., but the part which it is our first duty to take, with reference to either, is that of the strictest neutrality.

In conclusion, I wish that all representations which you may at any time have to make to the Texian Authorities, either orally or in writing, should be conveyed in such a tone and language as it becomes one independent Govt. to use towards another independent Govt., without reference to the greater strength and more ancient reputation of the one or the lesser power and antiquity of the other.

Ab[erdee]n.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

Captain Elliot
No. 4.

Foreign Office.

July 1st. 1842.

Sir,

I inclose to you a Copy of a Protocol of a Conference² which I, as Plenipotentiary for Great Britain, and Mr. Ashbel Smith, as Plenipotentiary for the Republic of Texas held at the Foreign Office on the 28th ultimo recording the exchange of the Ratifications of the three undermentioned Treaties between Her Majesty and the Republic of Texas.

1. A Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed at London on the 13th of Novr. 1840.

2dly A Convention containing certain arrangements relative to Publick debt, signed at London on the 14th of Novr. 1840;

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

²Held at the foreign office, June 28, 1842. See Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 996, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

and 3dly, a Treaty for the suppression of African Slave Trade, signed at London on the 16th of Novr. 1840.

I also inclose to you Six Copies of each of the above mentioned Treaties signed on the 13th and 14th of Novr. 1840.—And also Copies of Protocols of the Conferences held at this office on the 19th of May and 14th of December 1841¹ between the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and of Texas, extending the time for the Exchange of the Ratifications of the Treaties between the Two Countries.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT²

Draft.

Foreign Office.

Captain Elliot.

July 1. 1842.

No. 5. Confidential.

Sir.

I inclose to you confidentially for Your information, a Copy of a dispatch which I have addressed to Her M's Minister in Mexico,³ relative to the two Treaties between Great Britain and Texas signed on the 13th and 14th of November, 1840

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT⁴

Draft.

Foreign Office.

Captain Elliot.

July 1. 1842.

No. 7.⁵

Sir,

Having received from more than one quarter, and especially from H. M. Consul at Vera Cruz, in a despatch dated the 30th of April and 10th of May, information that, as far as Vera Cruz at least is concerned, the Blockade of the Eastern Coast of Mexico

¹Both in *British and Foreign State Papers*, XXX, 1127-1128.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

³Aberdeen to Pakenham, July 1, 1842. F. O., Mexico, 152. Aberdeen instructed Pakenham to urge upon Mexico a recognition of Texan independence, and a discontinuance of all attempts at reconquest. For extracts and substance, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 101-102.

⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

⁵Despatch No. 6, Aberdeen to Elliot, July 1, 1842, is omitted here; it transmitted copy of despatch No. 28, Aberdeen to Pakenham, July 1, 1842, in regard to Texan blockade of Mexican ports.

proclaimed by the Govt. of Texas on the 26th of March, had not been, up to that date, practically enforced. I have thought it my duty to address a Letter, of which a Copy is herewith enclosed,¹ to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which I have requested that the Commander in Chief of H. M. Naval forces in the West Indies may be instructed to dispatch forthwith to the Coast declared under Blockade, a sufficient force for the protection of British Trade in that quarter; and also to report upon the efficiency, or otherwise of the Blockade so declared

At the same time I have also thought it my duty to represent verbally to the Texian Chargé d'Affaires in this Country the impolicy on the part of a Govt. so recently established, and as yet so scantily recognized, as that of Texas, of resorting to a measure, which ought always to be avoided, except in cases of extreme urgency, and is always attended with great danger and odium to the Blockading Power, and liable to excite feelings of disgust and hostility in all other Powers;—the great Commercial Powers especially

I have to instruct you, under the supposition that the Blockade is an actual and effective one, and properly supported by an adequate Blockading force, as required by the Law of Nations, to make a temperate but energetic representation in the same sense directly to the Govt. of Texas, and to use your best endeavours to induce that Govt. to raise the Blockade without loss of time; representing to them the ill will which a continuance of it will excite in foreign Nations, and especially amongst the Merchants of the higher Commercial Powers, whose friendship it must be so greatly the interest of the Texian Govt. to conciliate in the infancy of their Country's independence.

You may also add that the Blockade of the Mexican Ports, which, in the opinion of H. M. Govt. was, from the first injudicious has, since the final completion of the Treaties between Great Britain and Texas, become particularly inopportune, since it is now the duty of the British Govt. conformably to the provisions of one of those Treaties, to endeavour once more to mediate a Peace between the two Countries, with a view to the recognition of Texas by Mexico.

¹Not found.

It is scarcely to be supposed that such Mediation can be undertaken with any rational hope of success at a moment when an obstruction is opposed by Texas to the Commerce of Mexico with other Countries; which, under any circumstances, could contribute but little in proportion to its vexatious character, to the success of the Contest at present raging between the two Republicks.

Should you have good reason to know that the Blockade of the Mexican Ports is not effective, or that it is enforced, not by Vessels bonâ fide Texian, but by Ships belonging to foreign States or Adventurers, it will then become your duty to protest formally against it, and to declare to the Govt. of Texas explicitly, but in temperate language, that the British Govt. will neither acknowledge, nor observe, it.¹

You will, under any circumstances, employ all the means within Your reach, for elucidating the important point above adverted to, namely, whether supposing the Blockade to be real, the Blockading Vessels are Texian, or foreign. It is obvious that, considering the proximity of the United States, and the known bias of the people of that Country in favour of Texas and Texian independence, there must always be a great probability that those persons will omit no opportunity of taking part with the Texians either by land or Sea, especially when so fair a chance of gain offers, as the sharing in the Blockade of the Mexican Ports would hold out to them.

To this point You will therefore direct Your particular attention, and report accurately to H. M. Govt. all the authentic information which You may be able to collect upon it. I am,
Aberdeen.

¹The blockade was not effective, but its promulgation had stirred a warm protest by British merchants, who in May and June, 1842, addressed numerous letters to the foreign office. (F. O., Mexico, 158 and 159. Domestic Various.) Houston revoked the blockade on September 12, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1014, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

F. O. July 1st. 1842.

Capt. Elliot.

H. M. Chargé d'Affaires

Texas. No. 8.

Sir.

In the Year 1837, H. M. Govt. received accounts of certain outrages which had been committed upon two British Merchant Vessels, named the "Eliza Russell" and the "Little Penn," by Vessels in the Service of the Texian Authorities, and several successive Communications were consequently made by my Predecessor to Genl. Henderson, an Agent from Texas then in this Country, with a view to obtain redress for these Outrages by amicable means.²

The result of these preliminary Communications was an assurance on the part of Genl. Henderson, first with respect to the Eliza Russell, that the Texian Authorities were ready to pay the whole of the Claim brought forward by H. M. Govt. on behalf of the Owner of that Vessel; and secondly, with respect to the case of the "Little Penn" upon which there seemed to be some demur, that they were ready to investigate that Case, and in the event of the Claim proving well founded, that they would not hesitate to make full compensation to the Owners.

The stay of Genl. Henderson in England, however, having been only temporary, and H. M. Govt. having then no Agent in Texas, the further prosecution of these Claims was entrusted to Mr. Pakenham, H. M. Minister in Mexico, who was at that time, in Communication upon other Matters with Genl. Hamilton an Agent

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

²This matter occupies much space in the correspondence between Aberdeen and Elliot. Since Elliot nearly always merely carried out Aberdeen's instructions by transmitting formal official communications to the Texan government, and since these are included in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, no further letters treating of the *Eliza Russell* and *Little Penn* cases will be printed here, unless they contain references to other matters. For a succinct account of the cases see Worley, "The Diplomatic Relations of England and the Republic of Texas," in *THE QUARTERLY*, IX, 5-8.

from Texas then in Mexico;¹ and Statements of the Claims, supported by the necessary proofs, were forwarded to Mr. Pakenham for Communication to Genl. Hamilton and through him to his Govt. Genl. Hamilton having been succeeded in Mexico by Mr. Trent, [Treat]² another Texian Agent, Mr. Pakenham made his representations to the last mentioned Gentleman from whom assurances were received similar to those which had been given by Genl. Henderson, but eventually it was deemed expedient to defer the final prosecutions of these Claims until H. M. Govt. should have appointed an Agent to reside in Texas, who would then make a direct application to the Texian Govt. for redress.

That Step having now been taken, I accordingly transmit to You herewith for your information and guidance, Copies of the Correspondence, as marked in the Margin, which has passed between this Office and Mr. Pakenham upon this subject,³ together with Copies of the Correspondence and other Papers therein referred to, with the exception of the Inclosures in Lord Palmerston's Despatch No. 10 of the 15th of February 1840.

These Inclosures comprise authenticated Documents and other Papers relating to the Claims in question; and Mr. Pakenham has been instructed to transmit them to You at Austin by the earliest opportunity.

¹Hamilton was not in Mexico, but corresponded with Pakenham from New Orleans. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 36-40.)

²James Treat, confidential agent of Texas in Mexico, 1839-40. Died at sea while returning to Texas, November 30, 1840. Very little information has been found regarding Treat, though he played an important, though brief, rôle in Texan diplomacy. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 451, footnote; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.) There is a tombstone in Wethersfield, Connecticut, erected to the memory of "James Treat, died November 30, 1840. Buried in Galveston, Texas." (J. Harvey Treat, *Genealogy of the Treat Family*, 505.) The author of this work knew only that Treat was a "Minister to Mexico," and could find no record of his previous history.

³The copies listed in the margin, all of which bore upon the "Eliza Russell" and "Little Penn" claims, were the following: (1) Palmerston to Pakenham, February 15, 1840, No. 10, with list of enclosures (F. O., Mexico, 133); (2) Pakenham to Palmerston, April 30, 1840, No. 43, with two enclosures (F. O., Mexico, 135); (3) same to same, August 22, 1840, No. 77, with one enclosure (F. O., Mexico, 137); (4) Palmerston to Hamilton, November 28, 1840 (F. O., Texas, *Domestic*, 1); (5) Aberdeen to Pakenham, June 1, 1842, No. 18 (F. O., Mexico, 152). The last letter notifies Pakenham that henceforth Elliot will assume the duty of pressing these claims on Texas.

When you receive these Documents, you will be in possession of all that has passed on the Subject of these Claims; And I have to instruct You to lose no time in pressing them in the strongest manner upon the serious attention of the Texian Govt. as Claims which H. Mjty. fully expect and require should be adjusted without further delay.

In conclusion I have to call your attention to the fact, that great pains have been taken to examine into the Evidence adduced by the parties interested, with respect to the amount of their Claims, and that those Claims have, through the interposition of H. M. Govt. been reduced to the lowest Sum to which the Parties appear in justice to be entitled.

Ab[erdee]n.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Gregory's Hotel, Arundel St.
Haymarket, July 2d. 1842.

My Lord,

According to the various accounts which have recently arrived from the United States, it would appear that the greater part of the Texan Navy had (as I have already intimated) proceeded to New Orleans and Mobile, for the purpose of refitting and obtaining Stores. There seems no reason to doubt that it was the intention of the Government of Texas to reinforce the blockade

The Texan Congress had been summoned to meet at the close of last Month, and the President was, in the meantime, arranging the Army for the projected invasion of Mexico. The force called to the field may be estimated at 5,000 Men, which, in case of actual hostilities, would be largely increased by Volunteers from the United States.

The Count de Breteuil, French Secretary of Legation at Mexico, is among the list of passengers brought by the Great Western. This is the second import of French diplomacy from Mexico within a short period of time.

In acknowledging the honor of Your Lordship's Note of the 27th ult, I feel a degree of self-reproach lest I should have been much too inconsiderate in pressing for a reply. Per-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

haps a palliatory plea for undue susceptibility might be found in the fact that my position with relation to Your Lordship has been that of an applicant for office

Permit me to explain that the political aim of the contemplated work was to be the establishment of peace between Texas and Mexico. I may add that, were I in the employment of Government, I would be strongly indisposed to venture into print without the knowledge and sanction of the head of the department [to] which I was attached.

The name of Tho. L. M. Rate,¹ of the firm of Rickards Little & Co 15 Bishopsgate St. Within, has been transmitted by Mr. Ashbel Smith to his Government, to be substituted for mine in the Commission of Consul General for Texas in Great Britain

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL²

[July 6, 1842.]

Mr. Kennedy presents his compliments to Mr. Bidwell, and begs to submit the following facts, in reference to the appointment of a Consul, or a Vice Consul, at Galveston—leaving out of view Mr. Kennedy's own impression that the Government intended to grant him *Consular* rank.

1. France and the United States (each represented by a Chargé d'Affaires) have their respective Consuls at Galveston, who will by Virtue of their rank necessarily exercise greater weight than a British Vice-Consul. The inconvenience of this will suggest itself to Mr. Bidwell's experience

2. The Seat of Government in Texas is on the Indian frontier, distant from the more populous Settlements, and above two hundred Miles from Galveston, with which it is unconnected by any regular and speedy means of conveyance. For all commercial purposes requiring despatch and arising out of Maritime intercourse, with the Coast, the services of a Consul General stationed

¹Lachlan McIntosh Rate. He was recommended to Ashbel Smith by Kennedy on June 30, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 991, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

at Austin would be altogether useless. Yet the representatives of France and the United States have their official residence at Austin, and the representative of Great Britain cannot reside elsewhere without material detriment to the efficient exercise of his diplomatic functions. The unsettled state of affairs in Texas would seem peculiarly to demand the constant attention of the British Consul General at the Seat of Government.

3. There are several ports on the Coast of Texas which might properly fall under the supervision of a British Consul at Galveston through his Agents. I may enumerate Sabine, at the Mouth of the river of that name, Velasco, on the Brazos, Matagorda and the adjoining places, Copano and its neighbourhood, and Corpus Christi. Matagorda is already the seat of a considerable and growing Commerce, and there is every reason to anticipate that a very few Years will bring an important increase to the trade of all. The United States have Vice-Consuls at Velasco and Matagorda, and, I believe, at Sabine

For the several reasons herein adduced—namely—The practice of France and the United States—the remoteness of the Consul General's Official residence from the principal Seaports, and the extent of district requiring Consular supervision, together with the prospect of an early enlargement of our commercial operations in Texas. Mr. Kennedy respectfully submits (apart from the consideration of his personal claims or impressions) that an agent of the British Government holding *Consular* rank should be stationed at Galveston

Gregory's Hotel Arundel St. Haymarket.

July 6th. 1842.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Gregory's Hotel.

Arundel St. Haymarket

July 7th. 1842.

My Lord,

I yesterday received private letters from Galveston in Texas which confirms generally the information I have communicated

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

to Your Lordship respecting the blockade and the projected invasion of Mexico. The Texan Commodore has sailed to New Orleans and Mobile, for the purpose of refitting, leaving a single brig of war (the Wharton) to watch the Mexican Coast.

From the posture of affairs at the date of my letters, I should think that the invading army of Texas would be on its March towards the Mexican frontier about the first of next Month. There seems to be no want of Men or Military means. The avowed object of the war is to extort from Mexico the recognition of Texan independence, and, with it, permanent peace.

From an earnest desire to avoid troubling Your Lordship with renewed application on the subject of my appointment, I called yesterday on Mr. Bidwell, to ascertain what steps had been taken in reference to the Galveston Consulate.

Contrary to my understanding of Your Lordship's kind and complimentary offer of the 6th Ult. it was intimated by Mr. Bidwell that my name had been sent into him for the Subordinate rank of Vice Consul at Galveston. The inexpediency of such an appointment, in a business point of view, I have endeavoured to demonstrate in a Note to Mr. Bidwell. Its want of accordance with the offer of which I signified my acceptance, and for which I declined the Consul Generalship of Texas in this Country, I beg respectfully to indicate to Your Lordship, from whom the instructions necessary for rectifying the matter are required to proceed.

A probable absence of some years in a foreign Country demands not a few preparatory arrangements, more especially if that Country should be, like Texas, recently settled. Among other things, I find that the transport of a dwelling house from England will be requisite. The order for this, which it will take some time to execute, only awaits the issue of my Commission.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL¹

[July 14, 1842.]

Mr. Kennedy presents his Compliments to Mr. Bidwell, and in the hope that he is not unduly importunate, begs to remind him of

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

his obliging promise to send Mr. K. a letter signifying his appointment to the Consulate at Galveston—early in the present week. In the anticipation of being favoured with this letter, he had made arrangements for leaving London to join his family and recruit his health on the Coast.

Gregory's Hotel. Arundel St., Haymarket.

July 14th. 1842.

ABERDEEN TO. ELLIOT¹

Draft.

F. O July 15. 1842

Captain Elliot.

No. 9.

Sir,

In my despatch No. 7, of the 1st. inst. I instructed you to press upon the Govt. of Texas the great impolicy on their part of continuing the Blockade of the Coast of Mexico; and to represent to them the earnest desire and recommendation of H. M. Govt. that they should not persevere in such an exercise of belligerent rights.

You will still endeavour to attain that object by every means in your power. But if, contrary to the just expectation of H. M. Govt. the Texian Govt. should determine to maintain the Blockade, I have to instruct you to apply to them to give directions to the Officers commanding the Blockading Vessels not to interfere with the Vessels of the Royal Mail Steam Company employed by H. M. Govt., but to suffer those Vessels to continue to perform unmolested the Packet Service on the Mexican Coast, in the same manner as the British Packets were allowed to perform the same service during the French Blockade on that Coast.² And if the Texian Govt. acquiesce in this demand, as that of Her Majesty feel satisfied they will, you will communicate that fact to H. M. Minister in Mexico, as well as to the Commander of H. M. Naval forces in the West Indies, and to the Agents of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company at Jamaica and the Havannah.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

²In 1838 France blockaded Mexican ports to enforce adjustment of French Claims. (H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, V, ch. VIII.)

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

Captain Elliot

No. 10.

Foreign Office

July 16. 1842.

Sir.

I enclose herewith, for your Information, Copies of a Correspondence which has recently taken place between this Department, and the Chargé d'Affaires of Texas, and also between this Department and the Admiralty,² on the subject of two Steam Vessels, the "Montezuma", and "Guadalupe", which have been fitted out in the Ports of Great Britain by Messrs. Lizardi and Co. for the service of the Mexican Government; against the fitting out, and supposed arming and officering of which Vessels the Texian Chargé d'Affaires protested.³

A prior Correspondence had already taken place between this Department and Messrs. Lizardi and Co. and the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, on the subject of a permission which was requested by Messrs. Lizardi and Co. to arm the Vessels in question. That permission was refused on the ground of the private character of the Vessels until they should have reached Vera Cruz,

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

²Smith to F. O., June 14 and July 1, 1842; F. O. to Admiralty, July 5 and 7, 1842; Admiralty to F. O., July 6, 8 and 12, 1842; F. O. to Murphy, May 31, 1842.

³These two vessels were intended to rehabilitate the Mexican navy. They were built in English ports, equipped, with the official sanction of Aberdeen, by a firm regularly supplying stores to the British navy, and at first it was also intended that they might be armed by similar firms, and commanded by English naval officers on leave. These last two plans were prohibited by Aberdeen after protest by Ashbel Smith, though in fact the ships were taken out by British naval officers who resigned their commissions. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 83-96.) The matter occupies much space in Ashbel Smith's despatches from May to September, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 955-1026, in Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1908, II.) The correspondence listed in this letter is to be found as follows: (1) letters to and from Ashbel Smith, in reference just given to Garrison, III, 986 and 977; (2) letters to and from the Admiralty, in F. O., Mexico, 158, Domestic Various (Addington to Barrow, and replies); (3) letter to Murphy, in F. O., Mexico, 157, Domestic, Mr. Murphy. This last communication though dated May 31, was not sent to Murphy until July 15. Further letters on the *Montezuma* and *Guadalupe* affair will be omitted in this printing, unless they contain other matters of importance.

at which period alone they were to become *bonâ fide* the Property of the Mexican Government.

Had they been fitted out in Great Britain by the order, and on the account of the Mexican Government, that permission might legally have been granted, but, being private Property, so long as they remained in a British Port, such permission would have been contrary to Law.

I enclose herewith a Copy of the Letter by which the decision of H. M's Government on this point was conveyed to Mr. Murphy

I communicate this Letter to you, not as having any direct connexion with the Correspondence between Myself and the Texian Chargé d'Affaires referred to in the first Clause of this despatch, but merely as calculated to give you, and to enable you to give the Government of Texas, a clearer Insight into the Principles which have guided Her M's Government in this matter, as well as in that which formed the subject of that Correspondence

Our determination is to observe a strict neutrality in the present Contest between Mexico and Texas; a perfect impartiality in our Conduct towards both Parties; and a rigid adherence to law in all that regards the Proceedings of either in respect to Great Britain.

So long as the Steam Vessels in question are, in the eye of English Law, private property and unarmed, although they may be surmised, or even known, to be destined for the use of the Mexican Government, the British Government has no right to interfere with them; nor were the Vessels destined for the use of the Texian, instead of the Mexican Government, would the conduct of Great Britain be altered in any particular

You will make a frank Communication to this effect to the Government of Texas.

I have thought it expedient to enter thus fully into the subject, as I am conscious that to Persons not thoroughly acquainted with the peculiarities of British Law, some doubts might present themselves as to the Principles on which we have acted in this matter.

The above explanations are intended to dissipate these doubts, and will, I feel confident, succeed in doing so.

Aberdeen.¹

¹Despatch No. 11, Aberdeen to Elliot, July 16, 1842, omitted here, transmitted copy of despatch No. 48, Pakenham to Aberdeen, June 2, 1842, and

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Glasgow, August 1st. 1842.

My Lord,

Having visited the West of Scotland to take leave of old and kind friends, I have been consulted by a number of the industrious artizans who, suffering from want of employment, are desirous to emigrate to Texas. The Engineers Association, which has a common fund of £40,000 and supports four hundred unemployed workmen, has some idea of purchasing Texan lands and planting these men upon them. In the present doubtful state of the relations between Mexico and Texas, I cannot recommend immediate and extensive Settlement in the latter Country. I beg to mention these facts as they may have some weight with Your Lordship in the negotiations for peace.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²No. 3.³

New Orleans, August 14th. 1842

My Lord,

I have had the honor to receive Your Lordship's despatches No. 9, 10, and 11 of 1842.

An accidental interruption of the Communication by American Steam Vessels between Cuba and New Orleans, and the failure of the Outward West India Mail of the 15th June beyond Nassau in New Providence, detained me at the Havannah till the 30th Ultimo.

the latter's reply to same despatch No. 38, Aberdeen to Pakenham, July 15, 1842, in regard to the threatened blockade of Mexican ports by the Texans.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

²*Ibid.*

³No. 1, Elliot to Aberdeen, acknowledging receipt of despatches; and No. 2, reporting that he is *en route* to his post, are omitted.

Upon my arrival at this place too, on the 6th Instant, I find that the passage Vessels plying between Galveston and New Orleans have either been sent on to New York, or laid up here; from want of sufficient employment at this Season of the year. But I am informed that a Steam Vessel will sail to Texas on the 16th or 17th Instant, and I hope therefore to reach my post before the close of this week. In the mean time I have been able to collect some information which it appears to be desirable to transmit without delay.

During my detention at the Havannah Her Majesty's Ship "Victor" arrived there from Vera Cruz, having recently visited Galveston. Captain Otway informed me that the President of Texas had assured him that particular orders had already been issued to the Commander of the Texian Vessels of War not to interfere with the Ships of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company visiting the Ports of Mexico, and Captain Otway had forwarded a communication to that effect to the Vice Admiral on this Station, and to Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico.

Up to the latest period that there is information here from the Coast of Mexico, there had been no effectual blockade of the Ports involved in General Houston's Notification, and for Your Lordship's further information in that respect I beg to inclose a brief statement of the actual force and situation of the Texian Marine, which I believe may be depended upon.

I shall not fail earnestly to press the principal point of Your Lordships Instructions in the despatch No. 9, upon the Government of Texas, and judging from the Moderate and friendly tenor of the President's intercourse with Captain Otway upon that subject, and from the means of maintaining a Blockade now placed under Your Lordship's notice, it seems reasonable to conclude that they will accede to the desire and recommendation of Her Majesty's Government.

I would beg to remark that Your Lordship's despatches No. 6, 7, and 8, probably forwarded through the West India line of communication, have not yet reached me.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

[Enclosure]

Statement of the actual force and situation of the Texian Marine.

"Austin"	Corvette.	18 guns.	Now at New Orleans.
"Wharton"	Brig.	16 guns.	Do. Do.
"San Bernardo"	Schooner	7 guns.	Cruizing.
"San Antonio"	Do.	Do.	At Galveston

A Man of War Brig., and Steam Vessel at Galveston, dismantled and unmanned.

August 14th. 1842.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Harrogate. August 25th. 1842.

My Lord,

By a copy of the Gazette of the 19th Inst. which has been transmitted to me from London, I have been apprized of my appointment to the Consulate of Galveston.

Permit me, My Lord, to tender to you my best acknowledgements, not merely for the recognition of my claims, as signified by the appointment, but for the kindness so grateful to my feelings, which I have experienced in approaching and communicating with your Lordship.

By advice of my Physician, I am taking the Harrogate waters, my health being considerably impaired. In ten or twelve days, I propose visiting London, and shall be prepared to leave England for Galveston about the first of October, should Your Lordship not deem it necessary to prescribe an earlier day for my departure.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

No. 4.

Houston. August 29th. 1842.

My Lord,

An immediate opportunity to New Orleans affords me the hope of reporting to Your Lordship, by this Mail which leaves Boston

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

²*Ibid.* In this, as in many of Elliot's letters, the paragraphing is uncertain. The arrangement here followed is that which the copyist has fixed upon as best indicating Elliot's intention.

on the 15th Proximo, my arrival in Texas, on the 23d Instant. Owing to bad weather there was no communication between Galveston and this place till the 27th; and the next day being Sunday I was not presented to the President till today.

I had however in the mean time delivered Your Lordship's despatch addressed to the Secretary of State of this Republic to Mr. Terrell, the Attorney General and a Member of the Cabinet, charged during the illness of the Secretary, with the duties of his Office. I had also shewn Mr. Terrell my Commission as Consul General (of which he expressed a wish to take a Copy) and he informed me that the exequatur would be furnished immediately.

I mentioned to Mr. Terrell that being anxious to communicate with Your Lordship by the Steam Boat about to sail to New Orleans, I hoped he would excuse me for entering upon business at so early a period of our intercourse, and give me leave to call his attention to the subject of certain despatches which had reached me since my departure from England.

Mr. Terrell obligingly assured me that he would endeavor to afford me all the information I might require and would confer with the President before I saw him, in order that His Excellency might express his own views upon any points in question.

I then read to Mr. Terrell Your Lordships despatch No. 9, requesting him to observe that it adverted to Instructions of an earlier date, which had not yet reached me, so that I was without the advantage of knowing all that Your Lordship desired to convey upon the impolicy of the Blockade, supposed to exist, when that despatch was written.

But apart from all sources of objection, and even assuming that an effectual blockade of the Mexican Ports be maintained by the Texian Marine in it's actual force, still I thought the President could not fail to perceive that it would be a Measure of much more inconvenience to powers friendly to Texas, than to Mexico. That State was under heavy obligations abroad: And with very burdensome charges at home, arising chiefly from extraordinary armament alleged to be intended for the invasion of Texas, it would surely be disadvantageous to this Republic, and must be repugnant to the Dispositions of the President, to pursue a course of which the effect would be the increased difficulty of drawing

funds from this Country, to the embarrassment of foreign Creditors, much rather than the distress of the Mexican Government

Mr. Terrell did not impugn this reasoning, but remarked that particular orders had already been given to the Officers of the Texian Marine not to interfere with vessels engaged in the Packet Service of Great Britain, and he hoped therefore there would be less inconvenience than might otherwise be the case. He would not fail, however, to press all I had urged upon the President.

I next turned to Your Lordship's despatch No. 10, respecting the equipment of the Steam Ships said to be intended for the Service of the Mexican Government, but Mr. Terrell at once assured me that the President was perfectly aware of British law and practice in that particular, and was convinced that the Government of Texas might always depend upon exactly the same advantages with respect to equipment in England, or in any other respect, as had been enjoyed by the Mexican Government.

I said that it was the main object of Your Lordship's despatch to satisfy the Government of Texas of the determination of that of Her Majesty to adhere to a rigidly strict Neutrality in the contest between Mexico and their Republic, and as that feeling was so well understood, I might dismiss the subject with the expression of a sincere hope that the difficulty would be speedily and peacefully concluded.

It seemed to me that the Instruction of Your Lordship's despatch No. 11, respecting the period from which the exercise of any blockade could be admitted should most properly form the subject of a Note, whenever there was any probability that a blockade would be established, and under that impression I did not enter upon that point at present.

The President received me with great cordiality, and entered fully into the situation and views upon the subject of Mexico. He said that he had always been influenced by the sincerest disposition to adjust the difficulties with that Government upon the most moderate footing, involving the acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic; that He was heartily adverse to an aggressive warfare upon their frontier, which he was sensible with the present means of the Government, could only have the effect of destroying the prosperity, and inciting the lasting ill will of a section of the Mexican population, with which they wish to be

neighbours, and should therefore cultivate most friendly relations. He said that his own moderate views were not responded to upon the part of the people of this Republic, particularly of the Native portion of it, highly inflamed by constant incursion upon the part of the Mexicans; And he saw reason to apprehend that the continuance of these raids would drive him, contrary to his dispositions, into measures of a similar nature, but of far more extensive effect. The relations of this Government with certain Indian tribes always left it in his power to carry on a warfare of the most formidable description along the whole Eastern frontier of Mexico, but he repeated that he was adverse to the adoption of such courses, and would still hope for more satisfactory conclusions.

He now said, that if I saw no inconvenience in doing so, he should feel obliged to me to lose no time in writing to Mr. Pakenham, and requesting that Gentleman to make a communication upon his (the Presidents part) to General Saint Anna, to the effect that He was ready to consent to an armistice for any length of time, and upon any conditions, that Mr. Pakenham might consider suitable, with the view to the mature adjustment of a permanent and satisfactory arrangement between the contending parties. He would wish it to be stated that it was only from feelings of respect towards the Governments of Her Majesty, and the United States, and in reliance upon their continued friendly efforts, and He must add in some reliance too upon the moderation and good faith of General Saint Anna himself, that he had always felt himself bound to make every reasonable attempt to maintain his own forbearing policy; and he had done so at the sacrifice, or at least the temporary sacrifice of his own popularity with the greater part of his fellow Citizens.

I thanked His Excellency for this mark of his confidence, and for a communication of views which could hardly fail to be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government on account of their moderation, but I begged him to observe, that beyond the fact of the determination of Her Majesty's Government to adhere to a strict neutrality in this contest, and my own conviction of It's sincerest desire, that it should be promptly and happily adjusted, I was wholly without instructions as to the particular course which Her Majesty's Government might decide to take for the furtherance of pacification, either in point of channel, or in point of principle.

At the same time I certainly did not perceive that there could be any inpropriety or inconvenience in writing to Mr. Pakenham to the effect the President had suggested, and that Gentleman would of course be able to judge to what extent it would be in his power to meet His Excellency's wishes.

I think it may be convenient to Your Lordship to peruse the Veto Message with which the President returned a recent Act of Congress authorizing offensive War against Mexico,¹ and I have therefore taken the liberty to inclose it I would also beg to add that I shall forward a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ministers at Mexico and Washington

The suddenness of this opportunity, and my recent arrival will I trust be my reason for the incompleteness of the information, I am able to transmit by this occasion; But Your Lordship may be assured that I shall not fail to press the impolicy of a Blockade upon the attention of the Government, whenever there is any prospect of its establishment, which is not the case at present.

The latest intelligence from Mexico at this place is of the 11th Instant, and at that time it was the general belief that the force about to embark was destined for Yucatan.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Downing Street.

ADDINGTON TO ELLIOT²

Draft.

Captn. Elliot.

No. 12.³

Foreign Office

Augt. 31st. 1842.

Sir,

I transmit to you herewith a Copy of a letter from the Admiralty* relating to a claim on the Texian Govt. for supplies furnished by the Commandr. of H. M. S. "Comus" to the Officer commanding the Schooner of the Texian Govt. "San Bernard"

¹The President's veto message to the bill "authorizing offensive war against Mexico" is dated July 22nd, and was printed in the *Telegraph and Texas Register* of July 27, 1842.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

³For the character of No. 11 see page 92, note.

⁴Dated June 12, 1841.

amounting to £3-15-9 and inclosing in original an order on the Captain Commanding the Texian Squadron at Galveston signed by the Commander of the "San Bernard," for the payment of that Sum I have to instruct you to apply to the Texian Govt. for the amount of this Claim and transmit the same to this Dept.

H. U. A[ddington].

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON¹

No. 5.

Galveston, September 1st. 1842.

Sir.

It was intended that the Capital of this Republic should be at Austin upon the river Colorado, but the state of public affairs led the President to assemble the last Congress at Houston, and since that time the Government has been temporarily residing there. It is not known when, or indeed whether it will return to Austin, or where the next meeting of the Legislature will be held.

In this uncertainty as to the permanent seat of Government, I trust Lord Aberdeen will sanction my residing usually at this place, which I find that Mr. Eve the American Minister is doing with the sanction of his Government, and Monsieur de Saligny my French Colleague, also lived here, after the retirement of the Government from Austin, till his return to Europe on leave of absence. There is a constant communication between Galveston and Houston by Steamer, so that the arrangement is free of inconvenience.

I mentioned to the President that the state of my health made it an object to me to live nearer to the Sea Coast than Houston, and He requested me to consult my own convenience in that respect.

Charles Elliot

H. U. Addington, Esqr.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 1.²

Galveston, September 4th. 1842.

My Lord

I beg leave to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 1 of the 28th June last, transmitting a letter to the address of the Secretary of State of the Republic, Accrediting me as Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Texas.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No. 2.

Galveston, September 4th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honor to Acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 2. of the 28th June, acquainting me, that Her Majesty has been pleased to declare that I shall receive an additional Allowance, at the rate of one pound a day, to meet the additional expences to which I shall be liable as Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires to this Republic, and farther that the Allowance is to date from the day on which I arrived at my post. It has already been reported to Your Lordship, that the date of my arrival was the 23rd Ultimo.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁴

No. 3.

Galveston. September 4th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honor to Acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 3 of the 1st July, and shall not fail to observe those Instructions.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

²Elliot now begins to number despatches as from chargé d'affaires, since he is now accredited in that capacity. His previous despatches to No. 5 were written as consul general.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

⁴*Ibid.*

It will be my duty to Submit to Your Lordship some information and news upon the points to which my attention has been directed by an early occasion.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 4.

Galveston. September 4th. 1842

My Lord,

I have the honor to Acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 4. of the 1st July, enclosing a Copy of the Protocol of a Conference between Your Lordship, and Mr. Ashbell Smith, at the Foreign Office, on the 28th June last, recording the exchange of the Ratifications of the three undermentioned Treaties, between Her Majesty and the Republic of Texas.

1. A Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed at London on the 13th November 1840.

2d. A Convention containing certain arrangements relative to the public Debt, signed at London on the 14th Novr. 1840:—and

3d. A Treaty for the Suppression of African Slave Trade, signed at London on the 16th November 1840.

I have also to Acknowledge the receipt of six Copies of each of the above Treaties, signed on the 13th and 14th November 1840. And also Copies of Protocols of the conferences held at the Foreign Office on the 19th May and 14th October 1841, between the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Texas, extending the time for the exchange of the Ratifications.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON¹*Separate.*

Galveston, September 4th. 1842.

Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 7 July transmitting the copy of a letter received from the Treasury, stating the reasons for which their Lordships consider that they cannot grant me any allowance in consideration of the extraordinary expence I had incurred whilst acting as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China.

Although their Lordships have not felt themselves justified in entertaining that request I trust it will be remembered that I was detained in London upon the public Service for some months after my return from China, entirely at my own charge; And I hope therefore that Lord Aberdeen will move their Lordships to pay me my full salary as Consul General in Texas from the expiration of the Month's leave of absence granted to me after my arrival in England in the Month of November last year, till I commenced to draw my allowances, that is, ten days before the date of my departure, on the 1st June last. The specific period for which I would respectfully submit this claim to their Lordship's consideration, is that between the 1st January last, and the above date, when I actually commenced to draw my allowances.

My detention was occasioned by the desire of the Lords of the Treasury, that I should remain in England pending the examination of the Accounts of a very large sum of money which I had received for the use of the Crown, and though it has not been possible for their Lordships upon principle which I do not presume to question, to make me any allowance for my Services as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China, still I cannot but hope that it will be thought right to relieve me from the burdensome expence of a residence in London, attributable to motives of public convenience.

Charles Elliot.

H. U. Addington, Esqr.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON¹

Consular.

Galveston Sept 4th. 1842.

No. 7.²

Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge your despatch No. 6, directing me to separate my diplomatic from my Consular despatches by affixing a distinct set of numbers to each and marking the last with the word *Consular*; and I remain. . . .

Charles Elliot.

H. U. Addington, Esqr.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No. 8

Houston September 10th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 8 of June 28th last, relative to the claims on account of certain outrages, committed upon two British Merchant Vessels named the "Eliza Russell" and "Little Pen" by Vessels in the Service of the Texian Authorities

In obedience to Your Lordship's Instructions, I shall not fail to press these Claims in the strongest manner upon the serious attention of the Texian Government, as Claims which Her Majesty's Government fully expect and require should be adjusted without further delay. I find, indeed, that the sum of three thousand eight hundred and forty dollars was appropriated by a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress on the 25th January 1840, in satisfaction of the claim on account of the "Eliza Russell" and therefore the only difficulty in respect to that matter, arises from the actually exhausted condition of the Treasury.

Observing in Your Lordship's despatch before me, that Mr. Pakenham has been instructed to transmit to me certain papers relating to these claims I am unwilling to open the Subject till

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.²Nos. 5 and 6, Elliot to Aberdeen, acknowledging receipt of despatches, are omitted.³F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

they reach me, particularly as I collect from the Gentleman in temporary charge of the State Department here, that He believes there were some obstacles concerning the Claim for the Cargo saved from the "Little Pen" and in the absence of the Secretary of State and Attorney General, He was not able to explain to me the exact nature of the difficulties.

The papers from Mexico will probably reach me by the next arrival from New Orleans, and I propose therefore to delay my application for a few days.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

Galveston September 13th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have now the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 7 of July 1st and the Inclosure² is a note which I addressed to this Government under those Instructions.

The President informed Mr. Eve, the Chargé d'Affaires from the United States, and Myself the day before yesterday, that it was his purpose forthwith to revoke the Notification of the 26th March, as respected Neutrals.

I should inform Your Lordship that Mr. Eve had been instructed in the same sense as myself, respecting the blockade, and had made a Communication to the same effect.

He told us He should adopt this course in deference to the views and wishes of our respective Governments; and very sensible of their friendly dispositions He would take the same occasion to express to me the hope that they would strenuously interpose to put an end to the predatorial character of the warfare, waged by the Mexicans along the Western side of the frontier of this Republic.

He would indeed suggest to us that it would have an immediate,

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The despatch is not numbered.

²Elliot to Terrell, September 10, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1012, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

and most advantageous effect, (supposing it were consistant with our Situation) if we would communicate directly with the Mexican Officers commanding at the frontier posts, signifying, that the Ministers of our Countries at Mexico, were endeavouring to Mediate between the two Republics, that the President of Texas had desisted from all kinds of aggressive warfare, and requesting the Mexican Officers to pursue the same course on their Side. The President by no means deprecated regular invasion, or warfare of an honorable character.—He was prepared for that, He did hope that the Governments of friendly Nations, would use their earnest, and powerful efforts, to abolish a course of Raid and robbery, utterly at variance with the Spirit of the Age, and disgraceful to the Country by which it was pursued.

I said, that as far as I was concerned, I must at once declare that I did not feel myself warranted in writing directly to the Mexican Officers, because Her Majesty's Government was represented in Mexico, and I was sure the President would think on reflection that the proper, and I should add, the most favorable Channel, for all Communications to Mexican Authorities, or Officers, founded upon the influence of the British Government, was through that Medium. But I entertained no doubt that the nature of the warfare to which the President adverted, would be contemplated by Her Majesty's Government with feelings of great concern, and I was equally assured, that Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico would cordially endeavour to dissuade its continuance. It seemed to me too that His prospects of success in that, and still more important respects, must be strengthened by every evidence of the President's moderation.

With these convictions I would lose no time in communicating with the distinguished Gentleman in question; and beyond the general motives likely to influence him I thought I might also point to the many, and recent proofs, He had afforded of friendly feelings towards the Republic, and its Citizens, His interference with the Mexican Government for such purposes as the President wished, would be much more efficacious than my own, addressed directly to its Officers, even if I felt myself in a Situation to write to them, which I really did not. Mr. Eve adopted the same course of reasoning, and the President, admitting it's cogency, said, He

would rely upon the efforts of our respective Official Correspondents at Mexico, and was well assured of their friendly dispositions.

During my late visit to Houston, the President took occasion to Speak to me again very fully respecting His relations with the Indian tribes, and requested it might be particularly pressed upon Her Majesty's Government, that He had only been prevented from ravaging the Mexican frontier by Motives of great personal repugnance to desolating measures of retaliation. I must by this time become sensible however, of the extreme difficulty with which He has been able to adhere to this Moderate policy, and He certainly felt that it could not be maintained under any further continuance of provocation upon the part of the Mexicans. Very late intelligence from the Western frontier brought accounts of frequent incursions and robbery, by parties of Mexicans, and such proceedings would compel retaliation.

I told the President that I had not failed to report to Your Lordship, what He had stated on a former occasion upon the same Subject, and I could not but think that Her Majesty's Government would recognize, and respect the wisdom of his abstinence (in spite of popular discontent) from aggressive hostilities, hopeless of conclusive effect upon the contending party, full of hazard to themselves, and productive of nothing certain except enduring hatred on the frontier, and the organization of adventurous predatory bands, on either side of it. With no power on either part to draw this contest to a close; I could not but think that the more moderate would carry with it most of the good will of bystanding and powerful parties; The President said He had never missed that consideration, and rested much hope in its Soundness.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Galveston September 17th. 1842

P. S. The deferred departure of this vessel which conveys these despatches, offered me an opportunity to transmit to Your Lordship the Copy of a Communication from this Government,¹ cover-

¹Waples to Elliot, September 14, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1014, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

ing the President's proclamation revoking the Blockade of the 26th March, Copy of which is also herewith transmitted

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 9.

Galveston, September 22d. 1842.

My Lord,

The accompanying Newspapers² will place Your Lordship in possession of the information which has reached this place, announcing the Capture of Saint Antonio de Bexar by a Mexican force, on the 11th Instant.

Your Lordship will observe that the Government entertains no doubt of the accuracy of that intelligence, but I am not able to offer any opinion upon the correctness of this Statement of force, in the occupation of Saint Antonio, or in any of the Misc. details reported in these papers

The effects of a severe hurricane which visited this place on the 9th Instant has delayed the departure of the vessel conveying My despatches to New Orleans, till this afternoon, and I am thus enabled to forward Your Lordship this brief report by the same occasion.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. etc.

P. S. The latest intelligence from the Court of Mexico is to the 13th Ultimo.

Charles Elliot.

ABERDEEN TO KENNEDY³

Draft.

F. O. Sept. 29th. 1842.

Mr. Wm. Kennedy.

Galveston.

No. 1.

Sir.

The Queen having been graciously pleased to appoint you to be H. M's, Consul at Galveston, I inclose to you herewith H. M.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.²The Houston *Morning Star* and *Houstonian* for September 20, 1842.³F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

Commission to that effect, and I have to desire that you will proceed to your Post with as little delay as possible.

You will lose no time in making yourself conversant with the details of the Consular Service, and with the nature and extent of your Duties. I inclose to you for this purpose a Copy of the General Instructions to H. M. Consuls with the several annexes therein referred to; and I have to draw your particular attention to the Circular Despatches relating to those Instructions, dated the 30th Sept 1833, 1st Oct. 1836, and 1st of Augt. 1842.

You will be punctual in forwarding to this Dept., at the regular periods, the Returns required by the General Instructions; and it will be your duty to avail yourself of every favorable opportunity to collect and transmit to me any further useful or interesting information which you may be able to obtain, relating to Commerce, Navigation, and to any other Branch of Statisticks.

You will receive a Salary of £500 a year to commence ten days previously to the day of your embarkation for your Post, and permission is given to you to engage in Commercial pursuits

You are, however, to understand that you will not be entitled to any Pension or Allowance upon the termination of your Services at Galveston.

Aberdeen.

ABERDEEN TO KENNEDY¹

Draft.

F. O. Sept. 29th. 1842.

Consul Kennedy.

Galveston.

No. 2.

Sir,

I think it right to draw your special attention to Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the General Instructions, and to caution you against involving yourself in difficulties with the Ruling Authorities of Texas— You will distinctly understand that your Duties are confined to the care of British Interests at the Port of Galveston and its immediate neighbourhood, and that if at any time, from want of proper redress being offered by the local Auths. of that

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

Port, or from any other cause, you may think that a Representation should be made to the Supreme Govt. of Texas, you will make *your* Representation to H. M's Chargé d'Affaires in that Country, who will take such steps thereon as he may deem expedient, in accordance with the Instructions which he may have recd. from H. M's Govt. You will at all times implicitly obey any directions which Captain Elliot may give to you for the guidance of your official conduct

Aberdeen.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.
Captain Elliot.
No. 13.

F. O. Octr. 3d. 1842.

Sir,

I herewith transmit to you, for your information, a Copy of a letter which I have addressed to Mr. Ashbel Smith the Texian Chargé d'Affaires at this Court informing him that H. M. Govt. consider the Blockade of the Ports of Mexico announced by the President of the Republic of Texas on the 26th of March last as null and of no effect²

I also inclose a Copy of the London Gazette of the 23d inst containing a notification to that effect

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT³

Draft.
Captain Elliot.
No. 14.

F. O. Octr. 3d. 1842.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 10 of the 16th of July last relative to the two Steam Vessels fitting out in England for the use of the Mexican Govt, I herewith transmit to you, for your information, copies of a further correspondence upon this subject,

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

²See Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1034-1035, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

as marked in the margin,¹ which has passed between myself and the Mexican and Texian Chargé's d'Affaires at this Court.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT²

Draft.

Foreign Office.

Captain Elliot.

October 3rd. 1842.

No. 15.

Sir,

Your Despatch No. 4 of the 29th of August has been received at this Office this Morning, and I lose no time in expressing to you, and desiring that you will convey to the President of Texas, the satisfaction which Her Majesty's Government have derived from the moderation of his Language and Proceedings with respect to Mexico.

You will, at the same time repeat to him the firm determination of Her Majesty's Government to employ their best exertions to put a stop to the fruitless and desultory War which still exists between Mexico and Texas, and you will not conceal from him their conviction that the continual forbearance and conciliatory conduct of the Texian Government will prove their best auxiliary towards enabling them to persuade the Government of Mexico to listen to the dictates of good sense and sound Policy, and to yield to the friendly and disinterested Advice, which counsels them to delay no longer entering into amicable Negotiations with the Republic of Texas, with a view to the formal recognition of its Independence.

ELLIOT TO BIDWELL³

Consular.

Galveston October 10th. 1842.

No. 10.

Sir.

At the request of certain of Her Majesty's Subjects resident at this place, and forming part of the Congregation of a Protestant

¹F. O. to Ashbel Smith, July 16 and September 27, 1842 (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1033 and 1035, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II); Murphy to F. O., August 17 and 20, 1842; F. O. to Murphy, August 23, 1842 (two letters of this date), F. O., Mexico, 157, Domestic, Mr. Murphy; Smith to F. O., September 14 and 19, 1842 (Garrison, *Ibid.*, III, 1017 and 1020).

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

Episcopal Church severely injured in the hurrican of the 19th Ultimo, I have taken the liberty to address the inclosed letter to the Bishop of London.¹

I learn from the Reverend Mr. Eaton that it would require between £400 and £500 to put the Church into a proper state of repair, and this place is labouring under such severe distress of all kinds, that he has no hope of collecting any funds upon the spot, particularly as the expences of it's recent erection has been heavier than had been anticipated.

Mr. Eaton is under the impression that a Chapel at Athens served by a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church of the United States, receives some assistance from Her Majesty's Government.

I have told him that so far as I can judge, the case of the Church at Galveston cannot be brought under the beneficial operation of the Act 8 George the 4th Cap. 87, but if I should be mistaken in that respect perhaps Lord Aberdeen will be pleased to recommend the Subject to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury

In any event I hope His Lordship will perceive no objection to the transmission of the accompanying letter to the Bishop of London.

Charles Elliot.

To J. Bidwell, Esqr.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

No. 11

Galveston October 17th. 1842.

My Lord,

The communications between the United States and this place have been interrupted since I had the honor to address Your Lordship on the 22d. Ultimo, but it is proposed to dispatch a small vessel in the course of the day to New Orleans, by which occasion I transmit this despatch.

The Mexican force which occupied St. Antonio de Bexar on the 11th Ultimo, retired from there on the 20th, and it is satisfactory to observe that there had been no plunder, and that all the Supplies had been liberally purchased

¹Not found.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

Part of the Texian levies came up with the retiring force on the "Medena" (about 40 miles Westward of St. Antonio) on the 23d. Ultimo, and skirmished with it, but no General action ensued. I am concerned, however, to say that a Company of Texian Volunteers consisting of about 50 men were cut up, or taken prisoners some days before in an attempt to join their advanced force; stationed too near to St. Antonio, (then in the occupation of the Mexicans) and without secure communication for the approaching small parties of reinforcements.

Nothing authentic is known here of General Woll's¹ actual situation or extent of force, but there is an impression that He has been partially reinforced, and is still to the Eastward of the Rio Grande in some strength.

I am not able to report to Your Lordship the existence of any such state of organization in this Country as the aspect of affairs so urgently requires. The Authority of the Government is not respected, there are no resources, and if there be any serious intention of invasion upon the part of Mexico (of which I have no means of judging) the prospect is unfavorable. In fact, militarily considered, the bad state of the roads seems to be the chief existing obstacle to impede the advance of such a force, as it is to be presumed would be thrown into this Country with any purpose of invasion.

But regarded in other points of view Your Lordship will probably see reason to doubt whether Mexico would derive solid advantage from the destruction of property, and the breaking up of the Establishment in Western Texas. They could hardly push their success into the Eastern part of the Country; or at all events permanently maintain themselves in that neighbourhood; and the probability and consequences of reaction from the South Western parts of the United States are serious considerations.

It is much to be wished that these difficulties may be promptly adjusted. This harassing character of warfare retards indeed, the Settlement of this Country; But it does not appear to strengthen any reasonable prospect of the re-establishment of Mexican Authority in Texas, and futile attempts in that sense

¹A French officer in the service of Mexico.

may readily induce more serious complications than any at present subsisting

It is generally rumoured that a descent is to be made upon the Island,¹ and if either of the light draught Steam boats have arrived in Mexico, it seems probable that Measure would be adopted (that is to say if invasion be intended) both to establish a basis for their own operations, and to cut off the Sea Communication with the United States.

Report, however, of every kind must be received with more than usual reserve under present circumstances in this Country, and I do not learn upon what better foundation this last statement rests than most of the others in circulation. I have thought it proper to mention it to Your Lordship because of its more general currency, but I can offer no opinion upon its probability.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT²

Captain Elliot

F. O. Octr. 18. 1842.

No. 16.

Sir.

With reference to Your dispatch No. 3, of the 14th of Augt. last, and the inclosure therein contained, in which you transmitted a list of the Texian Naval force, and their distribution, I have to desire that you will endeavour to add, as soon as you conveniently can to the information thus conveyed to H. M. Govt. the place at which each of the Vessels described in that list was built and equipped.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

Consular.

Galveston, October 20th. 1842.

No. 11.

My Lord,

I have the honor to submit the Copy of a letter from certain persons resident at Matagorda, Her Majesty's Subjects and others,

¹Galveston Island.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

requesting that a Consul may be appointed for that Port, together with a copy of my own reply

Matagorda is situated off the Mouth of the Colorado River, and will probably become the seat of the Chief trade of the Western part of Texas, when it settles; but I am concerned to report that the late incursions of the Mexicans have seriously thrown back the condition of that Country.

It may be remarked that this point lies with[in] limits, which constituted part of Texas Proper according to the demarcation of former Governments.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen K. T.

WARD AND INGRAM, AND OTHERS TO ELLIOT¹

[Enclosure]

No. 1.

Matagorda Sept. 24th. 1842.

To Captn. Elliott.

Her Britannic Majesty's

Chargé des Affaire for Texas.

Sir,

The undersigned Citizens of this Place, having learned with pleasure that a treaty of Amity and Commerce has been ratified between Great Britain and this Country, and anticipating an increase of the Commercial relations between the two Countries, believe that the appointment of a British Consul for this Port, would be attended with desirable results.

Understanding that you, Sir, have been appointed Her Majesty's Chargé des Affaire for Texas, and presuming that it would be within your province to make that Appointment, [we] request you to do so; and beg leave respectfully to name as a suitable person our fellow-citizen Mr. Jas. T. Hefford, who with his family have been resident among us for the last three years.

Mr. Hefford is a native and freeman of the City of London, has been some years a member of Lloyd's Coffee House, London, and a number of years engaged in commercial transactions, both in

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

England and the United States. We have the utmost confidence in his ability and integrity and should feel obliged by his appointment.

Signed

Ward & Ingram.

A. Wadsworth & Co.

J. R. Value & Co.

A. Forster Axson. M. D.

Thos. Harvey. *Not. Pub.*

and others

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

ELLIOT TO WARD AND INGRAM, AND OTHERS¹

[Enclosure.]

No. 2.

Galveston, September² 19th 1842.

Gentlemen

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 24th Instant, and regret that it is not in my power to make a British Consular appointment for the Port of Matagorda. But I am sensible of its growing importance and it will afford me pleasure to move Her Majesty's Government to comply with your request.

Charles Elliot.

Messrs. Ward and Ingram. and other Citizens of Matagorda

Copy.

Charles Elliot

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No. 12.

Galveston October 20th. 1842

My Lord,

I have the honor to acquaint Your Lordship that Mr. John Neill born in the town of Ayr, North Britain, has applied to me at the suggestion of the President upon the behalf of his Brother, Mr. Andrew Neill,⁴ (also born in the same place) captured in

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

²October (?).

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

⁴Andrew Neill was one of the Bexar prisoners. For an account of his capture and subsequent escape see narrative by himself printed in THE QUARTERLY, XIII, 313-317.

St. Antonio de Bexar on the 11th Ultimo; when that town was surprised by the Mexicans

Mr. John Neill who resides in that part of the Country informs me that he entertains no doubt the Mexican force is still to the Eastward of the Rio Grande, and thinks it may be depended upon that they will advance again. He is also of opinion that the prisoners may be detained at Matamoras[?] and under all the circumstances of the case I have considered it incumbent upon myself to make an effort to obtain his Brother's release, and have therefore addressed a letter to General Woll of which I have the honor to enclose a Copy. As it may not be consistent with the President's purposes in a Military point of view, that any communication should take place with the Mexican Forces, (if they do advance again) I have sent the original letter to General Woll to His Excellency at Washington, with a copy, and committed it to him to transmit it or not, as He may judge fit. At the request of Mr. John Neill I shall also furnish a copy to Mr. Pakenham.

Although I am satisfied that Mr. John Neill is a Subject of Her Majesty by birth, still I have felt great doubt and difficulty about this case, for it is also true that he has assumed the privileges of Texian Citizenship, as Mr. John Neill declares however, with a determination to return to Scotland. I thought it right to explain to Mr. John Neill that as his Brother had assumed the advantages and duties of Texian Citizenship, He had necessarily exposed himself to the consequences: And therefore if He had been captured with arms in his hands in any act of aggressive warfare against Mexico, or with any clear knowledge that He was resisting a regular Mexican force, there could not have been the least pretension to request his release, or any mitigation of the treatment to which He would be liable as a Prisoner of War, according to the usages of Civilized Nations

But the considerations detailed in my letter to General Woll seem to me to have left room for interference upon admissible grounds, and I hope the course I have taken will meet Your Lordship's sanction. The case is certainly dubious, but I have felt it suitable, (to the extent of my present interference) to afford Mr. Neill the benefit of that state of doubt, feeling Your Lordship would rather I should have erred on this side, than have rejected

any sustainable claim upon the behalf of this Prisoner, preferred by his Brother.

Charles Elliot

To the Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO WOLL¹

[Enclosure]

True Copy.

Galveston October 18th. 1842.

Charles Elliot.

Sir,

I have the honor to address You in behalf of a Subject of the Queen My Sovereign, captured with certain other Prisoners by the Mexican force under Your Command at St. Antonio de Bexar on the 11 Ulto.

The name of the prisoner is Andrew Neill, and by the declaration before me I find him described to be about 30 Years of Age, and born at a place called Lough Fergus Farm in the County of Ayr, North Britain.

I am aware that these persons, or at least most of them were captured with arms in their hands after some slight resistance, neither have I any means of shewing, or any purpose to imply that Neill himself was unarmed. But the moderation of Your late proceedings at St. Antonio, so honorable to You, strengthens me in the confidence that You will at once admit the distinction between the case of a few Individuals belonging to peaceful Classes, of life (universally absolved from the operation of the rules of War) and casually collected at St. Antonio de Bexar, in discharge of their Civil functions, and that of detachments of troops, or persons assembled with hostile intention against Your Government.

The exposure of that part of the Country to invasion unauthorized by Your Government, and it's liability to sudden attack by Indians, are considerations which will not be lost upon You in explanation of an act of resistance to a complete surprize, by the division under Your Command, effected, it should be observed before the day light had well broken.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

You are probably disposed to avail Yourself of any reasonable plea for the release of all these parties; And I can hardly doubt that upon reconsideration you will admit the truth and cogency of their representation that they were ignorant of the nature and extent of force to which they were opposed, and were doing no more than protecting themselves, against what might have been an attack of Indians, or of other disorderly and dangerous persons, coming with no Warrant from constituted Authority, and with no other object than that of plunder.

Mr. Neill was at St. Antonio on his peaceful and lawful occasion. Being there He was in a situation, which He was amply justified in expecting attack from quarters that too frequently leave to successful resistance the single chance for life. He could know nothing of the approach of the force under Your Command, and through his assumption of arms on this occasion has warranted his Capture as a Prisoner of War; I must declare that it does not seem to me to justify his detention after this representation shall reach Your hand. Founding the claim therefore, upon these premises, and relying upon the amicable disposition of Your Government towards that of Her Majesty, I have to request that Mr. Neill may be released.

I have of course no authority to make any formal reclamation in behalf of the other Individuals taken upon the same occasion, and to whose case similar reasoning may be applied, but appealing to Your generosity and Military Spirit I hope to be excused for very earnestly recommending the release of all the persons taken at St. Antonio.

It would be an act of consideration worthy of the magnanimity of Your Government, and congenial with Your own character to accept their reasonable declaration that they had no purpose to resist a respectable portion of a regular force.

Charles Elliot.

Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires
to the Republic of Texas.

To His Excellency Don Andrew [Adrian] Woll. etc.

The Officer in Command of the Mexican Force in Advance.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

33 Craven Street, Strand.

October 24th. 1842.

My Lord,

Being anxious to avoid as much as possible trespassing upon Your Lordship's time with matters of a personal character, I have consulted Mr. Bidwell as to the existence of any precedent for a British Consul colonizing lands in a foreign Country, the seat of his public duties.

Mr. Bidwell's experience having failed to supply a precedent, I beg to submit to Your Lordship the course I propose to adopt, under the presumption that it is free from objection.

The conditional grant of land, which, under a general law of concession and contract, I received, in common with other Europeans, from Texas, would be wholly valueless without the application of a much larger Capital than I can command. I must, therefore, have associated capitalists with me in the undertaking or have suffered the contract, which is limited as to time, to expire. Instead of being associated with capitalists disposed to embark in the enterprize, I now propose to transfer to them my interest in the Contract, and confine myself to acting in the capacity of agent, which I presume to be in accordance with the Consular privilege to trade.

William Kennedy

The Right Honorable

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²

33 Craven Street, Strand

London, October 27th. 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Her Majesty's Commission appointing me to be Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston, and Your Lordship's despatches (No. 1, 2, 3) together

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.²*Ibid.*

with Consular Instructions and documents appertaining to the office.

My proper appreciation of the trust with which I have been honored, will, I am sensible, be best evinced by a faithful, diligent, and discreet discharge of the duties connected with it. And in this particular I humbly hope I shall not be found wanting.

On Monday the 31st Inst. I shall leave London, for the purpose of proceeding to Liverpool, and there embarking for my post, with as little delay as possible

In accordance with paragraph No. 11, of the Consul Instructions for Her Majesty's Consuls, I beg to enclose impressions in duplicate of my seal of office and my official Signature annexed.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 13.

Galveston, November 2nd. 1842

My Lord,

Since I had the honor to address Your Lordship on the 20th Ultimo I have received a Communication from this Government, herewith transmitted, with my own reply.²

If I may presume to offer an opinion upon the general subject of this country, thus brought under Your Lordship's notice, I should say that it's present critical condition arises from departure from that steady abstinence from aggressive War on Mexico, either by land or sea, which has always been General Houston's policy, in or out of place; I cannot say power, for this Government is without force or means.

The creation of a Texian Marine, at an enormous expense, and which there are no longer any funds to maintain, was unnecessary, for Mexico had no Military Marine to molest this country, and no merchant ships to capture. The proceedings, therefore, of the Texian Cruisers were calculated only to trouble and provoke

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

²The reply is Elliot to Terrell, October 31, 1842, on the revocation of the blockade, and refers to a letter from Terrell, dated October 16, and received October 30. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1043, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

friendly neutrals, to incite the foreign merchants, connected with the trade of Mexico, and to stimulate the supineness of the Government of that country, by futile manifestations before their Ports.

The result has been the creation of the present Mexican Marine.

The consequences of the Santa Fé expedition undertaken without knowledge of the country, without military resources, and without discipline, were the surrender of the whole party on the threshold of the Mexican territory, the incitement of the frontier population, ill affected to their own Government, and not ill neighbours to the Texians, retaliatory incursions on the part of the Mexican Government, the strengthening of the confidence of that Government and its troops in their capacity to contend with this people, the organization of a corps armed with the same description of weapon, (the rifle) and finally, something little short of the breaking up of the whole Western Country of Texas.

When the Character of the Mexican Government and people is considered it seems reasonable to think that adherence to wiser courses, would have long since made it a matter of indifference to Texas whether Mexico acknowledged its independence or not, for a profitable and growing forced trade with the North Eastern Provinces of Mexico was inevitable, (rapidly populating, and strengthening the western part of Texas) and which the Mexican Government could not have disturbed, without the greatest danger of intestine commotion; and could only have regulated by a treaty of peace, and moderate fiscal arrangements. It is a remarkable fact in support of this view, and otherwise of much interest, that the Mexican force which surprised St. Antonio in the course of last September, was accompanied by traders who bought up all the Merchandize deposited there, at very handsome prices, and carried it back under the protection of the retiring force.

Nothing certain is known here of General Woll's situation (a circumstance which will enable Your Lordship to judge of the condition of this country in respect to Military vigilance, and information,) but it is generally believed that he is on the "Nueces" and that he has been reinforced, In the meantime considerable numbers of Texian Volunteers, perhaps about 1000, have assembled at St. Antonio de Bexar and in the neighbourhood, and it is declared with the determination to cross the Rio

Grande, and ravage that line of frontier. It is to be hoped that no measure of that kind will be attempted, for with very high impressions of the gallantry of these levies, it must be added that they are without discipline and I am afraid there can be little doubt that the result would be signally disastrous.

Your Lordship will I believe be disposed to think that there is soundness in the opinion that the strength of this people lies entirely in adherence to a system of defensive War. By drawing the Mexicans into the heart of the Country, driving their own cattle before them as they retired, destroying the crops, and never suffering themselves to be betrayed into measures of serious attack, till they had the full advantage of an exhausted enemy, remote from their own resources, some moment of tempestuous weather, and a wooded position from which they could use their rifles without danger of dislodgement by a regular force, (and the banks of the numerous streams abound in such cover) it appears to be as certain as any event in war can be thought to be, that the Mexicans would suffer another heavy discomfiture. With perfect knowledge of the country on the part of the Texans, it is hard to believe that an opposing force, taken at proper advantage, would succeed in getting out of it

Movements upon these principles, enabled General Houston to achieve the successes of 1836 when the country was much weaker than it is at present, and with leading of equal skill, and equal address in the management of the particular force which this country can assemble the like results might be looked for again. Recent events have afforded no evidence of such qualities.

Arrivals from New Orleans to the 26th Ultimo bring intelligence from Campeché to the 14th Ultimo at which date there was a considerable Mexican force concentrated there. The next arrivals will probably bring intelligence of some decisive event in that quarter, and the nature of that event will as probably determine the course of the rulers of Mexico with regard to this country.

Sudden and violent revulsions of authority are so usual in Mexico, and there is so much difficulty on the part of such a Government in commanding the efficient working of the mixed armament with which they are now operating, that it is possible large

allowances should be made for the chances of trammel or difficulty in some of these particulars

Other motives and impulses of which Your Lordship must be fully informed are also acting upon the Mexican Government, and Your Lordship will of course be able to judge of the purposes of that Government much better than I can have any means of doing. But speaking as a Seaman, and with a long experience in these seas, I may add that at this season of the year, and during the winter months, there would be great risk of disaster from bad weather and dangerous navigation, particularly on the Campeché Bank, to a Squadron of Mexican transports and vessels of War.

Before I conclude this despatch I think it right to acquaint Your Lordship that the heavy rains and tempestuous weather of the last month and September have seriously damaged the crops of this year, and upon the whole this Country is struggling through a state of great difficulty of all kinds.

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S.

The last despatch I have had the honor to receive from Your Lordship in this Series is No. 11 of July 16th and I am afraid that some communications from the department must have been lost in the Steam boat "Merchant" cast away in the early part of last month on the passage from New Orleans to this place.

Charles Elliot.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

No 17.

Foreign Office

November 3d. 1842.

Sir,

With reference to my Despatch No 15 of the 3d. ultimo upon the subject of the Relations between Mexico and Texas, I inclose to you, for your information Copies of a communication which I have received from Mr Ashbel Smith, and of a correspondence

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 18.

which I have held with Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, having reference to that subject.¹

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON²

Private.

Galveston. November 15th. 1842

My Dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge and thank you for Your Note of the 3d Ultimo.³ The President is General Houston of your acquaintance, and I am sure that your friendly recollection of him will afford him great pleasure. His career during too large an interval between that time and this, has been strange and wild. Defiance of, and expulsion from a branch of the Legislature of which he was a Member, a domestic tempest of desperate violence, and calamitous consequences, habitual drunkenness, a residence of several years amongst the Cherokee Indians, ruling amongst them as a

¹This correspondence treats of the project of joint mediation between Mexico and Texas, by England, France, and the United States. Aberdeen declined to join in this, stating England's preference to act alone. The enclosures were:

(1) Smith to Aberdeen, August 19, 1842. (In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1011, in Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1908, II,—but the date there given is "August 15 (?)."² In this was enclosed copy of Smith to Guizot, August 15, 1842. (In *Idem.*, III, 1387.)

(2) Aberdeen to Cowley, No. 147, October 15, 1842. Aberdeen here stated that England, carrying out the plan of her treaties with Texas, had already offered mediation, but had met with no encouragement, and that since Mexico was at the moment angry at an alleged violation of neutrality by the United States, more might probably be accomplished by similar individual action, than by joint action. He enclosed to Cowley correspondence to show that there was little present prospect of Mexican acquiescence in the proposed mediation. These letters were: Aberdeen to Pakenham, No. 21, July 1, 1842; and No. 24, July 15, 1842; Pakenham to Aberdeen, No. 80 (September?), 1842.

(3) Cowley to Aberdeen, No. 349, October 24, 1842. For comment on the proposed tripartite mediation, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 117-119.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

³Not found. Presumably a private letter, but apparently in response Elliot began the series of unofficial letters to Addington, which convey his personal impressions and opinions in regard to Texan matters. He no doubt understood that these letters were to reach the foreign office, and in fact they were filed with the formal, official despatches addressed to Aberdeen.

Chieftain, and begetting sons and daughters, a sudden reappearance on this Stage with better hopes and purposes, and commensurate success, but still with unreclaimed habits.

Finally however, a new Connexion with a young and gentle woman brought up in the fear of God; conquered no doubt as women have been from the beginning and will be to the end by a glosing tongue, but in good revenge making conquest of his habits of tremendous cursing, and passionate love of drink. Whatever General Houston has been, it is plain that *He* is the fittest man in this Country for his present station. His education has been imperfect, but he possesses great sagacity and penetration, surprising tact in his management of men trained as men are in these parts, is perfectly pure handed and moved in the main by the inspiring motive of desiring to connect his name with a Nation's rise. Adverting to his general safe and reasonable policy with respect to Mexico, it must certainly be admitted that He sometimes says and writes what appears to be capricious and contradictory.

But the truth is that He knows his own people thoroughly, and when He seems to be running with them, He is probably satisfied that opposition would only provoke their precipitate purposes. With hard fare at the point of assembly, skilful delays on the part of the President, and an abundant measure of mutual laudation, the fit passes away innocently enough.—

You desire me to remark that the release of the "Montezuma," and the disallowance of the Blockade are not to be taken as evidences of ill will to Texas or partiality to Mexico. There will be no difficulty in making the President understand this because his conceptions are founded upon larger notions of direct motives, and straight proceedings than those of most men in this Republic. In regard to the public, the case is different. The suspiciousness of the United States races, and absurd imputation of the policy and conduct of our Government to recondite Motives, and perfidious purposes, afford unhappily the most convincing and distressing proof of their own twistiness and unfriendly feeling. They cannot believe in open or fair dealing, because, speaking generally, they are without the ideas or impulses which makes such conduct intelligible. The consequence of this moral and blundering blindness is manifesting itself just now amongst the good folks of

Texas in a pretty general belief that Her Majesty's Government are sitting early and late in London, debating to and fro, how to compass the strangulation of this young Hercules, and it is probable that we shall have some songs to that tune during the approaching Session of Congress.

Driven away by some of those springs of local politics, feuds and jealousies, which run into such long streams of talk and knavis[h]ness, on this side of the Atlantic, and are so insignificant and unintelligible every where else, the President has convened Congress to assemble at Washington on the Brazos, where there are 12 or 13 Wooden shanties, and to which place there are no means of getting except in an ox train, or on a Bât horse. My worthy American Colleague Mr. Eve, who is suffering from indisposition, has requested me to wait till He is well enough to accompany me, for the sake of Company, and better protection against Indians, or Mexicans, or wild beasts, and we are then to set forth to this Legislature in the Provinces with such appointments to do Honor to 'our respective Countries, as may find place in two pair of Saddle Bags.—The President writes to me in a private Note a few days since, that He finds things at Washington rather raw and as He has been accustomed to the elaborate comforts and luxuries of an Indian Wigwam, I presume he must be living in a commodious excavation.

Meditating on the situation and prospect of this Country, and other interests connected with it, I cannot help lamenting more and more that free labor has not been its foundation Stone. The advantages to the Country itself would have been vast indeed, not merely on the results springing from Men's sense that they were laboring for their own and their Childrens' advantage, not merely in beginning upon sound, instead of rotten principles, not merely in drawing to the land much larger proportions of the orderly and enterprizing settlers from the free States of the American Union rather than the reckless people of the South, but because immediately considered it would have left Texas clear of a very dangerous state of circumstances, if the Mexicans do invade the Country, and indeed I cannot but think that to have made Texas a fine State, would have been at once to disarm the hostility of Mexico against it's consolidation, and advancement.

Texas, with a free population would of course have been an

object of great dislike and suspicion to the South Western States of America, and therefore an effectual barrier between them and Mexico. And it is manifestly the permanent interest of this Country to cultivate more intimate and friendly relations with the people and things Westward of the Rio Grande, than with those East of the Sabine. If wise Councils could be heard here, I think they point to a course which it may not yet be too late to pursue, and which I do fairly believe would be attended with vast advantages to this Country, to our own substantial concernment, and to the great interests of humanity. My scheme supposes another Convention in this Country. Slavery to be abolished, the entire abolition of political disabilities upon people of Colour, *perfectly free trade* to be declared to be a fundamental principle; the right of voting to depend upon a knowledge of reading and writing, and a pretty high money contribution to the State, with the payment charge to be made in advance, Congress to have power to *lower* the rate from time to time according to the state of the public necessities; stringent legislation against squatting, in the form of a land tax and otherwise, improvements upon the well established failure and folly of a yearly elected Legislature and other liberality of the rhodomontade school.

It seems to be scarcely doubtful that the Northern and North Eastern part of Mexico, from Tampico on the East Coast, to San Blas on the West, (involving the most important parts of the Country) would soon find it their interest to join a State founded upon such principles, or at all events constrain their own Government with the adoption of an equally liberal scheme of Commercial policy.

Foreign Merchants, foreign Capital, and foreign enterprize and principles would soon find their way into those great and rich regions by peaceful means, and the power of the United States on this Continent would be gradually balanced, and yet without motive for collision; Indeed it seems possible enough that the North Eastern States would not be disturbed to see the power of the South and West effectually limited, and a bound marked, beyond which Slavery could not advance. In all such speculation the question immediately presents itself how it is reasonable to expect that a Legislature of Slave Holders will ever consent to make a present sacrifice for a prospective and remote advantage.

I have had much experience of such bodies and I know that they talk violently of holding on to their property to the last gasp, of the lawfulness of the System, of the sanction of it in the Bible, Abraham's Slaves. J. L.¹ and then there are always many hard words about Irish Slaves and press gangs and the like. But in the main, their circumstances make them a timid and needy people, and ready enough to compound reasonably for a monied consideration

Neither do I doubt that a sufficient loan could be readily raised in England to enable this Government to compensate the present Slave Holders, upon the frank and full adoption of such a system as I have spoken of. I attach great importance to the entire abolition of disability upon people of Colour. Such a Stipulation would at once bring into this Republic tens of thousands of most abused and intelligent people from the United States, and would be exceedingly agreeable to a very influential and wealthy party in our own Country. The present conjuncture is particularly favorable for the Commercial part of the scheme, by reason of the late foolish tariff in the United States.² Your kind note has enabled me to trouble you with new thoughts, inadequately expressed, and clumsily thrown together, but I beg you to believe not hastily adopted. In a former part of my Official career I had much reason to think upon the subject of Slavery, and to watch it's effects, and I have long since formed the opinion that bad as it is to the enslaved, it is ten times worse to the enslaver, and to the Country in which it obtains. It is a rot at the heart of society, debasing the Master Classes more and more, robbing prosperity of all sense of security, and frightfully aggravating the calamities and the risks of adversity.

I am perfectly sensible that it does not consist with the principles or policy of Her Majesty's Government to interfere with the Institutions of other Countries, and I feel I need scarcely say to you that situated as I am I should guardedly abstain from offering any opinion here upon this Subject. If I were approached upon it, and you are perfectly aware that it is just one of those

¹Meaning uncertain. Possibly should be read V. L., meaning *vide locum*; or I. L., meaning *in loco*.

²The tariff of August, 1842, which raised duties above twenty per cent.

topics upon which the motives and purposes of H. M. Governmt. are so absurdly misconceived about, I should say, that Her Majesty's Government would of course expect a faithful fulfilment of the Slave treaty with this or any other Country, that the abhorrence of the British Nation to the system of Slavery in The Queen's Dominions, had been manifested before the whole world by a costly sacrifice, but that nothing could be further from the intentions of Her Majesty's Government than to interfere with the Institutions of other Countries. It has occurred to me that it might be useful if Lord Aberdeen would be pleased to give me authority to pay a visit to Mexico on leave of absence, if I saw reason to think that my representations on that question might smooth away some of the difficulty in the adjustment of this mischevious contest, but in making this remark I take the liberty to say that I have no personal wishes upon the subject, and have merely mentioned it because I consider it my duty to declare whatever I think may be of advantage to the public Service. I feel assured that you will accept this declaration literally.

It is the bare truth that personally speaking I am weary of going and coming, and would think it my greatest blessing if I had when [been] invitted to sit down (upon the most modest footing) for the rest of my days very far off from public life or politics of any kind. I hope you will not consider this tedious letter to be an intrusion, that the conjuncture with respect to this Country is so important that I conclude you will be content to hear [more] advice upon the subject, than might be the case, if it had passed through it's troubles.

Charles Elliot.

To H. U. Addington, Esqr. etc.

P. S. If any North American Mails should come to you after the arrival of this one conveying these letters without communications from me, perhaps you will be so good as to ascribe the omission to my absence at Washington. Communications between that place and the Coast are quite uncertain.—May I beg you to offer my best respects to Lord Aberdeen and Lord Canning

Charles Elliot

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL¹

Liverpool, November 16th, 1842.

Sir.

I beg to inform you that I shall embark today at Liverpool for New Orleans, on my way to my post at Galveston.

William Kennedy.

John Bidwell, Esq. etc.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

Secret.

Galveston November 16th. 1842.

My Lord,

A private letter from the President of which the inclosed is a copy has this moment reached me, and as the Steam Boat is upon the point of sailing to New Orleans, I have no time to offer any observations upon the Subject; but it must be unnecessary to say to Your Lordship that I am prepared for any Service which may be committed to me.

The indisposition of my Colleague Mr. Eve has detained me here at his request till He should be well enough to accompany me to Washington, where however we shall proceed in the course of a day or two.

Affairs remain in the Situation reported in my last despatches.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. etc.

HOUSTON TO ELLIOT³

[Enclosure.]

Private.

Washington 5th. November 1842

My Dear Sir.

I am about to present a suggestion to You, and I hope it will claim your indulgent consideration. It is quite novel in it's char-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.

²*Ibid.*, Vol. 4.

³*Ibid.*

acter and would to one, not perfectly acquainted with my direct way of business, require some apology.

You are aware of my intense anxiety for peace with Mexico. To obtain it I do not care to pursue formal means. I know of no Gentleman, whose agency in my estimation would go farther in the attainment of the object than your own were it possible to obtain your personal Services. Should it be agreeable for you to be so employed I am well aware that the permission of Your Government (of Her Majesty The Queen) will be necessary. This you could do, if you may deem it proper, and the sacrifice is not too great upon your part. I can claim nothing on behalf of My Country or myself individually of Captain Elliot, but I desire to hope everything for Texas.

I had the pleasure to peruse your despatch to the State Department, and regret the bearing which attached to a portion of the protest. It will be rectified forthwith. It was owing as I presume to a misapprehension of the revocation of the Blockade on the part of the Acting Secretary of State, as I feel pretty well assured, that as the Archives had not arrived, that He could not refer to the Proclamation, and I am not certain, as He had been absent that He had ever seen it; as we had no Mails to the Eastward, where He was at the time it was promulgated.

Nothing conclusive has been heard of the treaty with the Indians, but as usual I hope for the best.

As Congress is called to convene on the 14th Inst. it will afford me great pleasure to see Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires. It will be of much importance to Texas if you could be here one or two days previous to the 14th.

Mrs. H. as well as myself have been quite indisposed for some ten or fifteen days, but are now pretty well with a hope of better health.

It will afford me much pleasure to hear from you by Mr. Scott on his return. I have many thanks to render you for past favors.

And beseech you to regard me as faithfully Thine.

Sam. Houston.

The Honble. Charles Elliot. etc.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 15.²

Houston. November 24th. 1842.

My Lord.

In reply to Your Lordship's despatch No. 16 of the 18th Ultimo, I have now the honor to transmit the requested information, and I remain.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honorable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. etc.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

²No. 14, Elliot to Aberdeen, acknowledging receipt of dispatches, is omitted.

Return to the information required in Lord Aberdeen's despatch No. 16 of Oct. 18. 1842 respecting Texian Marine¹

Vessels Names	How rigged	No. of guns	Situation	Where built	Time of arrival in Texas, and Names under which they arrived
Austin	Ship.	18	Still at New Orleans.	Baltimore	Jany 1840 "Austin of Baltimore"
Wharton	Brig.	16	Do.	Do.	Octr. 1839 "Colorado of Baltimore"
Galveston	Do.	Do.	dismantled and unmanned at Galveston	Do.	Apl. 1840 "Galveston of Baltimore"
San Bernard.	Schooner	7	Stranded in the late hurricane at Galveston	Do.	Sept. 1839 "Scorpion of Baltimore"
San Antonio	Do.	Do.	Missing, and supposed to be lost in the late hurricane	Do.	July 1839 "Asp of Baltimore"
San Jacinto	Do.	Do.	Cast away on "La Arcas" Shoal in 1841	Do.	June 1839 "Viper of Baltimore"
Zavala	Steamer		Water logged at Galveston	Philadelphia	March 1839.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

The whole force came out under American Colours, as Merchant Vessels, bringing freight and Passengers; But with their Armament in their respective holds, completely fitted, and ready to go into their places; Powder, shot, stores, and provisions, for six Months.

With the exception of the Steamer "Zavala" the whole Squadron was supplied by the firm of "Wm. Dawson & Co. of Baltimore"; British Subjects by birth, but I am unable to say whether they have not assumed the privileges of Citizens of the United States.

The Steam Vessel Zavala was supplied by Samuel Hamilton of Charleston

Charles Elliot.

Houston Novr. 24th. 1842.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

F. O. Decr. 3. 1842.

Captn. Elliot.

No. 19.

Sir,

I have to acquaint You in reply to Your Despatch No. 5 of the 1st of September, addressed to Mr. Addington, that under the circumstances therein stated, H. M's Govt. approve of Your residing usually at Galveston, instead of Austin; And in the present unsettled state of the Country, I leave it to your discretion to reside, according to circumstances, wherever You may consider Your presence most conducive to the Interests intrusted to Your Charge.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

Private.

Galveston. December 11th, 1842.

My Dear Sir.

Since I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 15th Ultimo, I have been to Washington, but my stay there was shortened by the necessity of returning for advice and care on account of a bad

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. The letter is unsigned.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

accident which befell me on the way up—The Steam boat in which we were going to Houston struck the ground at night, and the tarpaulin leaven within me moved me to go out, and watch the people heaving her off. A hatch had been carelessly left open, and I stepped down into the hold; a friendly bale of cotton bringing me up with just jerk enough to dislocate a rib.

For the first day or two I did not feel the pain very acutely, and being anxious to see the President, I thought that with fast bracing, and lacing, and gentle riding I might bear the stress of the journey, but I find now that it would have been more prudent to take the Doctor's urgent advice, and abide at Houston. At least 50 Miles of the way was through a quick sandy bog, and rough riding, and a Blanket on the plank (which last retirement I preferred to half Judge his bed!!) have not helped me. However I am one of the best practised men of my time to strange accidents, and hard rubs of all kinds, and I hope to come straight enough again, for all that is come and gone.

I found as I anticipated that the President needed no explanation respecting the release of the "Montezuma" and the disallowance of the blockade. He said he would detail to me what he understood to be the Motives of Her Majesty's Government, and He had certainly perfectly apprehended them. Being upon the topic, He requested me to present his Compliments to Lord Aberdeen, and say that the tone of Mr. Ashbell Smith's correspondence relating to the release of the "Montezuma" had been a Subject of much concern to him. That Gentleman's natural and laudable anxiety for the interests of his Country had rather hurried and misled him, but He owed it to him to state that his subsequent communications to Texas had frankly and fully admitted his own error.¹ The President for his own part knew the British Government never meant any thing else than it said, and never performed less than it promised. He had the most abiding confidence in the Neutral professions, and very friendly dispositions of Her Majestys Government.

¹No evidence has been found that Smith made such an admission, but Houston did mildly state his disapproval of Smith's vigor in the affair of the *Montezuma* and *Guadalupe* (Terrell to Smith, December 7, 1842. Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1057; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

He then took occasion to place in my hand a letter marked "Private and Confidential" from General Hamilton dated at Washington in the United States sometime in the Month of October.¹ That Gentleman stated that He had recently had some Conversation with General Almonte, the Mexican Minister in the United States, upon the subject of the difficulties between Mexico and Texas, and thought He was reasonably disposed, rather than otherwise. General Hamilton concludes with the offer to be useful through that Channel, in any way that the President might suggest. The President wished it to be said to Lord Aberdeen that He entirely disclaimed this interference upon the part of General Hamilton. He [Houston] had direct official relations with this Government, [Great Britain] disposed to be helpful to Texas, and He considered it particularly due to Lord Aberdeen and to himself, to disavow all proceedings of the kind. He would employ no other channels of Communication than Official and responsible, and General Hamilton's proposal was the contrary of suitable or agreeable to him. As nearly as I can remember that was General Houston's express language, and He particularly requested that it should be conveyed to Lord Aberdeen as soon as convenient. I mentioned to him (with reference to his private letter to me forwarded in my Second Despatch to Lord Aberdeen of the 16th Ultimo) that I had sent it to England, and was of course ready for any course Her Majesty's Government might sanction.

He expressed himself very obligingly to me, and said that He had a belief that my visit to Mexico would be productive of advantage to this Country, and further the purposes of Her Majesty's Government. Whilst I was at Washington I spoke both to the President and the Attorney General upon the absolute necessity of adjusting the long delayed claims for the "Eliza Russell" and "Little Pen." They both assured me that the first should be settled as soon as the Governnt. could lay its hand upon a few dollars, which I must know they had not done since my arrival in the Country. With respect to the second, Mr. Terrell shewed me an opinion He had given just before my arrival upon a claim pre-

¹See two letters from Hamilton to Houston, November 6 and 25, 1842, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I, 638-640; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1907, II.

ferred by the Agents of Mesr. F. Lizardi, and Co., and excused himself and the Secy. of State for not acknowledging my note upon the subject, upon the plea of absence from the Seat of Government, and the removal of the papers from Houston. He did not say so, but I have otherwise reason to believe that they hoped to have been able to settle the claim for the "Eliza Russell" before this, and I presumed that they were averse to write till they could promise payment upon that account.

The case of the "Little Pen" is not free of difficulty, but it will be my duty to communicate upon this Subject Officially by the next opportunity, and therefore I say no more at present. These despatches carry you the President's Message to Congress.¹ He did me the favor to read it to me before it was submitted, and asked me what I thought of his finance scheme. I told him I was a very inadequate judge of such matters, but I must frankly admit that I could not think it would be efficacious. It appeared to me that the Cherokee land was no sufficient basis for the support of the Exchequer Bills in the Market. In the present state of this Country there was no raising funds upon the best improved land in the Republic; with the best titles, and in the least disturbed parts of it and therefore, casting no disparagement upon the Cherokee lands, it certainly seemed to me that their value was of rather too prospective a nature to serve as a solid foundation for an actual paper issue. So far as I could judge from all I had seen, or read, the single course for a Govern't. and Country in the Situation of Texas was to be as economical as possible, to adhere with unflinching honesty to the declaration, and determination to pay their debts whenever they could, and to promote trade and industry by every means of encouragement.

In this view I had much hoped that the President would advise Congress to repeal the dishonest Bill of the July Session,² which would have the effect of making the Exchequer Notes receivable for Customs Imposts at their full value, then I thought that with resolutions of Congress forbidding the issue of another Dollar

¹President Houston's message is dated December 1, 1842. (*Journals of the House of Representatives of the Seventh Congress of the Republic of Texas*, 10-28.)

²The bill referred to by Elliot is "An act to regulate the collection of impost duties," approved July 23, 1842. (Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, II, 812.)

until the whole amount in circulation fell within such an amount as would be absorbed by the duties within a period of three Months, and future monthly publicity of the amount issued, and the amount absorbed, He might expect to keep up the value within some reasonable distance of a specie value. I had also hoped to see a recommendation to sweep away the tonnage duty, which was no more than a device to prevent ships from coming to Texas, and to enhance the value of imports to a people that could ill enough afford to pay for them at the minimum price, at which they could be supplied. The tariff too at it's present rate (an average of at least 25 per Cent over the general mass of imports) might be lowered more than 50 per Cent, with great advantage to the revenue, and to the Consumer—And I could not [help] thinking it, would be worthy of his general wise course of policy to advise Congress to declare that it was expedient to lower the tariff to such a point as would serve to pay the expence of noting exports and imports for Statistical purposes and no more, as soon as the people had the common sense to pay their land and direct taxes, so that the Government might be supported in the way best suited to them on well understood interests.

The President required that the Custom duties at their present high rate should be paid in Gold and Silver, but I could not perceive how the Merchants were to get their Gold and Silver. They could only purchase it by bringing in less goods, and He must excuse me for saying (seeing that I was weak of stomach, and could not easily digest the modification of Sawdust, which they call "Corn bread", that is bread made of Indian Corn) that flour, and coffee, and sugar, and clothes, were to the full as useful as Gold and Silver. The Merchants were already obliged to wait nearly two years for the produce returns for the goods they supplied to the Planters, and if those goods was to be charged with 25 per Cent more in the price, which would be at least necessary to cover the cost of the Gold and Silver duty payment, it seemed to me that they would all find a remedy for the mischief, by keeping the whole trade of the Country the wrong side of the Custom Houses.

The President answered this with a form of expression which He often uses—"My dear Commodore as soon as I have hung a

dozen of these Smugglers, we will have no more of it; only let me execute them, Sir, and we shall get our revenues quite steadily." I said that I did not pretend to dispute that hanging might be a very good thing in it's way, but I remarked that a very venerable Sovereign in whose Dominions I had passed several years of my life, and where the Laws were generally respected to the full as energetically as they are disregarded in other places, had tried the experiment of hanging, drawing and quartering for this peccadillo, wholly without effect. I believe He would be disposed to admit on reflection that the history of the whole world had found that Smuggling had always beat various fiscal systems, after immense loss, and great mischief of other kinds to the Governments and people where they had obtained. He shook his head at this, and was not prepared to agree with me—the truth is that General Houston has two sides to his understanding, one very clear indeed, and the other impenetrably dark. Let him speak of men, on public affairs, or the tone and temper of other Governments, and no one can see farther, or more clearly. The moment He turns to finance or fiscal arrangements, you find that he has been groping on the dark side of his mind.

I feel that I should offer you an excuse for troubling you so long upon this topic, but I cannot but think that it is an object of very considerable importance that this Country (situated as it is), should be launched upon sound principles in this respect. With Mexico upon one side, and the United States upon the other, it is much to be wished they should establish their own Commercial footing upon a sound basis.—A subject upon which General Houston's policy and personal feeling is particularly honorable and wise is the treatment of the Indians. He has adverted to it with his usual liberality on this occasion, and I cannot help thinking that it would fortify him in such purpose, and be attended with good general consequences, if Lord Aberdeen would notice that point in any manner that might seem suitable to His Lordship.—The most tremendous crime of these modern times is the treatment of the Indians on this Continent. Robbers and Murderers pronounce that the civilized man cannot live in peace with the Indian, and the whole Christian world accepts the precious falsehood, as one of the undeniable and inscrutable truths of God's way upon Earth. In at least eight cases out of ten, the first perfidy as well as the

first rapine is on the side of the Civilized savage, and then of course, there is nothing for it but to kill these poor wretches, or to be killed by them.

I am cordially for the President's favorite remedy in the case of outrage to Indians. You will judge by the general tone of His Message that we are in a sorry, and very inflamed condition, but they do not appear to be in a much sounder state in Mexico, and sure I am that Texian *means of defence* are more to be depended upon, than Mexican means of *offence*.—But it would be a wise and a great policy to put peace between them, starting this Country upon principles that would gradually detach her from the United States connexion, and bind her to the Countries South West of Her, enduringly—Reflection strengthens me in the persuasion that such a combination is practicable,—and I hope I am not stepping beyond my place in expressing the opinion, that it is a policy recommended by very high considerations.

Free labor, and a steady Government at this point, would make it a station of great interest, on a theatre of great and growing importance. I am almost ashamed to forward you this letter, but with a hard hand at the best, I would add, that it is painful to me . . .¹ much just now, and I write with more difficulty than usual. Requesting your excuse—

And begging you to present my respects to Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Canning.

Charles Elliot.

H. U. Addington, Esqre. etc.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

No. 18.

Galveston December. 14th. 1842

My Lord,

During my recent visit to Washington I took an opportunity to call Mr. Terrell's attention to the note which I had addressed to this Government on the 26th September upon the subject of the

¹Illegible.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 4. No. 16, Elliot to Aberdeen, enclosing Houston's Message of December 1, 1842; and No. 17, enclosing copy of letter Terrell to Elliot, October 16, 1842, are omitted.

claims for the "Eliza Russell" and "Little Pen."¹ He requested that the removal of the Government from Houston, and Mr. Jones's and his own absence on other service might excuse the want of reply to that communication, but I was assured both by the President and himself that there was great anxiety to adjust the claim for the "Eliza Russell" and that the destitute condition of the Treasury was the sole obstacle in that respect. Mr. Terrell then shewed me an opinion which he had given as Attorney General upon the claim of the "Little Pen" submitted by Messrs. Lizardi and Cos. Agents, some short time before I arrived in the Country, and the Inclosed is a copy of a note which I have subsequently addressed to him.²

In the shape that the case had assumed I felt it incumbent upon myself to enter into it at length, and to endeavour to explain the grounds upon which it must now be considered and adjusted

I shall continue to press the arrangement of both these claims with the urgency prescribed in Your Lordship's Instructions; but there can be no doubt of the disposition of this Government to settle the first as soon as it is in a situation to do so, and I hope that the exposition I have now submitted may have the effect of removing all difficulty respecting the other.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Eárl of Aberdeen K. T. etc.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON³

Private.

Galveston December 16th. 1842

My Dear Sir.

In the situation of affairs here I conjecture that you will always be glad to hear at the latest date that there is no change for the worse—if none for the better. And I will only say upon my own part, that it is no love of long letter writing which has disposed me to trouble you at what I am afraid you may consider an unconscionable length upon the topics of my present correspondence, but

¹See Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1022-1023; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

²*Ibid.*, III, 1058-1062, Elliot to Terrell, December 13, 1842.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

on very serious impression that the subject is of much moment, and that the crisis for it's conclusive and advantageous treatment is at hand, and may soon pass away.

Thus impressed I use the freedom to say that it was pleasant to me to find that Lord Aberdeen had declined the proposal of a triple Mediation.¹ In my poor judgment there is no advantage to be derived from any association with the Government of the United States in that matter.

They are ill liked by the Mexicans, and there seems reason to doubt their own earnestness, or sincerity upon the subject of a recognition of Texian independence by Mexico. The N. E. and free States probably believe that the Independence and progress of Texas upon the *present footing with respect to Slavery*, would be the next most inconvenient thing (so far as their weight in the Union is considered) to it's formal annexation. The S. W. States have always frankly desired it's annexation.

The people of Texas are gasping for peace, and the best bidder. I believe that the only safe solution would be a formal offer upon the part of Her Majesty's Government to Texas, to secure the close of this contest upon the basis of It's consenting to place Itself in a position of *real Independence*, by an immediate and thorough organization of It's social, political and Commercial Institutions and policy upon sound, and independent principles; an[d] further offering every reasonable facility to England to negotiate such a loan as would be necessary to accomplish the proposed objects.

So far as I can see there is no choice between this, and the virtual, early, and permanent lapse of Texas within the sphere of United States influence, and policy; and I cannot help adding here, that I do not believe that the Government and people of the United States have just or Moderate purposes with respect to Mexico. To put Texas between them with a steadily constituted

¹Ashbel Smith, on instructions from Anson Jones, had proposed to France in July, 1842, that she join with Great Britain and the United States in urging Mexico to make peace with Texas. Guizot approved the plan and suggested it to Aberdeen, but the latter preferred to have Great Britain act separately, and declined the overture in October, 1842. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 117-119.) On December 7, 1842, Elliot, in a private letter to Houston, stated Aberdeen's refusal, and transmitted the substance of the correspondence between England and France. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I, 637, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1907, II.)

Governt. upon a non Slavery principle, with a considerable Coloured population, perfectly free of political disabilities, and a Commercial policy of the most liberal description is the best barrier that I believe the nature of circumstances offers against consequences and encroachments in my mind *deliberately intended*, and which may be much nearer than they appear to be.

The chance of the permanent re-establishment of Mexican Authority in Texas is gone, but another effort in that sense upon the part of Mexico, in the utterly depressed condition of this Country will possibly throw it back upon the United States, and that is the end which would probably best please the present Cabinet at Washington, and most assuredly the whole of the S. W. part of the Union.

But Texas, differently established would put an end to all combination of that kind, and be a very helpful weight in the preservation of peace, and a just balance of power on this Continent. I cannot help thinking that money lent to put an end to Slavery in a South West direction in America; and to give a place and a voice to the Coloured races, would render as profitable returns as money spent for fortresses and Military works on the Northern frontier of the United States. We should have those Mens hearts with us beyond the third and fourth generation.

Texas would be effectually separated from the United States of the Union, and a liberal Commercial policy would as effectually detach it from the N. E. States infected by a spirit of Commercial hostility to Great Britain, and this last principle efficaciously worked out would soon relax the self injurious fiscal system of Mexico.

Charles Elliot.

To H. U. Addington, Esqr. etc.

P. S.

I have this moment heard from Houston that a small party of our Texian levies have advanced to the Rio Grande, and I can have no doubt that they will do no manner of good there. The President has done what He could to prevent this folly, but it needs other checks there than that, and I think it is safe to prophecy that it will find them. This report has reached us with more solidity than most we have had from that quarter, upon the same

subject, and eventually, it may be entirely false. There is not much truth running about our natural roads in Texas.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON¹

Private.

Galveston Decr. 28th. 1842

My Dear Sir,

Since I had the pleasure of writing to you last, we have received President Tyler's Message to the Congress of the United States. I collect from that document that their difficulties with Mexico are in course of adjustment, and by the bye either my solitary life is cheating my imagination, or that Message is a very noticeable instrument, both in point of significancy, and the time of the appearance of such matter. The President closes his paragraph concerning the general relations with European Powers with an observation, which I cannot help thinking might have more frankly found it's place at the head of the succeeding Section of the Message.

It has a tang of Texas and Mexico, and is certainly worthy of attention both for coolness of purpose, and dryness of expression—"Carefully abstaining from all interference in question[s] exclusively referring themselves to the political interests of Europe, we may be permitted to hope an equal exemption from the interference of European Governments in what relates to *the States of the American Continent.*"²

Bolting the bran, I presume this means that United States politicians and financiers mislike disturbance on the little Island, forming the Continent of North and South America. But it is possible that this pretension of United States policy may not be equally acceptable to all "the States of the American Continent." There is room to suspect that some of the States of the American Continent have no particular confidence in Washington purposes, and no desire to cast off all other friendship in peace, or alliances in War. Be that as it may, it is pleasant to observe how considerably Mr. Tyler has blended the Civil with the decided in this "Bon Soir" to European influence in this quarter of the globe.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 4.

²President Tyler's message to Congress, December 7, 1842. (Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IV, 197.) Elliot's quotation is slightly inaccurate.

His self permission to hope for "an equal exemption from the interference of European Governments in what relates to the States of the American Continent" is a fine instance of the *Multum in parvo* in comprehensive political discussion.

Washington on the Potomac is the place of places in President Houston's emphatic language "A God's Earth," for great strokes of this kind—Washington on the Brazos has its promise too, but we are giving and they get. When I read this announcement drumming us all off this Continent, from the Arctic to the Antarctic, I could not but pull back to what had been said some distance up the stream of small print. There we had been instructed "that the question of peace or war between the United States and Great Britain is a question of the deepest interest, not only to themselves, but to the Civilized world, since it is scarcely possible that the War could exist between them without endangering the peace of Christendom"

It seems then that there is no objection to as much of United States influence on the *Continent* of Europe, as may serve to draw one half of it upon our backs in that contingency of deepest interest,—war between the United States and Great Britain; but Great Britain must pretend to no influence on the *Continent* of America.

This is plain American, if not plain English, on the occasion of the earliest possible formal declaration after the publication of the late Treaty,¹ that the Oregon territory is an open question, and *pari passu* with marked approbation of General Cass for volunteering to trip up arrangements at Paris, known to be agreeable to the British Government and Nation.² Living I may almost say in the United States, and with my attention constantly fixed upon a subject in which United States feeling and assistance are exer-

¹Treaty of Washington, signed at Washington, August 9, 1842.

²On December 20, 1841, the Quintuple treaty for the suppression of the African slave trade had been signed at London by England, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. The treaty gave to each nation a right to search vessels of the other nations signing the treaty. Lewis Cass, American representative at Paris, protested against this, wrote a pamphlet upon the matter of right of search, and appealed to France with such effect that the French government refused to ratify the treaty. For the treaty, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, XXX, 269.

cising so powerful an effect, I hope to be excused for these reflections

There is no thinking or writing of Texas without adverting to United States politics, and impulses, and I must frankly say that so far as I can judge the late Treaty with Great Britain is generally considered in the United States to be no more than a truce into which it has been convenient for them to enter till our hands are full in other parts of the World, and their own credit and finances have recovered themselves. The Government no doubt has more honest purposes than the general body of the people. As the Government of the United States is the creation of a great majority. In fact, the land, through it's whole length and breadth is infected with the plague of party politics, and electioneering. It is not principles that are a question in that great republic, but the monstrously exaggerated virtues and wisdom of Henry, John, or Thomas, and the still more hideously exaggerated views and folly of Martin, James or Peter. Upon those themes, and for the sake of party success, the Country is in a perpetual ferment, and nothing steady or just can be depended upon at the hands of the Government

Weighing all the circumstances within my reach of judgment, and particularly the undoubted temper of our neighbours East of the Sabine, I certainly do think it is an object of considerable moment to Her Majesty's Government that this Texas question should be firmly and steadily settled, and I lean to the opinion that it is in the power of Her Majesty's Government (so far as Texas is concerned) to effect an eligible arrangement. Monsieur de Cremiel¹ the new French Charge d'Affaires to our Court arrived here a week since. He told me it was generally reported at New Orleans in respectable circles that the British Govnt. had refused to take part in the Mediation proposed by Mr. Ashbell Smith,² and asked if this were so. Finding that He had received no despatches since He left France, and that He was going up to see the President (of Texas) at Washington, probably under mistaken impressions, I begged him to peruse Lord Aberdeen's correspond-

¹Vicomte Jules de Cramayel, French chargé d'affaires in Texas, 1842-1844.

²See note, page 143.

ence with Lord Cowley¹ upon that subject, which would not only explain to him the feelings of Her Majesty's Government, but of his own too; and enable him to judge how little credit was to be attached to New Orleans reports.

Congress is still in Session, or I should say, in confusion, for the Members from Western Texas, angry at the removal of the capital from Austin have seceded. And there is just a quorum, and that is all, without them. In the present disturbed condition of the Country, it seems to me to be wished that they should all go home, as soon as possible. We have no tidings from the force that has advanced to the Rio Grande but no good can come of such folly as that, and it will be matter of surprize if one half of them get back, that is to say, supposing they *do* cross the Rio Grande.

My continued concern for these tedious letters must be the coherent tediousness of the subject, and the belief that you will desire to hear more about it, in it's present posture than you could do, or should do from me, if it were better settled. Requesting you to offer my respects to Lord Aberdeen and Lord Canning.

Charles Elliot.

To H. U. Addington, Esqr. etc.

By the news from Washington this morning, I find amongst other notices of business before Congress. A resolution (in the H. of Representatives) "to instruct the Committee of Foreign relations to enquire into the expediency of annexing the Republic of Texas to the Ud. States."² It is not proposed by one of our great men, and nothing has been done upon it yet: If there be, I shall of course make the Subject a matter of official communication to Lord Aberdeen. I suppose it is only put forward as a feeler.

Charles Elliot

¹Henry Wellesley, Baron Cowley (1773-1847), British ambassador at Paris, 1841-1846. (Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

²On December 20th, R. Scurry introduced the resolution referred to by Elliot. (*Journals of the House of Representatives of the Seventh Congress of the Republic of Texas*, 89.)

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL¹*Life Cert. Circular.*

On board the Ship. "Ellen Brooks,"

At Sea. December 31st. 1842

Sir.

I have to report that, from the 16th of November to the present date, I have been a passenger in the Ship "Ellen Brooks," bound from Liverpool for New Orleans (U. S.) by way of which city I am to proceed to Galveston, Texas, there to enter upon the execution of my duties as Her Britannick Majesty's Consul.

William Kennedy.

John Bidwell, Esq., etc.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

No. 1.

Galveston January 5th 1843.

My Lord,

With reference to my despatches No. 10 and No. 18 of last year, I have now the honor to transmit to Your Lordship the copy of a note from Mr. Jones, the Secretary of State upon the subject of those communications.³ Being aware that certain respectable British Merchants here, have duties to pay into the Custom-house in the course of a month, I propose to call upon this Government to let those Gentlemen hold themselves liable to me for the sum of \$3840, presenting my acknowledgement to the Custom-house in satisfaction of their duties to that extent. I can hardly doubt that it will be in my power to satisfy the Government of the necessity of forthwith adjusting the claim for the "Eliza Russell" by these reasonable means, and indeed I take the liberty to submit to Your Lordship that I perceive no risk in the immediate advance of a sum of £700 to Mr. Joseph Russell⁴ if Your Lordship shall see fit to recommend such a step to the consideration of the Treasury. The sum of £700 is specified, because that amount would fall so far within the extent appropriated by

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 3.²*Ibid.*, Vol. 6.³Jones to Elliot, December 24, 1842. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1063-1064; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.⁴Owner of the *Eliza Russell*.

Congress as to leave sufficient room for deficiency from course of exchange, or by any other mode of remittance that might become necessary arising from the manner that payment may be made.

It has occurred to me, that Your Lordship, taking into consideration the length of time that Mr. Russell has waited for the adjustment of his claim, may desire to afford him some relief, and believing that, that may be safely extended him under the circumstances now stated, I have ventured to offer this suggestion

Charles Elliot

To the Right Honorable

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 2.

Galveston, January 15th. 1843.

My Lord,

The detention of the steam boat which conveys these despatches to New Orleans, enables me to forward a note of intelligence this morning received from Houston. It is much to be wished, that these confusedly reported accounts may be exaggerated, but there is certainly reason to apprehend that some sinister event has occurred.²

I learn that Congress was to separate in the course of the ensuing week, and that no material alteration of the Tariff had been carried.

In other particulars affairs remain in the position reported in my last despatches.

Charles Elliot

To the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No. 3.

Galveston, January 23rd. 1843

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 20 of December 3rd. 1842.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²This refers to the disastrous Mier expedition of December, 1842. A cutting is enclosed from *The Houston Morning Star*, January 14, 1843.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

It will be observed in Mr. Jones's note¹ of the 24th Ultimo transmitted in my despatch No. 1 of this year, that the claim of certain British subjects for lands in Texas will be presented to the consideration of Congress by the President

Since I have been in Texas I have deemed it my duty to examine the nature of these claims, with all the attention in my power, and I have formed the opinion that the Land Law of this Country is utterly unsustainable, violating universally received principles of a general nature, and carried out by Congress beyond the plain intention and limitations of fundamental authority, that is, beyond the Constitution of the Republic.²

That instrument declares that "*the protection of the public domain from unjust and fraudulent claims and quieting the people in the enjoyment of their lands is one of the great duties of this convention,*"³ and there upon specially provides that a certain grant made in behalf of John Mason of New York, by the Legislature of Coahuila and Texas in 1834, was "from the beginning null and void," because it was contrary to articles 4th, 12th, and 15th of the laws of 1824 of the General Congress of Mexico, and because one of the said acts had for that reason by the said General Congress of Mexico been declared "null and void"

The special declaration of this case is [in] the Constitution, the distinct specification of the cause of the defect of that title, and the inherent character of that defect, prove that the Constitution never intended to concede to Congress a right to violate titles, and actually disturb possession, lawfully emanating from the Congress of Mexico. The violation of the possessions of that authority, and its special act, were, on the contrary the fundamental grounds for the annulment of the grant declared to have been irregularly made to Mason in 1834.

But the Constitution further provides that "with a view to the simplification of the land system and the protection of the people and Government from litigation and fraud a *General Land Office*

¹See p. 149, note 3.

²A général résumé of the land legislation of Texas is given in Wooten (editor), *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 785-848.

³Throughout the quotations given the italics are Elliot's. Errors made by Elliott are corrected by bracket [] insertions, after comparison with Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, II, 1760-1763.

shall be established, where all the Land titles of the Republic shall be registered, and the whole territory of the Republic shall be sectionized in a manner [hereafter] to be prescribed by law, which shall enable the officers of the Government or any citizen to ascertain with certainty the lands that are vacant, and those lands which may be covered with valid titles”

I certainly do not find any authority in this provision for the Constitution to confiscate property lawfully acquired, and partially possessed, under the provisions of the general law of Mexico, legally carried out by the legislature of Coahuila and Texas: and I am satisfied that the special provision of the Constitution in the case of Mason’s grant, and the causes of that provision, plainly proves, that the subsequent Confiscatory enactments of Congress were fundamentally illegal.

It may not be misplaced to observe here, in further proof of the intention and limitations of the Constitution that it provided that “whereas many surveys and titles [to land] have been made, whilst most of the people of Texas were absent from home serving in the campaign against Bexar, it is hereby declared that all the surveys and locations of land made *since* the Act of the late consultation 13 Nov. 1835¹ closing the Land Offices, and all titles to Land *made since* that time are and shall be null and void.”

It was not said or intended that all the contracts, surveys, and locations made agreeably to law *before* that act of Consultation should be null and void, but it is particularly, and justly provided in the 16th article of the declaration of rights that “no retrospective or ex post facto law or laws impairing the obligation of contracts, shall be made.” In the short history of this Country it is difficult to turn to any advantage achieved, to any evil averted, or to any mischief foreseen or deprecated, without finding General Houston’s name and weight, enlisted upon the side of conduct, wisdom, and justice.

The original Land Bill and the one which forms the law of the land were passed in spite of his veto by the Constitutional majority, and I cannot do better in this brief acknowledgment of

¹Date, “13 Nov. 1835,” inserted by Elliot.

Your Lordship's instructions in the despatch No. 21. than to forward copies of those sound and striking papers.¹

I transmit also an abstract of the present Land law in which Your Lordship will observe that Congress consummated the manifest injustice of their proceedings by shutting out aliens or the assignees of aliens from the relief provided in the bill, for other claimants.²

Under all the circumstances of the case I have considered it advisable to pause 'till I am in possession of the determination taken by Congress upon the claim of Messrs. Egerton, Pryor, O'Gorman, etc.³ and the grounds of it, before I enter at length, upon the subject of this most important claim, forming the subject of Your Lordship's present instructions. But reflection leads me to the opinion that the firm establishment of these unquestionable rights of the Queen's subjects might most justly and conveniently be made the subject of an express article, in any treaty concluded between this Republic and Mexico; and I would further submit that it might be left optional by that article, with the claimants, to accept a commutation in other land in this Republic, under special Government patents, or in money, as they may best like: The amount of Land or money compensation to be determined by a joint commission of persons named by the British Government, and by the Government of this Republic with the power of umpire in British hands.

It will be my duty to communicate, with Your Lordship again at an early date upon this subject.

Charles Elliot.

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S.

I take this occasion to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatches Nos. 18 and 19 of Decr. 3. 1842

¹Two letters from Houston to the Land Office, December 21, 1836, and June 8, 1837.

²Printed copy of Sections 26 and 27 of the General Land Laws.

³These land claims, as well as the more important Beales claim, were based on grants obtained from Mexico, and in the opinion of Texan officials were not valid. For the Texan view of the matter, see Jones to Elliot, September 19, 1843: Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1129-1136, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 4.

Galveston, January 28th. 1843.

My Lord,

Since the date of my despatch No. 2 of this year (15th January) I am concerned to report, that authentic information has reached this place from Matamoras via New Orleans, confirming the surrender of that portion of the Texian force, under Colonel Fisher, which had separated itself from the direction of the Officer appointed by this Government, and continued the movement beyond the Rio Grande: a movement to which the disregard of the authority of the Officer, acting under the orders of Government has given a character that may be attended with very unhappy consequences to these prisoners. It appears that this disaster occurred at a small town called "Mier" on the right bank of the Rio Grande between 20 and 30 leagues above Matamoras.² I have not seen the Mexican report, but it can scarcely be necessary to say to Your Lordship, that the statement of their loss in the Texian account forwarded in my despatch No. 2, deserves no credit.

I hear in various quarters that a volunteer expedition of some extent is preparing in the South Western part of the Union, with the purpose to make another attempt to penetrate into the Northern Provinces of Mexico through Upper Texas, during the approaching spring, strengthening themselves with such reinforcements as can be collected in the passage through Texas, and it is also said that a simultaneous attempt is to be made on Matamoras by sea.

It appears to me to be proper to mention this rumour but I have no means of judging of it's accuracy. Indeed it is not easy for a person in public employment in this part of the world to determine what of rumour ought to be stated, and what may be left unheeded; for whilst common report is at least as discursive and venturous here, as elsewhere, it is a material consideration that

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²On January 24, 1843, Houston wrote privately to Elliot in regard to the Mier prisoners. This letter was the ground of the accusations later made against Houston by General Thompson (Green, *Journal of the Texian Expedition against Mier*, Appendix II). For extract from the letter, see Elliot to Aberdeen, Secret, June 8, 1843. Enclosure 2.

Government has less control in the United States, than elsewhere: And strange projects and hazardous modes of operation with respect to Mexico, seem to be in the fair way of attempt, whenever they become the subject of general conversation.

Perhaps Your Lordship will give me leave to add to this reflection that the increasing white population of the Slave States (persons engaged in professions, and emigrants from Europe not ashamed to labor, excepted) is almost entirely without steady occupation. Unscrupulous, fearless, and enterprising, and with exaggerated notions of the wealth of Mexico, it is certain that the project of an incursion into that Republic, is highly popular amongst the people of that part of the Union. I believe that the least success of one of these chance expeditions to the westward of the Rio Grande would be the signal for a formidable irruption into Mexico, of which the first stage, it is quite possible, would be permanent settlement as far as the mountains.

It may be thought in some degree to sustain these reports that the Texian Congress during its recent session passed a Law appointing General Rusk¹ to be Major General of the forces of the Republic whenever they should be called into the field, and placing the appropriation for military purposes at his disposition, irrespective of any control on the part of the President; known to be adverse to aggressive war against Mexico. The gentleman in question is an inhabitant of Eastern Texas, and it is possible that his nomination was considered likely to be acceptable to volunteers in the United States, preparing for the incursion into Mexico. The President of course returned this bill without his approval, but it was passed by the Constitutional Majority.

The movements of Mexico with respect to Texas will probably be determined by the results in Yucatan, and Your Lordship must no doubt receive earlier and more trustworthy information upon that subject, than any that it can be in my power to transmit from this quarter: But in the mean time I regret to say that this country is bereft of resource, and the counsels best suited to its situation have been disregarded with disastrous consequences.

Upon the whole, so far as I can judge, it seems clear that the

¹Thomas J. Rusk, elected by Congress in 1843 to be major-general of militia.

eager party in Texas for aggressive war, on the one side, and the Mexican Government on the other are rapidly accomplishing the purposes which the Mexican Secretary of State, in the late correspondence with the American Government,¹ charges to the Cabinet at Washington. The chance of the permanent re-establishment of Mexican Authority in Texas is gone, but this harasing mode of warfare on the part of Mexico at vast expense and danger to itself, and this futile response on the part of Texas, present a high probability of one of two results: Either the Mexicans will achieve so much of success in Texas, as will induce a complication, east of the Sabine, or the Texians and their American volunteer allies, very eager to visit Mexico, will force their way into that country, in considerable strength, and with what may be taken to be, a certainty of drawing on a war with the United States.

In every way that the consequences present themselves to my mind, it seems next to certain, that, unless a peace between these two Republics can be accomplished in some brief space of time, on terms calculated to encourage a good feeling on the part of Texas to Mexico, Texas will soon be annexed to the United States: And entertaining that opinion, I join to it the belief, that there is no earnest disposition at Washington to see the Independence of Texas acknowledged by Mexico, particular[l]y since it has been supposed that Her Majesty's Government takes an interest in accomplishing that result.

I avail myself of this occasion to mention that we have been recently visited by Her Majesty's Sloop *Electra*, touching here on her way from Havana to Vera Cruz, and I have also to report that Mr Neill, concerning whom I wrote to Your Lordship, has made his escape from Mexico,² and is now in Texas.

Carles Elliot

To The Right Honorable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

¹This refers to Webster's offer of mediation (1842) and its rejection by Mexico.

²For an account of the escape of Andrew Neill, see *THE QUARTERLY*, XIII, 313-317.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 5.

Galveston 4th February 1843.

My Lord,

The inclosure is a letter which I have addressed to the Secretary of State of this Republic agreeably to Your Lordship's instructions of the despatch No. 20 of last year.

Finding from an account of the proceedings of Congress during last Session that no steps had been taken, founded upon the representation I had made to this Government on the 30th September last respecting the claim of Messrs. Egerton, Prior, O'Gorman, etc. etc. I have felt it incumbent upon myself to put forward this claim of Mr. Beales without further delay.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO JONES²

[Enclosure.]

Galveston 4th February 1843.

Sir,

Requesting your reference to a note, which I had the honor to address to you on the 30th September last, in support of the claim of certain British Subjects to Lands in Texas, it is now my duty to put forward another and more weighty case of the like nature, recently committed to me by Her Majesty's Government, namely, that of John Charles Beales, and others Her Majesty's subjects claiming under Beales.

The Lands comprised in these last claims, are those known as the "Arkansas grant" the "Milam or Rio Colorado grant," "the Rio Grande grant," and nine grants in fee simple, of eleven leagues each containing 438,411 793/1000 acres English, located on the Rio Nueces.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²*Ibid.* This letter is listed in the *Calendar of Garrison, Diplomatic Correspondence, etc.*, but since it was actually printed only in Texas newspapers of the day, it is included here. In similar cases it is thought advisable to include important documents unless they have previously been printed in Garrison's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, or in other collections, or files, generally available, such as *Niles' Register*.

I am sensible that the limits of these extensive claims and generally the particulars of the title must be known to the Government of the Republic, but for the sake of form, I have considered it proper to annex the accompanying abstract of the dates and limits of the grants collected from the "Exhibits" of a memorial presented to Her Majesty by J. C. Beales, in the course of last year, on his own behalf and that of others claiming under him. And in order that the grounds of Mr. Beales' appeal to the Queen, may be fully known to this Government I also transmit herewith a copy of his memorial presented to Her Majesty

Since I have been in Texas, it has been incumbent upon me to consider these claims with all the attention in my power: And confining the expression of my opinion upon the Land Legislation of this Republic, solely to those provisions which affect the rights and claims of British subjects, I must declare that the provisions of Law complained of by Mr. Beales and the others, seem to me to be unjust and untenable. This opinion rests upon the principles, that the Sovereignty of this Republic could succeed only to the possessions of the former Sovereignty; that private rights ought to have been secured; that the New Sovereignty is bound faithfully and fully to carry out the obligations entered into by the former; and finally that well established rules, with respect to rights not matured, or with respect to conditions prevented, interrupted or rendered impossible by a circumstance of such overruling force as the breaking out of the War of Independence in 1835, and its continuance to this period, have been violated by the Confiscatory Enactments of Congress, in the particulars set forth by these British subjects. But beyond this, it seems plain, to my judgment that the Constitution inhibits Legislation of the nature here complained of, by clear general reservation and by implication, unavoidably deducible from its own provisions respecting defective titles, said to emanate from the former Sovereignty.

"No aliens" says the 10th Section of the General Provision of the Constitution shall hold lands in Texas except "by titles emanating directly from the Government of this Republic." This exception certainly appears to involve a ratification of all titles *emanating directly from* the Government of which this Government is the successor, and to the obligations of which it is lawfully and justly bound: In other words it appears to have been

the purpose of this provision to place this Government for the maintenance of the public faith, and for objects of policy, in the exact situation of the former Government. There can be no warrant in this provision of the Constitution to distrust what has been legally done by the former Sovereignty in behalf of Aliens, and it certainly remains to seek for that sanction elsewhere.

The Constitution declares that "whereas the protection of the public domain from unjust and fraudulent Claims, and quieting the people in the enjoyment of their lands, is one of the great duties of this Convention, and whereas the Legislature of Coahuila and Texas having passed an act in the year 1834, in behalf of General J. T. Mason of New York and another on the 14th day of March 1835, under which the enormous amount of eleven hundred leagues of land has been claimed by sundry individuals, some of whom reside in foreign countries, and are not Citizens of the Republic, which said acts are contrary to articles fourth, twelfth, and fifteenth, of the laws of 1824, of the General Congress of Mexico, and one of said acts, for that cause, has by said General Congress of Mexico, been declared null and void. It is hereby declared that the said act of 1834 in favor of J. T. Mason, and of the 14th March 1835 of the said Legislature of Coahuila and Texas, and each and every grant founded thereon, is, and was from the beginning, null and void; and all surveys made under pretence of authority derived from said acts, are hereby declared to be null and void; and all eleven league claims, located within twenty leagues of the boundary line between Texas, and the United States of America which have been located *contrary to the Laws of Mexico*, are hereby declared to be null and void."

The specification of the causes of the defects of Mason's title, and the alledged intrinsic character of that defect, and the annulment of all eleven league claims located within 20 leagues of the United States of America, said to be located *contrary to the Laws of Mexico*, prove; that it was never intended to delegate to Congress, a right to confiscate titles, and disturb actual possession lawfully emanating *from* the Congress of Mexico. The declared violation of the provisions of the authority of the Congress of Mexico, and it's own special act thereupon, were on the contrary, the fundamental grounds for the annulment of the grants represented to have been irregularly made to Mason in 1834 and 1835.

In the same Session it is declared "with a view to the simplification of the Land system, and the protection of the people and Government from litigation and fraud a General Land Office shall be established, where all the Land titles of the Republic shall be registered, and the whole territory of the Republic shall be sectionized, in a manner hereafter to be prescribed by law, which shall enable the officers of the Government, or any other citizen to ascertain with certainty, the lands that are vacant, and those lands which may be covered with valid titles."

The enactments of Congress for the establishment of a Land Office founded upon this provision, contain the clauses of which these British subjects complain, but it never can be maintained that the Constitution granted or intended a sanction for such enactments in delegating to Congress, the task of establishing an Office for the registry of land titles. The Lands now in question were covered by valid titles; and it assuredly required the prevailing force of a Confiscatory declaration from which there was to be no appeal, to abrogate those titles.

In further proof of the purpose and limitation of the Constitution, if further proof be necessary, it was declared "that whereas many surveys and titles to land have been made whilst most of the people of Texas were absent from home, serving in the Campaign against Bexar it is hereby declared that all the surveys and titles to land, made since the act of the late consultation closing the Land Office, and all titles to Land made since that time, are, and shall be null and void."

This provision (with the provision respecting Mason's grant, and the specification of the objects and purposes for which a Land Office was to be established) appears distinctly to define, and limit the power delegated to Congress respecting Legislation upon the subject of titles to Lands.

And mindful of the principle of the Constitution of Texas that every right not expressly delegated is reserved, it certainly does seem impossible to claim a tacit sanction for enactments of retrospective and confiscatory Legislation, in an instrument of fundamental and liminary authority, so express upon the subject of titles to land, and of which it is a cardinal rule that "no retrospective or ex post facto law or laws impairing the obligation of contracts, shall be made."

I need scarcely say that the President's messages returning the Land Bills to Congress, without his approval, are known to me; and bearing as they do, so forcibly upon the subject of these claims, I have thought it convenient to forward copies of them to Her Majesty's Government.

Upon the general consequences of that Legislation so clearly foreseen, and so emphatically deprecated, in those masterly papers, it is not my province to remark: But speaking of the particular rights forming the subject of this communication it is a source of regret indeed, that the President's objections to the Bills was un-availing

I had hoped that Congress would not separate, without passing some just and effectual measure of relief for alien claimants, in the situation of these parties founded upon the representation which I had the honor to address to this Government on the 30th September last: That hope, however, has been disappointed, and it remains for me to state, in obedience to my Instructions, that unless the facts set forth by these British claimants are refused or a satisfactory explanation given, The Texian Government must be aware that Her Majesty's Government would be fully authorised to take the necessary steps for enforcing the just claims of Her Majesty's subjects.

I commit these cases, recommended by every consideration of justice, and I use the freedom to add of sound policy, with the confident persuasion, that they will have the cordial support of the President. I cannot but express the sanguine hope too, that Congress at this more advanced period of the progress of the Republic will remedy in the behalf of these claimants, the effects of wrongful Legislation, probably attributable to haste and pressure, incidental to the early and disturbed state of affairs in which it was passed.

Charles Elliot

To The Honorable Anson Jones.
N. B.

The inclosures adverted to in the letter of which the above is a copy have not been forwarded to England because, it is understood, that a copy of Mr. Beales' Memorial and of the book from which the abstract has been drawn up must be in the Department.

Charles Elliot.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹*Secret.*

Galveston February 5th. 1843

My Lord,

The boat from Houston has just brought me a private letter from the President, of which I beg leave to transmit an Extract. Your Lordship will no doubt be struck with the importance of these views, coming from that quarter, and they have certainly strengthened me in those opinions which I had felt it my duty to submit in my despatch No. 4 of this year, written a few days since.

This is the first hint I have ever had of the President's ideas upon this Subject, drawn from him, I have no doubt, by strong impression of the direction and force of circumstances, by the pressure of opposition made to his administration, and mainly by a feeling of entire confidence in the friendly professions of Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship will be best able to distinguish what there is of mere advocacy in this Statement of opinion, or what may be taken to be the result of General Houston's sincere Convictions, or of actual suggestion from influential quarters in a contiguous Country

So far as my own judgment in that respect may be considered worthy of attention, I would say that I have no doubt General Houston has said what He believes, and probably less than He knows; neither do I question that the settlement of this Country upon an independent footing would be most agreeable to his personal opinion, and ambition.

But He perhaps thinks that there is no choice between very early settlement on that principle, or very early adhesion to the growing feeling for annexation

I have thought it my duty to place this letter under cover to Mr. Fox, with the impression that Your Lordship might desire the advantage of any views or information from him without loss of time, and I shall also send a copy to Mr. Pakenham.

Charles Elliot.

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

HOUSTON TO ELLIOT¹

[Enclosure.]

Extract from a Private letter of President Houston to Captain Elliot dated Washington January 24. 1843.

"There is a subject now mooted in Texas which it seems to me will appeal directly to Her Majesty's Government. I mean that of annexation to the United States

"Some of our Journals are much in favor of the Measure. Eastern Texas contains but few dissenting voices to the Measure. I find from the incertitude of our situation that nine tenths of those who converse with me are in favor of the Measure upon the ground that *it will give us peace*. Upon this point of our National existence I feel well satisfied that England has the power to rule! At this time the Measure has an advocacy in the United States which has at no former period existed. From the most authentic sources I have received an appeal on this Subject, and my co-operation solicited in producing the result of annexation

"It is a political question in the United States, as well as Sentimental. I take it that it is a Measure of the democratic party. The South is in favor of it for various reasons. The West and North West desire it because of a monopoly of the trade of Santa Fé, and the Californias. The Yankees will not be blind to the trade which such a Union will open to them in disposing of their Manufactures

"The relations which such a Union would create in the Pacific, and then the Bay of San Francisco as [have] a connexion with the extension of of the Oregon Settlements. If I am not mistaken I think you will readily perceive that the probabilities of the Measure succeeding in the United States are greater than they have been at any former period. Mr. Tyler is of the South. Mr. Clay is of the West. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Webster are of the North.

"Annexation is to be a question with the political parties and aspirants in the United States. My own opinion is that both parties will advocate the policy. To defeat this policy it is only necessary for Lord Aberdeen to say to Santa Anna, 'Sir, Mexico

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

must recognise the Independence of Texas.' Santa Anna would be glad of such a pretext. He could then say to the Mexicans 'You see how I am situated. I cannot go to War with England, our best friend with a probability of War with the United States and France.'

"This state of things would be desirable with him, in my opinion, as it would leave him free to establish his power and dynasty! The Texian Subject has answered the use of 'a tub for the whale' long enough, and He would like to get rid of all external troubles. But for this He requires a pretext, and He has incurred so many voluntary committals, that to get out of difficulty He must seem to act under constraint. This He could render as a satisfactory reason to the people, and even acquire favor by the course. In all these matters I may be mistaken, but I am honest in my convictions, that Texas and England would both be beneficiaries by this course. Time will tell the tale."

N. B.

The chief portion of the remainder of the letter is upon the subject of the General's anxiety respecting the persons lately Captured West of the Rio Grande.¹ And requesting that Mr. Pakenham may be moved to do what He can to avert dangerous consequences from them. The General grants that the disorderly action of their separation from the Officer acting under the orders of this Government is of highly serious consequence to them, but presses upon the fact that there was a Capitulation, and that the Mexican Government is bound to respect it. I am endeavouring to write to Mr. Pakenham upon the subject agreeably to the request, by this opportunity.

Charles Elliot

[Endorsed] In letter from Capn. Elliot marked "Secret" of Feb. 5. 1843.

¹For a quotation from this portion of the letter, see Elliot to Aberdeen, Secret, June 8, 1843, enclosure 2.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 1.

Galveston. Texas.
February 11th. 1843.

My Lord.

I have the honor to inform Your Lordship that I arrived at Galveston on the 5th Instant, and immediately reported My arrival to Captain Elliot, R. N. Her Majesty's Consul General and Chargé d'Affaires in Texas.

In accordance with My Instructions, I have placed Her Majesty's Commission appointing Me Her Majesty's Consul at this port in the hands of Captain Elliot, by whom it has been transmitted to the Government of the Republic with an application for the necessary exequatur.

Permit Me to remark that the Communication I have had the honor to hold with Captain Elliot leads me to look forward to future Cooperation with that gentleman in the public Service as a very agreeable duty.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON²

Private.

Galveston. March 26th. 1843.

My Dear Sir.

I had hoped that the last Steam Boat from New Orleans would have brought me acknowledgments to the communications forwarded from here to the 16th Decr. but I have been disappointed, and I hear accounts of the rather careless modes of conveying the Mails from New Orleans to the Northward, particularly in the Southern part of the route, which leave me uneasy till I hear from England that my letters have been duly received.

It has occurred to me, however, that Her Majesty's Government may prefer to forward some of the communications by the way of the West Indies, and that consideration tends to reassure me. The last despatch in the diplomatic series which has been acknowledged in England is dated here on the 2d November.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

²*Ibid.*, Vol. 6.

In outward appearances affairs in this quarter remain much as they did when I wrote to you last, in the past Month, but I cannot help believing that this sameness is apparent rather than real, and that in point of fact we are hastening forwards to material changes. So far as the aggressive power or purposes of Mexico be considered, in respect to this Country, you must no doubt have better means of judging than I can furnish, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the protraction of the Struggle in Yucatan must be shaking General Santa Anna's influence, and exhausting the crippled and severely collected resources of the Government.

We hear here, too, (but all our information concerning Mexican affairs comes to us through the United States, and must be received with great reserve) that another Federal movement is ripening, and that it will be supported by some leading Military Chieftains. Leaving these reports out of question, it may still be thought to be a reasonable calculation that any existing condition of things in Mexico will be replaced by another, within three or four years from it's Establishment, and if I am not mistaken the last final Settlement has already reached that measure of venerable duration.

We learn from New Orleans, that the two Texian Vessels of War at that place are at last preparing for Sea, (assisted by funds from Yucatan) and that they will get out in the course of a week or ten days. I am not able to judge of the well foundedness of these statements, but would observe generally of all manner of reports in these parts that they should be received as Dr. Johnson recommended of Short's Stories; Not too easily believed, for the very great probability is that they are false, not entirely disregarded for they may be true. What with my Ultra Malayan and Trans Atlantic drilling, it will be no wonder if I fall into an obstinate Pyrrhonism.

I have heard so little truth, and experienced so much injustice, that doubt and distrust is my way of being. The Treaty¹ between this Country and the United States has not yet been ratified by the Senate of the last, as it is alleged I am told, upon the ground that its provisions would lead to demands for conces-

¹A treaty of commerce. The United States Senate refused ratification in certain essentials.

sions of a similar nature upon the part of the other South American Republics (and the Foreign powers having possessions in the West Indies with which the United States have Commercial treaties) thus disturbing the protective effect of their own tariff, upon their own South Western produce.

But it may be that there are other motives for declining to ratify the treaty. The N. Eastern interest would perhaps feel that relaxation of the contemplated nature in favor of Texian produce would gratify the demands from the opposite points of the Union for a general relaxation of the tariff. "You have let in Texian produce," they would reason "to our detriment." "Admit foreign articles of our Consumption, for our relief." Again mindful of the extremely pressed condition of this Country, and sensible of the difficulty of carrying the formal annexation of Texas by Legislative means, the S. W. party may think that the next best thing would be to leave affairs in such a state that the same result might virtually be achieved by a treaty of Commerce, and hence perhaps an unwillingness to conclude any treaty with this Country (it is most remarkable that there never yet has been one) till affairs are in their agony, from which they do not seem to be far removed.

Another topic deserving particular attention at this conjuncture is a Movement by an Anti Slavery party here. I always knew that such sentiments existed amongst some of the Settlers from the Free States, and a few of the most respected Citizens, but an Englishman who has just returned from travelling through a great part of the Republic assures me that there is a much more general and strengthening feeling in favor of such a course than he had conceived possible. I think he is mistaken in respect [to] the actual state of feeling, and a considerable degree of excitement here last week ending in the sudden dismissal of a Mr. Andrews from this Island (a Lawyer of talent and respectability of Houston who had come down to Galveston to test the state of opinion here) is a proof that in this Island at least there is in [no?] readiness for the immediate entertainment of such views. Upon the whole, however, I believe that sound opinions upon this topic are gaining strength and these South Western people are so exciteable, and so ready to jump from extreme to extreme, whenever they perceive the advantage of the leap, that it would never

surprize me to find the subject thrown upon favorable public attention by the very event of M. Andrew's forced departure.¹

First comes violence, and then come reflection and sympathy, and indeed it is manifest that the advantages of abolition would be so immediate and so momentous, that they only need to be calmly thought of to make their way in the public mind. I am waiting in much anxiety for the next arrivals from New Orleans with the hope that it will bring me some acknowledgment of my despatches and letters as far down as the 27th Decr.

The "Great Western" I observe she was to sail from England on the 10th February. As soon as the Boat arrives I am going up to pay a short visit to the President at Washington [on the Brazos] which I have been prevented from doing for some weeks, by the extraordinary floods of the Rivers. The Mischief of extensive inundation has added itself to all the other troubles that have plagued this poor Country for the last 12 Months.

The people are rough and wild, but their constancy and courage are admirable. I hardly know any more painful and indeed humiliatory subject of reflection than the comparative helplessness of our own poor English people, when one finds them thrown amongst these scheming, enterprising, and it is most distressing to add, almost invariably much better informed persons than themselves. The truth is that the poorer Classes of English people are broken in, or I should say broken down to do but one thing in this world, and then accustomed to all the conveniences and facilities of locomotion etc. etc. in our Country, they make but sorry work of it in taming the wilds, compared with the American races.

The training of our social and political mechanism (and my experience has taught me, military too) unfits men for rough uses and reverses. It must all work together perfectly *smoothly* and *successfully*, or it will scarcely work at all. These strange people *jolt* and *jar* terrifically in their progress but *on* they do get, and prosper too under circumstances where *our people* would

¹Stephen Pearl Andrews, a lawyer of New Orleans; later of Galveston. After urging a plan of abolition in Texas, he went to England in 1843 seeking the aid of British Anti-Slavery Societies. His later life was spent in Boston and in New York, where he gained reputation as a scholar and writer. (Appleton, *Cyclopedia of Amer. Biog.*, I, 76.)

starve and die. I am sure it would be a wise and a right course to put forward some authoritative recommendation to the Queen's Subjects to direct their Emigration to parts of the British Dominions, or at all events not to entirely new Countries on this Continent.

Whenever the born British Emigrant comes into contact with the American or frontier Stations, you find the first squalid, poor and a Wreck, and the last making way chiefly *upon the Capital* which the others have brought with them.

With my excuses for this long letter and small amount of information

Charles Elliot.

H. U. Addington, Esqr.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

Galveston March 29th. 1843.

My Lord,

The delay of the Steam boat for a few hours enables me to transmit to Your Lordship the accompanying Statement of intelligence from Mexico received here two days since, via New Orleans.² I entertain no doubt of the genuineness of their proposals, but am necessarily without any means of forming an opinion upon the purposes or situation of the Mexican Government in relation to them

Upon the face of them, however, it is hard to think that General Santa Aña can entertain a serious hope or wish that they should be accepted in their present form. Their effect would be to leave this Country virtually independent of Mexico, with abundance of pretext for further disturbance and pretensions West of the Rio Grande, as soon as Texas is well strengthened, and Mexico still further enfeebled by unsuitable institutions, and that state of intestine trouble, which appears to be almost the usual condition of the Country.

Indeed it seems to me to be quite unintelligible that this project

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²An unidentified newspaper cutting referring to the proposal of a negotiation for peace, made by Santa Anna through James W. Robinson, a released prisoner.

of a Federal scheme of polity as respects Texas, and Central as respects the remainder of the Republic can be seriously put forward or expected to work particularly in the present situation of parties in Mexico.

It is possible however that these proposals may be no more than the first approach to some practicable solution of the dispute, and upon that point Your Lordship will of course have the means of forming a better judgment by the direct intelligence from Mexico, than any that can be provided upon information or suggestions from this quarter.

I do not write officially till this Government has signified its course regarding these proposals, but I naturally conjecture that, they will not openly take notice of them.

I am about to proceed to Washington to pay a short visit to the President, and shall address Your Lordship again as soon as I have returned.

My last dates from the Foreign Office are of the 2d February, but then without, acknowledgments of any despatches from here beyond those of the 2d November.

Charles Elliot.

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 2.

British Consulate.

Galveston March 29th 1843

My Lord,

I have the honor to inform Your Lordship that, on the 24th of February, I received from the Seat of Government, at Washington on the Brazos, a Note from the Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas accompanying the President's official recognition of My Commission as Her Majesty's Consul for Galveston

I beg to inclose an extract from the Government paper published at Washington,² not because of any terms of eulogy applied to so humble an individual as Myself, but as indicating the light in which the appointment is Viewed by the President, and

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

²*The Texian and Brazos Farmer*, February 18, 1843.

the prospect it holds out of My being enabled to promote British interests in this quarter

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ADDINGTON¹

Steam Boat "Dayton"

On the Passage from Houston to Galveston

April 15th. 1843.

My Dear Sir,

The inclosure is the Copy of a letter which I have addressed to Mr. Packenham² at the request of the President that He should be moved to make the Communication it contains to General Santa Aña, and I have added some reflections of my own because it occurred to me that Mr. Packenham would wish to judge of any views of mine upon the effect of these propositions on the Government and people of this Country.

I took occasion to mention to the President that I was without any other Instructions than had already been made known to him respecting the feelings and purposes of Her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the close of the Contest, but I was persuaded they had in no degree relaxed. He assured me, and begged the assurance might be particularly conveyed to Lord Aberdeen that He continued to place implicit confidence in the friendly declaration of Her Majesty's Government, and it was in that spirit, and that trust, that He had felt himself bound to communicate to me what He had done respecting the condition of feeling concerning annexation to the United States.

I must feel that in the state of this Country it was no wonder that men[']s minds should turn that way, and it might be depended upon that the feeling was growing and gaining strength both here, and in the United States. I thanked him for what I was sure was the motive of this frank exposition of his views upon this subject; but it was one of great importance, and I could only say that I had lost no time in forwarding to England what He had been so good as to write to me on that Matter.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. This despatch is not numbered.

²Pakenham. Elliot at times misspells the name.

My letter to Mr. Packenham contains the general substance of the President's remarks, and I must hope that indisposition will be my excuse to you for these few lines by the present occasion. Perhaps a few days rest at Galveston in the comparative comfort, (and at all events the cleanliness) of my own Cabin, will restore me, but the truth is that my health is shattered, and I do not look to make good weather of it through the ensuing hot season, so far to the South as this Country.

Charles Elliot.

To H. U. Addington, Esqr.

ELLIOT TO PAKENHAM¹

Private.

Houston April 14th. 1843

My Dear Sir,

The last Boat from New Orleans has brought here a Citizen of this Republic of the name of Robinson who was captured at San Antonio on the occasion of it's Surprize by General Woll in September last, and the accompanying paper will place you in possession of his own account of the circumstances, and purposes of his release by General Santa Aña.

I was upon the point of starting to Washington to pay the President a short visit when these strange, and vaguely promulgated tidings reached Galveston, and I was with General Houston when Mr. Robinson arrived at Washington. The President placed in my hand the original of the paper General Santa Aña had delivered to Mr. Robinson, but except that it developed the particularity that New proposals were drawn from him by an *approach from Mr. Robinson*, I did not detect that that Gentleman had more to communicate to General Houston than had already been made known to him through the medium of his Newspaper.

In fact General Houston explicitly told me that Mr. Robinson brought him nothing but the papers in question; the substance of which you have here before you.

He observed that although this approach had found it's way before the Public, and came to him in a strange and informal manner indeed, still He would [state] his belief that it evinced a

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

peacefulness of Spirit on the part of the Mexican Government, and [he was] disposed on his own side to proceed to all proper lengths for the Establishment of an honorable and desirable pacification, He hoped it might not be incompatible with your position to state to General Santa Aña that He was ready to send Commissioners to Mexico in furtherance of that object. He had to remark, however, that an armistice would be indispensably necessary before any proposals of a peaceful Nature could be entertained for without that there would be no deliberating calmly, or determining wisely on either part. General Houston then conversed with me upon the subject of this approach.

He believed that General Santa Aña had long since been convinced that there was no hope of the permanent re-establishment of Mexican Authority in Texas, and He was equally satisfied that General Santa Aña's avowed desire for a close of this futile contest was sincerely felt, both upon political considerations of various kinds, and pressing moment, and no doubt also for the sake of putting an end to a fruitless Waste of human life and happiness. He could readily understand the feeling which led General Santa Aña to shape this approach upon the condition of the acknowledgment of Mexican Sovereignty by Texas, but he could not suppose there was any deliberate purpose to adhere to that condition.

General Santa Aña's scheme involved the virtual separation of this Country from Mexico. They were to elect their own Officers from the highest to the lowest, there were to be no Mexican troops in Texas; they were to initiate and prepare their own Laws. He certainly could no[t] understand to what extent or by what means this Sovereignty was to be enjoyed or exercised. It would be a shadowy Sovereignty indeed, but it was plain to his mind that the renewed difficulties and complications to which it would give rise would be very substantial answers. He could not but hope that calm consideration, and the voice of great powers, equally friendly to both Nations would lead them both to some safe resting place.

I told the President I should not fail to communicate what He had said to you, and living amongst these people I hope it may be unnecessary to offer you any excuse for some reflections of my own upon the same Subject.

It is certainly in no great spirit of disparagement of the people of Texas. In many respects, on the contrary I think them worthy of high admiration, for example in the spirit of daring adventure, and disregard of every kind of difficulty and hardship, I know not by whom they can be surpassed. It is certainly, then, I would repeat in no spirit of general disrespect, but purely of dispassionate observation of their variable and excitable political humour that I would remark I have never lived amongst any people more likely to abandon their solemn declaration of separation to any plausible exhibition of what was best for their immediate interests. Joined to this expansiveness of political consistency, you will scarcely need to be reminded of their actually pressed condition, and of the absence of those impulses which produce what we understand by patriotism; not to be looked for indeed amongst a people strange to the soil, and compounded for the most part of wandering and restless Emigrants. from the S. W. States of the neighbouring Union.

Speaking then of things as they actually are here, and of the people *now* living in this Country it would certainly not surprize me to find this project, temporarily favored, and perhaps it would not be hard for its advocates to shew them that General Santa Aña's scheme would be as profitable an arrangement for Texas and *the United States* as I am sure it would be a mischeivous one for Mexico.

The President, I confidently believe, will act only upon large and honorable views of what is due to his Country and to himself. But whilst He is sincerely and wisely averse to aggressive War in Mexico, I am persuaded that He is steadily anxious to secure the Independence of the Country, and I do not doubt that He is secretly preparing to resort to that course as vigorously as He can if the interference of Foreign powers shall not otherwise and promptly close this combat. There seems good reason to believe that He will succeed in establishing treaties with most of the Border Indians and when that is accomplished He will be in a better situation to turn to other projects.

General Santa Aña will be greatly mistaken indeed if He thought that Houston's real influence in this Country is weakening, or wished that it should, for He is very moderately disposed towards Mexico, and will strive hard to reach some safe and

creditable conclusion. But if he once raises his voice in the opposite way He will be followed by twenty thousand riflemen from the Western States of the Union, in less than 6 Months. To return however to General Santa Aña's scheme, I think you will concur with me that there is no soundness in a System, flimsily pretending to be of one kind, but essentially of a diametrically repugnant description. And of all the people and Governments on the Earth to select for this experiment of resting contented under a scheme of policy, declaratorily masterful, and really powerless, these reckless and enterprizing races that have found their way to this region, and the scantily scrupulous Government of the United States would assuredly be the most certain to shiver the fragile Machinery to atoms, at their first convenience

That the Government and people of the United States, moved under different motives, are perfectly agreed upon one point in this affair of Texas and Mexico, I make no doubt, and that is a disinclination to the recognition of it's Independence by Mexico. The adoption of General Santa Aña's present scheme would probably suit them all much better. It would effectually sponge out all that has been done in that way, and leave things as they were in 1836 (when they never expected Foreign Powers would recognize the Independence of Texas) with leisure to all parties, and full convenience to strengthen this Country, and open out renewed troubles and pretensions in a Westerly direction. I believe that that Government has no more settled purpose than to stretch itself Westward, and I think the present Cabinet at Washington is of the mind that Texas upon an independent footing would be a serious and growing obstacle in their progress thitherwards.

It appears to be reasoned that independent Texas with a very liberal commercial policy would adhere steadily to a balancing system, for it would leave Her a great emporium between Countries with high tariffs, and eager dispositions, and ready facilities to set them at nought. There is reason too in the suggestion (it has been put forward by leading people in America) that the influx of foreign Capital and principles to this Republic from other parts of the world, particularly from England, would pretty rapidly modify present sympathies. Men, they think, would soon begin to feel Texian, as well as to call themselves, Texians. In-

deed it is more true of the United States races, than of any other in the World that their first best Country ever is at home.

They will live friendly or fight with any people for profits sake. Long before I heard of this proposal of General Santa Aña's the impression was gaining strength in my mind that some intrigue was ripening at Washington (on the Potomac) for I had good reason to believe that there had been personal Communications between General Almonte, General Hamilton, Mr. Tyler and Mr. Calhoun, during last Autumn. Revolving the probable subject of that intercourse in my mind, it has sometimes occurred to me (and there is nothing in this proposal to disturb the surmise) that a formal and temporary reannexation of Texas to Mexico might be one of the proposed devices, and thereupon after some decent length of time, a renewal of General Jackson's Negotiation for the purchase of Texas from Mexico.

That might be a convenient mode enough of adjusting United States Claims on Mexico, without any transfer of funds, and perhaps it might be made more palatable to Mexico by proposing to pay a few more Million than General Jackson had offered. The Mexicans would perhaps be instructed by such advisers that this course would save appearances, and give them a handsome Salvage out of what was lost to them for ever, and their own aversion to have a Neighbour with a liberal Commercial policy would possibly help at the scheme. You are a much better judge of the probability of these speculations than myself, but entertaining no doubt at all of the answers of the Cabinet at Washington on the subject, I have thought it convenient to submit them to you. Considering the shape that this Matter has now assumed, (from the point of view that I regard it, and with such means and opportunities of forming a judgment as are within my reach) I cannot help thinking that Her Majesty's Government would regard a renewal of this futile Contest, always pregnant with more risk of inconvenient complication with the United States than there are any safe means of estimating, With great dissatisfaction General Santa Aña has now proposed a concession of all practical hold over the Country, and it will scarcely be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government to learn that a struggle has been reopened for a matter of form.

On the other hand you will know much better than I, how the

intelligence would be received in London that affairs here had been adjusted upon General Santa Aña's present scheme; a scheme effectually breaking up existing arrangements, and leaving behind the certainty of renewed and more serious complications. By late papers from England I observe that Her Majesty's and the French Governments have recently joined in a Note to the Republic of Monte Video, and Buenos Ayres saying in effect, that they might suit their own convenience about making a peace, but that it was necessary they should keep the peace. And I hope you will pardon me for expressing the wish that you may now think yourself in a situation to request the Mexican Government to suspend hostilities, and recommend me to say the like to this Government for such a length of time as might enable you to learn the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government upon this turn of affairs.

In my mind it is a scheme amounting, in few words, to nothing less than a swamping of this Country's Independence. And all the military and other arrangements, present and prospective, depending upon it, for the better convenience of the United States. They would be what General Houston calls the "beneficiaries" of such a solution. It is of course impossible that General Santa Aña can have any such thought or purpose as this last, but with deference, it seems hard to reconcile his entire earnestness in these proposals with any moderate degree of knowledge of character of these people, or of the circumstances connected with their situation

In every way that I regard this subject, looking at it from here, (but your point of view and experience will at once enable you to arrest any misconception into which I have fallen) it certainly seems to me important that there should be a *complete pause*, till you can receive Notice of the views of Her Majesty's Government. After the present turn of affairs shall be known in that quarter

We learn here that the two Texian Men of War are to get to Sea immediately from New Orleans, but the President privately assured me that the Commodore had orders to give up the Command of the Squadron for repeated disobedience of Instructions, and for a most unwarrantable interference in the affairs of Yucatan and Mexico. He shewed me his Messages to Congress upon

that subject, and they were strongly averse to the least interference of this Country in that struggle.

I have to make an excuse for my hard hand writing, but bad as it always is, I write with some considerable discomfort from sickness, in the hot room of a Houston Boarding House which is a manner of existence that I would not wish to my worst unfriends, and I have had bitter. The Steam Boat is to leave for New Orleans tomorrow, and having no time or convenience to write a despatch from here.—I shall take the liberty of enclosing a copy of this letter to Mr. Addington. I should add that the President wished the Communication to you to be made in a private form.

Charles Elliot.

His Excellency Richard Packenham, Esqr.

Copy.

C. E.

[Endorsed] In letter from Captain Elliot of April 15. 1843.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 6.

Galveston April 25. 1843.

My Lord,

I have the honor to report that the two Texian Vessels of War "Austin" and "Wharton" sailed from the N. E. Pass of the Mississippi on the 19th Instant, destined as it is generally supposed, to the Coast of Yucatan. It is certain that this step has been taken by the Commander of the Vessels in spite of repeated positive orders of this Government to return direct to this Port. And I am in a situation to inform Your Lordship that the arrangements between that Officer and the persons in authority in Yucatan were made without the sanction of this Government, and have been disavowed and disapproved in the most unequivocal language by the President of Texas.²

The embarrassments of this Government upon the subject must no doubt be much increased, if a report which has recently been

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²For additional facts concerning the course pursued by Commodore E. W. Moore, see *THE QUARTERLY*, XIII, 113 ff.

circulated in this place be well founded, and I am disposed to attach credit to it. That statement is that the Government of the United States has directed it's Agent here to call upon this Government to desist from any further pursuit of the unsustainable character of Warfare which has been waged between this Republic and Mexico for some time past, and has further notified that Instructions to the same effect will be transmitted to their Minister at Mexico. I should perhaps mention that I have not heard that these last instructions direct General Thompson to press the point of the acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas on the Mexican Government but merely the cessation of the objectionable description of Warfare. Neither do I hear or observe any thing disposing me to modify the opinion that there is no earnestness upon that subject at Washington on the Potomac.

The Texian Vessels are said to be incompletely manned, with crews of a mixed character: I make no doubt, however, that they will be handled with becoming behaviour if any opportunity of collision presents itself, but I am afraid that there is no room to expect that this unauthorized proceeding can produce any other than injurious consequences. If there be success, and the Officer is sustained by the people here it will be a triumph over the Authority of the Government and the Law, and in other respects probably not very remote, of extremely unfortunate tendency.

And if there be a reverse the consequences will of course be very serious. In the mean time the state of the fact is, that these Vessels are sailing the Seas without due warrant from any constituted Authority. And I have had enough of experience of Naval Affairs to offer the opinion that the power of the Officer in Command to maintain any more control over their movements than may be agreeable to the general will of the Crews, will disappear as soon as it is generally known that He is himself acting in violation of the orders of his Government

I must not close this despatch without once more assuring Your Lordship that there is not the least doubt that the step this Officer has taken is entirely upon his own responsibility, and contrary to his knowledge of the desire of the Government that He should repair direct to this Port. I shall consider it my duty to forward extracts of as much of this despatch to the Senior Officer of Her Majesty's Ships in the Gulph of Mexico,

as may place him in possession of the circumstances under which these Vessels are operating, with a suggestion that their movements should be reported to the Commander in Chief, to Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico, and in the event of any proceeding of consequence, by any direct means which may present themselves to England.

The Right Honorable

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 7.

Galveston April 29th. 1843.

My Lord,

The accompanying Newspaper² contains a letter from Mr. Van Zandt, Chargé d' Affaires of this Republic near the Government of the United States to the Address of Mr. Archer, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate of the United States, in support of the proposed treaty between the two Republics. It will be observed that the treaty was not ratified by the Senate of the United States; but Containing the principles of the arrangement as assented to by the two Governments, I have considered it proper to submit Mr. Van Zandt's letter for Your Lordship's information.

The refusal of the Senate of the United States to ratify the treaty with this Country has led the President to direct the enforcement of the provision of the tariff Laws of Texas, levying a duty of 5 per Cent ad valorem on Imports in Vessels of Countries, not having treaties with this Republic.

To The Right Honorable.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No. 9.⁴

Galveston, May 9th, 1843.

My Lord,

The Inclosure No. 1 is the copy of a despatch from Her Maj-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²*The Texian and Brazos Farmer*, April 15, 1843.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

⁴No. 8, Elliot to Aberdeen, acknowledging receipt of despatches, is omitted.

esty's Chargé d' Affaires at Mexico covering copies of a Communication addressed to him under date 19th April by Senor de Borangra,¹ and of his own reply dated on the same day, but as these last will have no doubt already reached Your Lordship direct from Mexico I do not transmit them through this Channel. I have also the honor to forward the Copy of my own reply to Mr. Doyle.²

There seems less reason to think that these declarations of the Mexican Government are the forerunners of any serious attempt to recover it's Authority over this Country than to discourage [emigration?] to it, and prevent it's settlement. But continued hostilities of this partial nature, (particularly if they be preceded, as the last were, by fallacious proclamations that the advancing parties were the Van Guards of invading Armies, and now by a declaration of a very unsustainable description as regards the rights of Neutral Governments and their Subjects) will probably attract the serious attention of Powers having treaty relations with Texas.

It may be added too that their object of preventing the Settlement of the Country seems to be ill-considered both as respects the hope of fulfilment, and the consequences of the mode of operation. For though it is quite true that the Mexican Government has succeeded in obstructing the settlement of the Western Country by steady and respectable people disposed to cultivate the Soil in peace, and particularly by European Emigrants whom the Climate and advantages of that portion of the Republic would otherwise attract, it is no less true that that Section of Texas is becoming the resort of Men from all parts of the World ready for, and equal to desperate enterprize of any description.

If General Santa Aña cannot be promptly arrested in this bad policy I am afraid it will soon be found that He is doing no more than securing the rapid organization of advanced bands of what will accumulate into a formidable irruptionary Movement.

Your Lordship will be enabled to judge in some degree from the

¹José María de Bocanegra.

²Percy Doyle, British chargé d'affaires at Mexico in 1843, after Pakenham's return to England, and until Bankhead's arrival in Mexico in March, 1844.

inclosed proclamation¹ how disquietingly the actual State of Western Texas sustains this reasoning, and it is my duty to add that with wise and honorable dispositions on the part of the Government of Texas, It is wholly without power to regulate or control the course of events in the particulars now drawn under the attention of Her Majesty's Government.

There is much reason to fear that the Mexican Government has suffered itself to be precipitated into the dismal Measure of decimating the Texian prisoner's taken at Mier, and lately recaptured after a successful rise against their guard. It is impossible to ascribe such extraordinary ignorance of the character of these people to General Santa Aña, as to suppose that He could think after a moment's reflection that such Measures were calculated to intimidate them, and hasty orders upon a subject of so much moment, and such very serious consequences can not be too deeply deplored. If these proceedings have had place they will influence these people to the highest degree, and in other respects cast increased difficulty upon the Mexican Government that there was much need for more prudent Conduct.

It will probably be declared here that some of the prisoners put to Death by these undistinguishing orders were amongst those who used their best efforts to prevent outrage, and absolutely risked their lives, in the attempt, and the Mexican Government has unhappily deprived itself of conclusive means of refuting such allegations. But beyond this I am sure it will be felt by Her Majesty's Government that the Mexican Government was bound by the conditions of the Capitulation assented to by their Commanding Officer at Mier, and the act of successful rise of a body of prisoners against their guard is no warrant for any other Measures than those of more effectual precaution, if they should be retaken.

If particular outrage was charged against them, enquiry should have been had in a regular Military Way, however summarily, and

¹Proclamation of the president, April 27, 1843. It declared martial law in the territory between the Rio Frio and Nueces Rivers and the Rio Grande, and ordered all armed parties upon the western frontiers, claiming to act under authority of the government, except Major John C. Hays, to disperse, and not further to molest the citizens of the frontier by acts of lawlessness (*Telegraph and Texas Register*, May 17, 1843).—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

no blame could have attached to the Mexican Government for any proceedings it might have seen fit to take after investigation by responsible Officers. I anxiously hope that General Santa Aña, will upon more mature reflection have dispatched orders of a more suitable nature than those in question here, and that they will have arrived in time to prevent a shocking event.

H. M. S. *Spartan* sailed again for Vera Cruz this day with my reply to Mr. Doyle.

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Charles Elliot.

DOYLE TO ELLIOT¹

[Enclosure] Copy.

Mexico, 20 April 1843.

Charles Elliot.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform You of my arrival in Mexico, having been accredited in the Character of Chargé d' Affaires of this Government.

I take the earliest opportunity of communicating to you a note which I have this day received from the Mexican Government, intimating that on the entry of their troops into the Territory of Texas, they will acknowledge no right, whether as respects their persons or their property, in such individuals as may be found established in that Country, and who may be taken prisoners, nor will they reply to any representations addressed to them in favour of such prisoners,—that they will treat all who may be found in Texas as actual invaders and enemies of the Republic, and will cause them to be punished according to the laws of Mexico. They also protest that they will not acknowledge any right in foreign Consuls found in that Territory to be treated otherwise than as Neutral Foreigners, intimating that such character even will not be respected in case they oppose, either directly or indirectly the right, in its full extent, whereby Mexico is endeavouring to recover possession of her Territory.

I have the honour to transmit to you a copy of the reply which I have thought it my duty to return to this Communication of the Mexican Government.

I have requested the Honble. Captain Elliot² of Her Majesty's

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²George Elliot, in command of H. M. S. *Spartan* until June 27, 1843,

Ship "Spartan" to proceed to Galveston as soon as he may consider it compatible with the interests of Her Majesty's Service, in order that you may be enabled to take such Steps as may seem expedient to you for the protection of British Subjects and their interests under the extraordinary circumstances of this crisis, but as it is necessary that the "Spartan" should return without delay to the Mexican Ports for the purpose of conveying specie to our Colonies, I trust you will not find it necessary to detain her long.

I have been informed that it is the intention of the Mexican Government, as soon as they shall have brought the Department of Yucatan back to its allegiance, to direct the Squadron, together with a considerable land force, upon Texas, and as intelligence has just reached Mexico of the submission of Merida the Capital of Yucatan, and the adherence of Genl Yuran,¹ a person of considerable influence among the aboriginals, who constitute a majority of the population, it is probable that the whole force now employed in that quarter may shortly be disposable for any operations which the present Government of this Republic may think fit to undertake.

I shall also write to Admiral Sir Charles Adam,² to inform him of what has occurred, in order that he may take whatever steps he may think necessary on this occasion

Captain Charles Elliot.

Percy W. Doyle

[Endorsed] Inclosure No. 1 in Capt'n. Elliot's Despatch to Lord Aberdeen. No. 9. May 9th. 1843.

ELLIOT TO DOYLE³

[Enclosure] Copy.

Galveston May 7th. 1843.

Charles Elliot

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 20th Ultimo, with its Inclosures.

when he was promoted to the command of the *Eurydice*. (British Sessional Papers, 1844—Commons—Vol. 33. Return of Naval Appointments from October 1, 1841, to March 1, 1844, p. 3.)

¹Santiago Iman.

²Commander in Chief in the West Indies, 1841-1845. (Stephen, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, I, 85.)

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

It is to be wished that your note of the same date (20th April) to Senr. de Bocanegra may have reminded the Mexican Government of the grave character of any hostile movement against this Country preceded by a plain declaration of the determination to disregard treaty engagements between other Powers and this Republic, practically denying to the Governments of great and friendly Countries, any right to clothe their servants with a public character in Texas, and further giving special warning that the Mexican Government will only consider these Officers to be neutral foreigners, and separate them from the classification of real invaders, and enemies of Mexico into which all other foreigners found in this Country are to be cast, and from punishment as such according to the laws of Mexico, upon the express condition that they neither directly or indirectly oppose themselves to the full exercise of the rights of Mexico to recover its authority over Texas, as expounded by the Mexican Government, and exercised by Mexican Military Officers

In the event of the entrance of a Mexican force into this Country Her Majesty's Officers here will regulate their proceedings, by the rules of public law, for the government of neutrals in such Cases.

And if such a circumstance should take place before I can receive instructions from Her Majesty's Government, I shall consider it incumbent upon myself formally to declare and assert the privileges and immunities of Her Majesty's Officers in this Republic as well as the rights and liabilities of all Her Majesty's other subjects resident or trading here

I shall also hold it to be my duty to protest against the consequences of any hostile movement founded upon the purposes or principals declared in Senr. de Bocanagrar's note of the 20th Ult. or to be undertaken till those principles and purposes shall have been authentically disclaimed and disavowed, so far as they menace the rights and safety of Her Majesty's Officers and Subjects resident or trading here.

Charles Elliot.

Percy Doyle, Esq. Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires Mexico.

[Endorsed] Inclosure No. 2 in Capt. Elliot's Despatch to Lord Aberdeen. No. 9. 9th May. 1843.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹*Private.*

New Orleans, May 12th 1843

My Lord

On my arrival here whither I have taken the liberty to come on my way to Havanna to meet Mrs. Elliot I find that accounts have reached this place which do not seem to be doubted by persons competent to Judge, though they are certainly entirely at variance with those that reached us at Galveston by H. M. S. "Spartan" coming direct from Mexico. The last tidings, however, are necessarily much later, and I should presume more trustworthy. By them it appears that a division of the Mexican force moving upon Merida, and said to consist of nearly 2000 Men, found themselves compelled to surrender by Capitulation, from want of secure communications with their Squadron, and failure of Supplies.

Agreeably to the reported terms of the Capitulation the surrendering force was to depart for Mexico in 8 days, with their Arms, but their Artillery and Materiel to be held by the Yucantanese till affairs are finally adjusted between the contending parties. This event is said to have taken place on the 24th Ultimo. It is also reported that Commodore Moore with his two Texian Vessels of War have been partially engaged with the Mexican Steam Ships and succeeded in checking them.

I use the freedom of this mode of communication to mention to Your Lordship that I am troubled with an Ague contracted in a long and painful Service in hot Countries, and I should consider it a favor if Your Lordship would sanction my passing the Months of July, August, and September in the Mountains of Kentucky where I have been advised as there are Springs of great virtue for Complaints of that kind. I have the less reluctance in proffering this request, as I can always be at my post within two weeks from that Situation, and be in the constant receipt of tidings from Texas of ten days or a fortnight's date. It may also be added that Congress in Texas does not meet till December, and the Officers of the Texian Government usually disperse during the hot Season.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Separate.

British Consulate
Galveston, May 15th. 1843.

My Lord.

In the absence of Captain Elliot, Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires in Texas, who left Galveston last week for New Orleans, I have the honor to transmit Copies of three documents which have emanated from the Government of this Country, relative to the position of the Texian Navy now at Sea, and the steps taken by the Executive with regard to it's Commander, Commodore Moore: namely,

No. 1. Copy of a Proclamation by the President; dated March 23rd. 1843.²

No. 2. Copy of a despatch to Commodore Moore from the department of War and Marine; dated March 21st. 1843.

No. 3. Copy of Instructions issued by the Executive to Commissioners James Morgan and William Bryan Esquires, dated March 23rd. 1843

In addition to the above, I have the honor to inclose the Copy of a despatch to Captain Elliott, and the Copy of a letter to the Collector of Customs at this port (as the intermediate agent of the President) in explanation of the Circumstances under which I have deemed it my duty to communicate to Your Lordship the papers herewith sent.

I shall forward to Captain Elliott, under Cover to the British Consul at New Orleans, by the same Conveyance that bears this, the whole of the documents addressed by President Houston to Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires

The President, writing to Captain Elliot, states that "All that has been done by Commodore Moore since the 5th Ultimo, has been in violation of orders, and under suspension and arrest." "On the 5th April," he adds "the order of the Department of War and Marine was placed in his (the Commodore's) hands."

It seems to be the hope and wish of the President that Her Majesty's Government may receive the Proclamation and collateral documents as evidence of the sincere and anxious desire of his

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

²The proclamation is printed in *THE QUARTERLY*, XIII, 110-111.

Government to prevent aggressive Action against Mexico, unless offensive operations should be rendered necessary by the Conduct of that Country towards Texas.

William Kennedy.

H. B. M. Consul at Galveston

May 16th. The Steamer for New Orleans has delayed its departure until today, which gives me the opportunity of forwarding a published letter from Commodore Moore that has just appeared.¹

W. K.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

HAMILTON TO MOORE.²

Copy.

Department of War and Marine

Washington 21st March, 1843.

To Post Capt. E. W. Moore. T. N.

New Orleans.

Sir.

Your Communication of the 10th inst. has just been received; by which the Department is advised of the receipt by you, of orders dated 22nd Jany. last requiring your immediate presence at the Seat of Government, and notified at the same time, that you decline the execution of the same.—Alleging as a reason for thus disregarding the plain and positive Commands of the President, that you have been placed “in Command by the Constituted authorities of the Country, and acting under orders from the Department, from which source alone you look for orders (which have never been rescinded or countermanded”).

Notwithstanding the orders to you of 29th October, reiterated on the 5th and 16th November, to report with the vessels under your Command, at Galveston; which orders you acknowledge to have received, and which were repeated again on the 2nd Decr. with the additional injunction to report in person to the Department; and renewed on the 2nd of January³—which last you have also received, as allusion is made to it in your Communication.

¹Page 193 below.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

³The order of January 2, 1843, is printed in *Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 265.

The "Sealed Orders" to which you refer were issued under the belief that you could, with the means placed in your hands by the Govt. prepare the Squadron for sea, and on that condition alone. You failed to do so, rendered the orders null; and hence your orders to proceed to Galveston and report; which, in the opinion of the Department, countermanded your previous orders to cruize upon the Gulf. That you may *distinctly* understand the wishes of the Department, however, the "*Sealed orders*" of 15th Sept 1842, *together with all others, not in accordance with this, are hereby revoked.*

Any negotiations which may have been concluded, or may now be in progress with the Commissioners of the Government of Yucatan, have been entered into without the Authority or sanction, or even knowledge of the Government, and will not be recognized by it.

In consequence of your repeated disobedience of orders, and failure to keep the Department advised of your operations and proceedings, and to settle your accounts at the Treasury within three, or at most in six months from the receipt of the Money which has been disbursed as the laws require, and as you were recently ordered to do, You are hereby suspended from all Command, and will report forthwith in Arrest, to the Department, in person.

Any interference on your part with the Command, or with those who have been directed to assume it, will be regarded by the Government as Mutiny and Sedition, and punished accordingly.

By Order of the President.

M. C. Hamilton

Actg.: Sec: War and Marine

[Endorsed.] No 2. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch marked "Separate" of May 15th 1843.

HOUSTON TO MORGAN AND BRYAN¹

Copy.

To James Morgan.
and Wm. Bryan, Esquires.

Executive Department
Washington, Texas.
March 23d/43.

Gentlemen,

Your report of the 10th inst. with the accompanying papers, has

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

been laid before me, by the acting head of the War and Marine Department. In full contemplation of all the subjects involved in the transaction, I must now render my orders, touching the attainment of the design of Congress, in passing the Secret act for the disposition of the Navy.¹

Col. William Bryan, Consul of Texas, and Naval Commissioner, will immediately proceed to New Orleans, and in connection with Col. James Morgan, also Naval Commissioner, employ all proper and legal means to get possession of the National vessels, the Ship Austin and Brig Wharton, likewise all the public Stores, arms, equipments, and public property, of every description, belonging to the Republic; holding the same subject to the future orders of the Government of Texas. Should any resistance be made to the orders of this Government, by any officer of the Navy, or by other persons, you will apply, in the name of this Government, to the Federal or other proper Authorities of the United States, and demand of the same, such aid, as may be compatible with the relations of the two Countries, and the Laws of Nations

Post Captain E. W. Moore has had no authority from this Government, to Ship Men, appoint officers, enlist marines, or do any other act, or thing, but to sail to the port of Galveston, and report, or turn over the Command of the Navy to the Senior officer next in rank present, and report in person to the Department. Since the 29th October 1842, he has had no Authority to enter into any arrangements with Yucatan, nor could do so, without contumacy to his superiors, or treason to his Country. The fact of his shipping men, or enlisting or receiving, volunteer marines, with an intention of going out to Sea, without the orders, or sanction of his Government, or contrary to order, on armed vessels, will clearly render it a case cognizable by the Government Authorities of the United States. His setting at "defiance the laws of his own Country" to which he owes allegiance, is clearly treason.—When the orders under which he received his "Sealed Orders" were suspended, by the order for him to repair to Galveston, the "Sealed Orders" were of no avail, and it is his duty to return them "Sealed" to the Department: as the event authorizing *the Seal to be broken* has not transpired, and can not now occur, under the Sanction of his

¹The secret act to provide for the sale of the navy of Texas is printed in *Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 316.

Government.—His existence as an officer is derived from the organs and functionaries, under the Constitution and Laws of Texas, and he is bound to know and obey them. Not to obey, is “Unofficer-like” to “resist” them is “Mutiny,” and to “defy” them is “treason.” For him to *persist would be “Piracy.”*

Should Post Captain E. W. Moore not forthwith render obedience to the orders of the Department, with which you are furnished, you will have published, in one or more Newspapers, in the City of New Orleans my Proclamation, and forward one authentic Copy with which you are furnished to the Hon. Ashbel Smith, Chargé d’ Affaires of Texas, to France, at Paris, and also a Copy to our Chargé d’ Affaires to the United States, the Hon. Isaac Van Zandt, at Washington City.

It is deplorable for a Nation to be reduced to the dilemma of either exposing the Shameless delinquencies, and most flagrant crimes of her officers, or suffer herself to become the object of contempt, or the victim, of insubordination and anarchy.

Our national humiliation is attributable to a few disorganizing men, who seek power without Merit, and a few incendiary presses, which are supported by such men, with the avowed design, of prostrating the Constitutional Officers, by Revolution. *They shall fail.*—I suggest these facts, that you may meet and counteract their influence for the Nation’s sake, and honor. I beseech you to intermit nothing, until you have accomplished, the objects of the law, for the prompt execution of which you were appointed

Should sickness, or any other cause, prevent the Commissioners, from acting jointly, they, or either of them, may act in all things, separately and singly, but not adversely.

Sam. Houston

[Endorsed.] No 3. In Mr Consul Kennedy’s despatch marked “Separate” of May 15th 1843.

KENNEDY TO ELLIOT¹

Copy.

British Consulate.

Galveston, May 15th 1843.

Sir,

Major Cocke, Collector of Customs at this port, called upon me yesterday Morning, bearing a packet from President Houston,

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

addressed to you, which I was given to understand the President was desirous I should open, in the event of your absence.—Packets containing similar enclosures—Major Cocke informed me—had been simultaneously transmitted to the Ministers of France and of the United States, resident at this place.

Permit me to refer you, for explanation of the course I deemed it best to pursue, to the enclosed Copy of a letter to Major Cocke, acknowledging the receipt of the packet and its enclosures

I beg to assure you, Sir, that it was with reluctance, I opened a Communication addressed to you, notwithstanding the intimation of Major Cocke, who was aware of its contents. On this occasion, however, the persuasion that I should be acting as you would wish me to act under the circumstances, and that I should thereby best consult the interests of the service, induced me to waive my scruples,—More especially as the packet bore not the slightest intimation of being other than of a purely public character.

Captain Chas. Elliot. R. N.

William Kennedy

[Endorsed.] No 4. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch marked Separate of May 15. 1843.

KENNEDY TO COCKE¹

Copy.

British Consulate.

Galveston, May 15th 1843.

Sir.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt, through your hands, on yesterday, of a packet transmitted by the President, General Sam Houston, to Captain Elliot, R. N., Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires in Texas, and, which in consonance with your suggestion,—as being agreeable to the wishes of the President, and otherwise expedient,—I opened in your presence.—The said packet contained the following documents, viz:—

No. 1. Copy of a Proclamation by the President of the Republic, respecting Commodore Moore and the Texian Navy; dated March 23rd 1843.

No. 2. Copy of a Despatch to Commodore Moore, from the Department of War and Marine dated. March 21st 1843.

No 3. Copy of Instructions issued by the President to the

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

Commissioners, James Morgan and William Bryan, Esquires, dated March 23rd 1843.

Nos. 4 and 5. Two letters from the President to Captain Elliot.¹

By the return of the Hon, Anson Jones Secty of State, to the Seat of Government, the President will have been apprized of the absence of Captain Elliot from Galveston, he having proceeded to New Orleans, for the purpose of meeting his lady at Havannah, on her way from England. Under the circumstances, and being in the receipt of no specific instructions, I shall feel it my duty forthwith to transmit the several documents heretofore named and enumerated under cover to the British Consul at New Orleans, for Captain Elliot; and to forward, at the same time, copies of the President's Proclamation, the Despatch to Commodore Moore, and the Instructions to the Commissioners, Messrs. Morgan and Bryan, to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Do me the favour to convey to the President the assurance of my profound respect

William Kennedy.

H. B. M. Consul at Galveston

Major Cocke, Collector of Customs.

P. S. Should Captain Elliot be in New Orleans on the arrival of the New York Steamer, (by which I shall forward the communications addressed to him by the President,) it will not, of course, be necessary for my Agent to transmit the documents I have mentioned to Her Majesty's Secretary of State.

[Endorsed.]. No. 5. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch, marked "Separate" of May 15th. 1843.

MOORE TO THE TEXAS TIMES²

Texas Sloop of War Austin,
Outside N. E. Pass, Miss.

April 19th, 1843.

Mr. F. Pinckard, Editor of the Texas Times,
Galveston, Texas.

In the event of my being declared by proclamation by the Presi-

¹For the first of these letters, see Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 10, May 29, 1843. The second is presumably Houston's letter of May 13, enclosed in Elliot to Aberdeen, *Secret*, June 8, 1843. Pp. 311-312, 318-321.

²Quoted by *The Morning Star*, May 18, 1843.

dent as a Pirate, or outlaw; you will please state over my signature that I go down to attack the Mexican Squadron, with the *consent* and *full concurrence* of Col. James Morgan, who is on board this Ship as one of the Commissioners to carry into effect the secret act of Congress, in relation to the Navy, and who is going with me, believing as he does that it is the best thing that could be done for the country.

This Ship and the brig have excellent men on board, and the officers and men are all eager for the contest.—We go to make *one desperate struggle* to turn the tide of *ill luck* that has so long been running against Texas.

You shall hear from me again as soon as possible.

E. W. Moore.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

Foreign Office

Captain Elliot.

May 18th. 1843.

No. 5.²

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 29th of March, in which you inform me that a Texian Citizen named Robinson had arrived in Texas bearing to the President of Texas from General Santa Anna Propositions of a peculiar but pacific character for the adjustment of the Differences between the Two Countries

Those Propositions although calculated and perhaps intended to afford an opening for further Negotiations, do not appear to Her Majesty's Government to be of a very practical description, nor fitted in their present shape to create more than a faint hope of a satisfactory Settlement of those differences. But as Her Majesty's Government have received no Accounts from Mexico respecting those Propositions, and are therefore unable to judge of the Motives which gave rise to them, or of the probable course which the Mexican Government intend to pursue in furtherance of them, or even of the authenticity of the Propositions themselves, which yet

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. The concluding phrase of the last paragraph only has been printed in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1096; in Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1908, II.

²Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 Aberdeen to Elliot have been omitted. No. 1 transmitted correspondence with Ashbel Smith on the *Guadalupe* and *Montezuma*. No. 2 was an inquiry as to the fate of a Mr. Orr, and No. 3 in regard to a Mr. J. Dickson. No. 4 transmitted a despatch from Pakenham, descriptive of the war between Mexico and Texas.

appear uncertain, it is unnecessary, in the present stage of the business, to indulge in any speculations respecting this Matter.

With regard to the project for the annexation of Texas to the United States, which has formed the subject of some of your recent communications to this Office, Her Majesty's Government do not think it necessary to give you any Instructions at the present moment on that subject, further than to desire that you will assure the President of the continued interest which the British Government takes in the prosperity and independence of the State of Texas; and of their full determination to persevere in employing their endeavours, whenever they see a reasonable hope of success, to bring about an adjustment of the differences still existing between Mexico, and Texas, of which they so much lament the continuance.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 3.

British Consulate
Galveston, May 22nd. 1843.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a return in duplicate of the prices of Agricultural produce² within the limits of the Galveston Consulate, for the Quarter ending 31st March, 1843, together with a Memorandum, in reference thereto, also in duplicate. Although I was not empowered to enter upon the duties of My office until the 24th of February last, I have deemed it best to Commence these periodical Returns, which will be continued in regular succession, with the beginning of the year.

From the observations in the "Memorandum," it will be seen that there is, at present, no export of Corn or Grain from this Port, and that the Return, as a register of the prices of this Class of domestic products, is almost valueless. Convenient lines of Communication must be opened and adequate means of transport provided before Galveston can possess a Corn Market worthy of the name.

In conformity with the terms of Paragraph 14 of my "Instructions," I have given the prices for each week of the quarter; at the

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

²Returns of corn and grain prices were frequently made by Kennedy, but they are not printed here as they were merely copies of current prices quoted in newspapers.

same time, I am inclined to think that, under the circumstances of price and Supply, a Quarterly, or Monthly, average of Corn and Grain would be clear and more practically useful.

When in London during the Autumn of last year, I had the pleasure of presenting to the Hydrographic Office, at the Admiralty, some documents illustrative of the geography of Texas. And it was suggested that I should endeavour to obtain for the Department, a Copy of the Chart of the Coast used in the Texian Navy, and drawn up from the observation of its Commodore. Since my arrival at my post, I have endeavoured, not only to meet this particular suggestion, but to collect such additional Materials as might elucidate the general aspect and character of the Coast and limitary lines of the Republic. On the 8th of this Month, I had the satisfaction to transmit to Captain Beaufort, by Her Majesty's Ship of War Spartan, then lying off Galveston, the following documents; viz:—

1. General Chart of the Coast line of Texas, Compiled from the Observations of the Texian Commodore, and from the Boundary Survey made under the direction of the Commissioners of Texas and the United States.
2. Tracings of the Boundary line between Texas and the United States.
3. Large Plan of Galveston Island and Sketch.
4. Government Survey of the entrance to Galveston, recently made.
5. Survey of the Entrance to Matagorda Bay, by the Texian Commodore.
6. Running Survey of Corpus Christi and Aransas Bays.
7. Survey of the Rio Grande, from the Mouth to the Mexican town of Mier.

I hope to render these Materials, the Collection and Arrangement of which have entailed no expense upon the Admiralty, still more complete, but I have reason to believe that the information they embrace is nearly as ample and as reliable as can well be obtained, until it shall please Her Majesty's Government to employ a Vessel in Surveying the Coast.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

*Memorandum accompanying the Return of Corn and Grain
from the Port of Galveston, Texas, for the Quarter
ending March 31st. 1843.*¹

Galveston. May 20th. 1843.

The Corn and Grain trade of Galveston is, at present, altogether unimportant in a Commercial point of View.

The only kind of grain yet produced, in noticeable quantities, throughout the lower section, or rich Cotton-growing region of Texas, indeed throughout the limits of the Republic—is Maize or Indian Corn; And, in consequence of the imperfect State of Communication with the interior, but little of that finds its way into the Galveston Market. Nearly all the Corn and grain consumed on the Island is imported from New Orleans; whence, also, are received Supplies of flour and potatoes, and even hay, oats, poultry and pork.—Thus although Texas is one of the most fertile Countries on the American Continent, the cost of living is higher at Galveston than in the United States or England.

Texas, admirably adapted to the raising of Stock, and the Cultivation of some of the more profitable products of tropical Agriculture, will, in all probability, never rank as a Corn-exporting Country; as it is likely to prove sounder economy for the farmers to exchange the great Staples of the Republic for the flour and small grains of the Western States of the neighbouring Union, than to incur the outlay of erecting an independent Supply.

There is no stock of Corn or grain in granary at Galveston. From New Orleans the importation is regular, being graduated by the wants of the population. Freight from New Orleans to Galveston is twenty Cents per bushel, for Corn, and fifteen Cents per bushel, for Oats.

The only restriction on the grain trade is an import duty Amounting to twenty Cents per bushel on Indian Corn and fifteen Cents per bushel on Oats, with fifteen per Cent *ad valorem* on other grains. In common with other Articles of import, subjected to taxation, grain introduced from Countries with which Texas has no Commercial Treaty, is liable to an additional duty of five per Cent *ad valorem*. This duty is at present levied on imports from

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

the United States, owing to the non-renewal of the Treaty between the two Republics.

Freights to England is three fourths of a penny per pound for Cotton, by which freights generally are governed.

Exchanges at Galveston are ruled by the New Orleans rates. For the quarter ending March 31st. 1843, they ranged as follows, viz:—

On the Dollar.

January	10th. 1843.....	101½ to 102¼	Premium
	25th.....	103½ to 104.	
February	14th.....	101¾ to 102½.	
	25th.....	100¼ to 100¾	
March	10th	100½ to 101½.	
	24th.....	102 to 102½.	

[Endorsed] No 2. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch of May 22d 1843.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 10.

New Orleans. May 29th. 1843.

My Lord.

Mr Consul Kennedy's Despatch and its Inclosures will have placed Your Lordship in possession of the course taken by the Government of Texas with respect to Commodore Moore in command of the Texian Vessels of War "Austin" and "Wharton" off the coast of Yucatan; and I beg to add to the papers forwarded on that occasion the copy of a private letter from the President,² the substance of which your Lordship will observe He has desired should be communicated to Her Majesty's Government.

The inclosure No. 2 is a Newspaper³ containing accounts of an affair between the Mexican Squadron and the Texian Vessels of War on the 16th Inst. off Campeche. These reports are said to be made by the Commodore, and his Brother acting as his Secretary, and I perceive no ground to question their genuineness

It is proper to draw Your Lordship's attention to the details

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²Houston to Elliot, May 6, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1089; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

³Unidentified cutting.

reported in these notes respecting the display of the English Ensign at the main of the Mexican Steam Ship "Guadaloupe" previous to the commencement of the action, and the immediate hoisting of the English and American Ensigns at the fore of the Texian Ship "Austin." No further particulars concerning this feature of these transactions are stated: I may add however, that I shall lose no time in forwarding a copy of this despatch to the Commander in Chief on this Station, to whom I have already communicated the movements, and situation of the Texian Vessels of War.

The recent proceedings of the Mexican Government towards the retaken Texian prisoners, joined to these accounts from the Coast of Yucatan and the measures of the President of Texas with respect to Commodore Moore, are said to be occasioning considerable excitement in this City, and probably more or less, throughout the whole Southern part of the Union.

Charles Elliot.

To the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO KENNEDY¹

Slave Trade No. 1.

Draft to Mr. Wm. Kennedy.

Foreign Office

May 30. 1843.

Sir,

I have to desire that you will do your utmost to obtain for the Information of H. M.'s Govt answers to the following queries.

1. What is at present the amount of the Population of the State in which you reside, and what the number of whites, and of coloured people forming that Population, distinguishing Males from Females, and Free People from Slaves:—What was the amount of the population in the same State in the year 1832, and what was the amount in the year 1837, distinguishing the particulars as in the case of the present time?

2. Is it supposed that any Slaves have been imported into the Country within the last ten years, either direct from Africa or from other quarters; if so, how many in each year?

¹F. O., Slave Trade, Vol. 479. This instruction and Kennedy's answers (September 5 and 6, 1843) have been printed in British Sessional Papers, 1844, *Slave Trade Correspondence, Class C*, but are here inserted as of unusual interest. Kennedy's reply of September 5, 1843, will be printed later in its chronological order.

3. Is the Slave protected by Law equally with a free man in criminal cases?

4. What protection is there by Law to a Slave against ill-conduct on the part of his Master?

5. Is the evidence of a Slave received in a Court of Law?

6. Is the Slave well or ill-fed, well or ill-treated?

7. Is the Slave considered generally to enjoy as good health and to live as long as a free person?

8. Is the Slave population considered to be on the increase, or decrease, and from what causes?

9. Is the manumission of Slaves of common occurrence?

10. Have the Laws and Regulations in respect to Slaves become more or less favourable to them, within the last ten years?

11. Is there in the State in which you reside a party favourable to the Abolition of Slavery? and what is the extent and Influence of such party? And is such Party on the increase or otherwise?

12. Is there any difference in the eye of the Law between a free white and free coloured man?

13. Are free coloured men ever admitted to Offices of the State?

14. You will state whether you have drawn your answers from Public Documents, or from private Information; and you will state whether any Periodical Census is taken of the Population within the district of your Consulate, and what was the last period at which it was taken.

You will be careful to make your reply to each question as concise as possible.

I am, etc.

Aberdeen

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

Captain Elliot.

No. 6.

Sir,

Foreign Office

June 3, 1843.

With reference to your Letter dated the 29th of March, inclosing a printed Copy of the Propositions conveyed from General Santa Anna to the President of Texas, by the medium of Mr Robinson, to which Letter I made a brief reply by my Despatch No. 5, of the 18th Ultimo, I have now to communicate to you a Copy of a

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. The letter is unsigned.

Despatch from Mr. Pakenham, dated the 23d of March,¹ relative to those Propositions. They appear to have been made by Genl. Santa Anna in the full hope, and even expectation, that they would be accepted by the Government of Texas as the basis of an adjustment between Texas and Mexico.

You will perceive from that Despatch that General Santa Anna has expressed his anxiety that Her Majesty's Government would employ their good offices in order to promote an arrangement between Mexico and Texas on the footing laid down in those Propositions.

Although Her Majesty's Government do not intend to make themselves in any way a Party to this Transaction or to incur any responsibility respecting it, they are nevertheless perfectly willing to employ their good offices, in an entirely neutral and impartial sense, in order to bring about a peaceful and equitable adjustment of the differences existing between Texas and Mexico.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that the propositions of General Santa Anna go far to establish the virtual independence of Texas, although by the first of those Propositions Texas is required to acknowledge the Sovereignty of Mexico

Her Majesty's Government might have supposed that this latter demand had been put forward *pro formâ*, and, to save appearances, were it not that they have learnt from Mr Pakenham, since his arrival in England, that he does not consider it at all probable that General Santa Anna will recede from this Demand, since, even were he personally disposed to do so, which he does not seem to be, public opinion would effectually oppose him in carrying out that inclination.

It may therefore be taken for granted that the demand for the recognition of the Sovereignty of Mexico will be adhered to by the Mexican Government.

Under these circumstances it will be for the Government of Texas to determine whether the virtual independence of Texas would, in their opinion, be too dearly purchased at the price of the nominal concession required of them, or whether it may not be well to admit that concession, and to look to the future for the means of removing that sole remaining badge of their dependence.

¹F. O., Mexico, 161, No. 21. This despatch was written by Pakenham in Mexico, but carried in person to England. Doyle, as chargé, was now the British diplomat at Mexico.

By adopting this course peace would be immediately secured, and with peace, commerce and agriculture would flourish, and the foundations of daily encreasing wealth and power would be at once laid.

Difficulties will undoubtedly stand in the way of giving practical effect to the propositions submitted to Texas by Mexico; and it is very obvious that various Modifications will be required in those Propositions before they can be carried into execution. But if both Parties enter upon the task of endeavouring to bring about an adjustment with good faith, and prosecute that task with temper and a full determination to bring it to a satisfactory issue, Her Majesty's Government do not perceive in the terms of accommodation proposed by Mexico any insurmountable obstacle to the conclusion of an agreement on equitable grounds between the Parties.

Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to offer any advice to the Government of Texas in this matter; but I repeat that they will very readily lend their good offices, whenever called upon, in order to facilitate the termination of the existing Dispute.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

F. O. June 3d. 1843.

Captain Elliot.

No. 7.

Sir.

I transmit to you herewith for your information, a Copy of a despatch from H. M. Minister in Mexico² respecting the recapture of a Body of Texians who had been made prisoners in an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into Mexico and had overpowered the escort in charge of them, and also respecting the measures adopted by Genl Santa Anna with regard to those prisoners.

KENNEDY TO ELLIOT³

[Enclosure]

British Consulate

Copy.

Galveston, June 5th 1843.

Sir.

The following information which I have received, when taken in

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. The letter is unsigned.

²F. O., Mexico, 161, No. 11, March 22, 1843.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 10. The letter is here placed in correct chronological order, though transmitted by Kennedy to Aberdeen, May 8, 1844.

connexion with the general character of the relations subsisting between the United States and Texas, and the Critical Situation of the latter, appears to be of a sufficient importance to warrant the formality of a despatch. My informant, whose name I am not at liberty to mention is, I believe, quite worthy of trust, besides being a person of intelligence, and experience in the affairs of this Country.—I give his statement from a Minute which I took at the time.

“General Murphy”¹—(says my informant)—“the new Minister from the United States to this Republic, has but lately returned from a diplomatic Mission to the Republic of Colombia. He is now entrusted with a Special Mission to Texas * * *

“The object of his present Mission is to submit Certain propositions, with a view to some agreement between the United States and Texas. The Nature of these propositions, or agreement, is not specified. The only known ground of surmise is included in the following observations, which dropped from him in conversation with the Mayor and a deputation of Citizens, this Morning, between eleven and twelve o’clock.

“Texas”—General Murphy remarked—“was virtually independent, and the bombast of Mexico, like that of Spain, anticipated Matters that could never be accomplished. The border Warfare between Mexico and Texas was an evil which the United States would stop; and, in so doing, they would act in accordance with the sentiments of every other Civilized Nation. Texas should be, and, indeed, was independent, and all that could now be desired was a Security to emigrants to people the Country. The inhabitants of Texas wanted emigrants like themselves—and no others—Men speaking their own language, and subject to their own Customs and laws—Security would be given to such emigrants.—Our friends on the other side of the Water might be “*much irritated and disappointed*” (these latter, says my informant, are not the exact words, but, in meaning, they are substantially the same)—“*at the Matter, but what do we care for that?* As a Virginian Member of Congress observed, in one of his Speeches at a former day—“For what reason should we ask for independence, when we are actually independent—what care we for that puny little Isle?”

I examined my informant as to the exact impression made upon

¹W. S. Murphy.

him by the Minister's tone and style of expression, when alluding to Great Britain:—his decided feeling, (he replied) was that they were unfriendly.

When, with this information is coupled the recent introduction of a South Carolina politician (Mr. Legaré)¹ into the Cabinet of the United States, in the room of Mr Webster, and the attempt to displace Mr. Everett as American Minister to England,² I am led to infer, Sir, that the observations of General Murphy, as reported to me, may not be wholly unworthy of your consideration.

General M. has, I understand, announced his intention to proceed to Washington on the Brazos, by way of Virginia Point, tomorrow.

William Kennedy.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires (at Galveston)

Copy.

British Consulate

Galveston June 7th. 1843.

Sir,

In reference to my Communication (No 3) of the 5th Inst., I beg to state that, according to information, more recently received, General Murphy was accredited to Guatemala, instead of Colombia

I have been further informed that he is an able engineer, much trusted by his Government, and that, during his Southern Mission, he made a Survey of the Country bordering on the river San Juan and the lake of Nicaragua, with a view to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by Means of a Canal Communication.

William Kennedy

Captain Elliot. R. N.

[Endorsed]. Enclosure No. 2. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch No. 7, dated May 8th, 1844.

¹Hugh Swinton Legaré, a prominent lawyer, writer and politician of South Carolina. He was attorney-general of the United States under President Tyler and on Webster's resignation of the Secretaryship of State, conducted the duties of that office for a short period in 1843. (Appleton, *Cyclopedia of Amer. Biog.*, III, 677.)

²It was planned to have Webster replace Everett, but the latter clung to his position.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹*Secret.*Galveston
June 8th. 1843.

My Lord.

The Inclosure No 1 is the Copy of a private letter addressed to me by General Houston, which it is proper that I should transmit for the information of Her Majesty's Government. In his position, he necessarily could not request nor directly authorize me to forward this communication of his private views to Your Lordship.

But the subject of the letter is entirely political, and whilst I am sensible that these opinions have been communicated to me in the confidence of friendship, I am also persuaded that General Houston must have felt that they would be made known to Your Lordship, and I am equally satisfied that it would be unnecessary and unsuitable on my part to do more than mention my own earnest request that they should only be used for the private information of Her Majesty's Government. Your Lordship will readily conceive that in the state of feeling in this and the neighbouring Country, on such topics, they could not be publicly adverted to, without consequences of the highest inconvenience.

It will be noticed that General Houston has alluded to some Newspaper attacks to which He has been exposed both in this Country and the United States with respect to secret engagements with the British Government. And I should mention that the last time I conversed with him He touched upon these observations and strictures, at least as to the feelings of, Her Majesty's Government upon the existence of Slavery in Texas, for it had been alleged amongst other things that Her Majesty's Government had required the abolition of Slavery in one of the South American Republics as the price of it's Mediatorial Offices with another; And it was thence argued that the same Concession was required from Texas.

I told General Houston that the sincere desire of Her Majesty's Government to put an end to the Contest between Mexico and this Country had been frequently declared; that I was sure He would understand that no conditions were intended, which were not expressed; and that the subject of Slavery in Texas had never been mentioned to me in any despatch from Her Majesty's Government,

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

or by word of mouth. As to the feelings of the British Government and Nation upon the Subject of Slavery, abstractly considered, which seemed to be the foundation of these speculations of the press, they were well known to the whole World, and it was quite unnecessary to enter upon that topic; But as He had alluded to this Institution in Texas, I could not help expressing my own opinion that it's existence was a Subject of deep regret.

General Houston did not conceal his own opinions to the same effect, and added, that unless the propitious Moment of a Settlement of the difficulties with Mexico should be taken for devising some mode of getting rid of the Mischief, He foresaw that Texas would sooner or later become the "impound" of the Black and Coloured population of the United States, to the incalculable injury of it's well understood interests and happiness.

Another point which will require a few words of comment is the allusion to the case of the Prisoners taken at Mier in whose behalf I wrote to Mr Packenham at General Houston's request. I forwarded Mr Packenham an extract from General Houston's letter to me upon the Subject, in which I understood him to reason that the Prisoners were entitled to the benefit of the Capitulation with the Mexican Commanding Officer, though He did not deny that the movement beyond the Rio Grande had been made upon their own responsibility.

It seemed to me that his purpose in saying that was to free himself from the imputation of using language of aversion to irregular incursionary Warfare in his Communications with foreign Governments, whilst He sanctioned it in his orders to his own officers: But I certainly never supposed that General Houston intended or wished that any representations of that kind should be made to General Santa Aña.

The accompanying extract from General Houston's letter upon the Subject will probably convince Your Lordship that his reasoning was addressed to me for representation to Her Majesty's Minister at México, and I am sure that it will be a source of great surprise and concern to Mr Packenham, and entirely contrary to the [his?] wishes, that any other use has been made of it. General Houston's present remarks are founded upon declarations made by Prisoners recently released through the good offices of the American Minister at Mexico which have found their way into the public

press, to the effect that General Thompson shewed them the Copy of General Houston's letter to me communicated to him in confidence by Mr. Packenham. It appears very probable that Mr. Packenham conferred with General Thompson upon the cause of these unfortunate people, but it is quite unnecessary to say that I am certain He never authorized the exhibition of General Houston's letter to these Texian Prisoners, or much less, gave the least room for the extremely unjust and injurious insinuation that General Houston wished to prejudice these prisoners in the sight of the Mexican Government.

Mr. Packenham's whole course in Mexico, with respect to the Government of Texas, and any Citizens of the Republic who fell into the hands of the Mexicans was marked by unvarying Consideration, and kindness, often too, as it is well known at considerable pecuniary Sacrifice, and it may be depended upon that any communication He might have had with General Thompson upon this subject, was made in a spirit of perfect appreciation of General Houston's Motives, and of a cordial disposition to meet his wishes.

I shall take occasion to say this to the President, and to add that I find it easier to believe that these released prisoner's misconceived General Thompson, than that He afforded them any ground to misrepresent General Houston's plain and kind purposes on their behalf. It remains to be hoped that there has been some mistake as to the representation that General Thompson shewed any of these released prisoners a Communication He had received from Mr Packenham in a confidential way.

I have taken the liberty of forwarding the original of General Houston's private letter to me, because it does not appear to me to be desirable to retain it in this Country, in case of accident to my papers.

P. S.

Charles Elliot.

I abstain from offering any opinion upon the probable turn of affairs as respects this Country, in the present crisis, because with all things in a deplorable and helpless condition here, it is plain that results must depend chiefly on events, or Negotiations beyond my sphere of observation

Charles Elliot

The Right Honorable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

HOUSTON TO ELLIOT¹

[Enclosure.]

Washington May 13th 1843.

(Private.)

My Dear Captain

We are much excluded here from important intelligence, among which may be reckoned the *thrilling* events passing in your Community of Galveston. We occasionally receive papers from the United States, and from them learn that they are taking a *very* deep interest in the Welfare of Texas—so far at least as the patriotic effusions of editors go. I may be mistaken, but I think the course pursued there is not difficult of comprehension.

For Texas not to be completely subservient to the United States, is regarded by them as rebellious and ungrateful. Their political parties have not yet determined what capital is to be made out of us; and the Southern section at least, with a hope of ultimate annexation, is unwilling that any change from our present attitude should take place. They perceive that, if a pacification is brought about between Texas and Mexico, by England, we must know that it will result more from generous feeling than from a hope of pecuniary gain, and will necessarily inspire, on the part of Texas, feelings of kindness arising from a sense of obligation. The *quid pro quo* of five Millions cannot be the desideratum with England now, for the time for that has passed by²

If England produces a pacification between this Country and Mexico, she will thereby secure a friend on the gulf whose contiguity to the United States, in the event of a War, would not be desirable to that country. All movements on the part of the U. States would seem to indicate that they have an eye to a rupture at some period not remote. But I need not suggest this to a gentleman of your observation. The genius as well as the excitability of that people, united to a bold and generous daring, impel them to war. Their love of Dominion, and the extension of their territorial limits, also, is equal to that of Rome in the last ages of the Commonwealth and the first of the Caesars.

The Continent of North America is regarded by the people of

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²This refers to the plan whereby Texas was to assume five millions of the Mexican debt if Great Britain was instrumental in securing recognition of Texas by Mexico.

the U. States as their birth-right—to be secured by policy, if they can, by force if they must. Heretofore Texas has been looked upon as an appendage to the U. States. They cannot realise that we now form two Nations. Therefore every act done in reference to us by any power of which they are jealous, or for which they do not cherish kind national feelings, is regarded as an unauthorized interference and necessarily provokes their denunciation.

This is the case at present in relation to England, British influence and every ridiculous humbug which their crazed imaginations can start, are conjured up and marshalled in fearful array for the purpose of alarming Texas, exciting disorder, producing disrespect towards England, and compelling us to look to the U. States as our only hope of political salvation. They are willing to see Texas tantalized by every annoyance until, in a fit of despair, she is compelled to identify herself with them, and by some act of good fortune become incorporated with them—though they cannot precisely point out the means.

In support of this opinion, the rejection of the late treaty with us, by the U. States Senate, to my mind, was not at all an equivocal expression of the notions of that Country in relation to Texas. It was assigned as a reason, though not in debate, that the Condition of Texas was such as to render them reluctant to form closer connexions with us than those already established by their recognition of our independence, *and such provisions as they could make in our favor* BY LAW. Such reasons, I presume, have never been uttered concerning any other nation, since the establishment of Hayti. The humility of our condition, however, compels us to *pocket* this; as the U. States regard us, from their expressions, nothing more than a pocket attached to their outer robe.

I shall look with *amusing* interest to the journals of the U. States for a formal denunciation of the Executive for having enforced the law requiring a discriminating duty upon articles imported from countries not in treaty with us. It will not be *the law or people* of Texas, I apprehend, that will be blamed, but the *Executive* for having *the audacity to enforce the law against THEM*. But so long as Texas does exist, I am determined, that if I should not be so fortunate as to conciliate good opinion, I will at least evince to the world that, so far as any merit may attach to the

execution of her laws, so far as I have the power, I shall be entitled to it.

Texas has once evinced a willingness, amounting to unexampled unanimity, to become annexed to the United States. We sought the boon with humble supplications. In this posture we remained in the outer porch of their Capital for many months. Our solicitations were heard with apathy. Our urgency was responded to with politic indifference. Apprised of this, I directed our Minister to withdraw the proposition. This I did from a sense of national dignity. Since that time Texas has not renewed the proposition; and the United States now, in order to get it into an attitude before them that would be creditable to them, desire no doubt that Texas should again come forward soliciting the boon. They have not as yet received such indications as they desire. If it were the case, it would place the subject before the poli[ti]cal parties of the U. States, in a position different from that in which it now rests. In that event there would be but one question to ask: Shall the Annexation of Texas to the U. States take place? As it is, there are two: First, Is Texas *willing* to be annexed? Second, in that case, shall it be annexed? This renders the matter more complicated and produces feelings of excitement and irritability that induce the leading journals of certain sections in that Country to traduce and vilify the authorities of Texas in a very unbecoming manner. This I presume is done by [way?] of whipping prominent Men into the list of petitioners.

Again, if war between the U. States and England should take place, and the independence of Texas not be recognized by Mexico, or not annexed to the U. States, under the excitement and commotion which would exist in a state of war, the contiguity of a situation united with kindred inhabitants, would, *without form of law*, amalgamate us with the U. States. If however the independence of Texas should be recognized through the medium of English influence, such a result could never take place. If the U. States upon the Gulf can maintain a parallel influence to that which they may establish on the Pacific, Texas will become a cantonment for the pioneers in the van of that mighty advance whose political power will not halt short of the isthmus of Darien. If Texas is sustained as an independent Nation, it will necessarily retard the

consummation of schemes which, though now but in embryo, will at some future period be developed by much human suffering.

It is not selfishness in me to say that I desire to see Texas occupy an independent position among the Nation's of the earth, to which she is justly entitled by her enterprise, daring, sufferings and privations. The blood of her martyrs has been sufficient to give cement to the foundation of a great nation, and if her independence be steadily [speedily?] recognized by Mexico, heaven will direct and carry out her destiny to a glorious consummation. Every day that it is delayed affords to demagogues a theatre for mischief, and when repose should refresh her, factious political incendiaries are marching about with their torches of discord. I am weary of this state of things. All that Texas requires, to make her healthy and vigorous is a respite from execution.

I cannot believe that all this fustian about British influence and abolition in Texas, has its origin with the Government of the U. States. But in a Country where the Chief of it is elective in ninety nine cases out of one hundred, I presume the Administration derives complexion from the Clamours, or what is supposed to be the feelings, of the people. If so, as far as Southern influence can be exercised upon the Administration of that Govt. it is highly probable that the Agency of England, exercised in behalf of this Country would not receive a hearty cooperation from all the agents which that Government may have employed. Of Mr Tyler my opinion is too exalted to think that he would sanction a course so much at war with the avowed wishes of that Government—its natural Character and the rights of humanity.

If the prisoners who have been released by Santa Anna have reported truly the conduct of Genl. Thompson in Mexico, he could have had but one object in view, and that was, by the return of those gentlemen to create a strong prejudice against the representative of Her Britannic Majesty in Texas, as well as the Executive, who was understood to be on terms of personal friendship with him and entertaining at the same time for his character and capacity the highest respect. If Gen. Thompson really has stated, as represented, *confidentially*, to *every* prisoner with whom he conversed, that Mr Pakenham, *enjoining secrecy*, had shown him a letter from yourself, stating that I had written to you desiring your interfer-

ence—representing that the Mier prisoners had gone into the enemy's territory in violation of *My* orders, and that I hoped that Santa Anna would show them mercy etc. and if Gen. Thompson gave these things such a coloring as represented, the object is too plain. If Mr. Pakenham showed to Gen. Thompson any letter, it must certainly have been shown under, as he himself declared, injunctions of secrecy, and by violating these injunctions he acted in bad faith. Again—If its facts had been as represented by Gen. Thompson, they could not have prevented Mr Pakenham, as a gentleman, from exercising any influence in behalf of humanity; which, as an individual, he might possess. I regret that Gen. Thompson has placed himself in the attitude he occupies. By his own showing he was unauthorised, and I much fear that neither the act nor the motives will find a justification in truth. Mr. Pakenham will certainly regard it as an act of discourtesy on the part of Gen Thompson, if not one of faithlessness; Being fortified as I am, and being assured, from your intelligence, and feelings, that you would pursue no course, but one induced by the highest principles of honor and generosity, I am very much at ease.

I regret that our friends in the U. States should have any uneasiness on the Subject of Santa Anna's propositions. If we were to judge from the Newspapers, as well as from the private Correspondence which I receive, we might conclude that there was danger of my being favorable to retrocession to Mexico; and as for the subject of Texas becoming a British Colony and abolition in Texas, and all that, they have been exclusively confined, so far as I can learn, to Galveston, and Houston. I have never understood that they have been discussed in any other sections of the Republic. So I can neither sympathize with the distresses of our friends, nor can I entertain commiseration for their ridiculous credulity.

From our Chargé d' Affaires in Europe, we have had no recent advices. I am exceedingly anxious to hear what course Her Majesty's Government has taken on the subject of the Protest, as well as the course of the French Governmt.

I would be very happy to hear from you by every safe opportunity; and, if any thing important, by express

I hope you have had a very satisfactory interview with Doctor

Jones, Secretary of State, relative to the consistent policy of this Government.

Sam. Houston

Captain Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 1 in Captain Elliot's despatch "Secret" to the Earl of Aberdeen. Galveston June 8. 1843.

HOUSTON TO ELLIOT¹

[Enclosure]. Extract of a letter from General Houston to Captain Elliot marked "Private" and dated at.

Washington Jany. 24th. 1843.²

"In relation to this Subject I am constrained to solicit the kindness of you should it not be out of the line of your official Action, that you would address Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico, and bad as matters are, make this representation.

"It is true that the Men went without orders; And so far as that was concerned the Government of Texas was not responsible, and the Men thereby placed themselves out of the protection of the rules of War. This much is granted. But the Mexican Officers by proposing terms of Capitulation to the Men relieved them from the responsibility which they had incurred, and the moment that the Men surrendered in accordance with the proposals of Capitulation they became prisoners of War, and were entitled to all immunities as such. Upon this view of the Subject I base my hopes of their Salvation, if it should be speedily presented, thro' the agency of Her Majesty's Minister to the Mexican Government. Should it be proper to do so I feel assured that your kind offices will not be wanting in an early application upon the Subject.

This view of the Subject seems to me the only feasible one which has presented itself to my mind"

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 2 in Captain Elliot's despatch "Secret" to the Earl of Aberdeen. Galveston. June 8th. 1843.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²See above, page 154.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 4.

British Consulate
Galveston. June 9th 1843

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit enclosed the following documents relating to the trade and commerce and Maritime regulations of the Republic of Texas, and the Consulate of Galveston; namely:—

The present Tariff of the Republic of Texas.²

Historical Abstract in reference to the Tariff.

Return of the British and Foreign Trade at Galveston for the year ending 31st December 1842.²

Return of British Trade at Galveston for the year ending 31st December 1842.²

Charges on Shipping in the ports of Texas—Pilotage Regulations at Galveston,³ description of the National Flag of Texas.⁴

Regulations for the Coasting Trade and Protection of Texian Shipping⁵

Warehousing of Goods and Drawbacks⁶

I beg to observe that I have drawn up the "Historical Abstract" for the purpose of rendering the series of official documents more complete, and have furnished trade Returns for 1842—the year previous to my arrival at my post—in order to note, by comparison with the Returns for the Current year, the Commercial progress, or retrogression, of the Republic.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

²Omitted.

³Omitted, since the matter submitted by Kennedy is a synopsis of "an act regulating the appointment and duties of pilots at the Port of Galveston," approved February 4, 1842 (Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, II, 773, 774).

⁴The description of the Texas flag is copied from the act approved January 25, 1839 (*Ibid.*, II, 88).

⁵Under this title Kennedy submitted a synopsis of "an act for the regulation of the coasting trade and the protection of Texian shipping," approved January 4, 1841 (*Ibid.*, II, 479-482).

⁶Under this title Kennedy submitted a synopsis of "an act to provide and establish the warehousing system in the ports of this Republic," approved February 5, 1840 (*Ibid.*, II, 225-229).

Historical Abstract, in reference to the Tariff of the Republic of Texas, in operation on the first of June 1843¹

On the 17th of January 1821, Moses Austin, a Native of New England, obtained permission from the Supreme Government of the Eastern Internal Provinces of Mexico, to introduce three hundred families as Colonists from Louisiana into Texas.

In consequence of Moses Austin's death, his project of Colonization was taken up and prosecuted by his Son, Stephen, who was obliged, in 1822, to apply to the Authorities of revolutionized Mexico, for Confirmation of the privilege which had been conceded to his father by the Authorities of old Spain. On the 4th of January 1823, a Colonization law, approved by the Mexican Emperor Iturbide, was promulgated, and, on the 18th of February of the same year, an Imperial Decree was issued, empowering Austin to found a Colony under the provisions of the general law.

A revolutionary Movement having displaced Iturbide, and the Government which succeeded him, having decreed the Nullity of all Imperial titles, Austin was Constrained to Solicit the Confirmation of his Concession from the Congress of Mexico. This he obtained on the 14th of April 1823, which may, therefore, be recorded as the legal date of the Commencement of Anglo American Colonization in Texas.

To encourage the settlement of her waste frontier lands, and thereby interpose a barrier against Indian aggression, and strengthen herself against Spanish attempts at reconquest, Mexico held out various inducements to the earlier Colonists of Texas, and, among them, a temporary exemption from tithes and taxes. By Article 24, of the Mexican Colonization Law of the 4th of January 1823, it was enacted that, during Six Years from the date of the Concession, the Colonists should not pay tithes, or duties, on their produce, nor any Contribution whatever, of a public kind.

By Article 25, of the same law, it was enacted that, during the Six years, immediately succeeding the termination of the first specified period the Colonists should pay half the tithes and half the Contributions, direct and indirect, that were paid by Native Citizens.

These enactments emanated from the *General Government of Mexico*.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

The *State* of Coahuila and Texas, as a Member of the Mexican Federation, by Article 32, of a Colonization Law passed by its Legislature on the 24th March 1825, ordained that, during the first ten years,—reckoning from the Commencement of the Settlement,—Colonists within the limits of the State should be free from every kind of public Contribution, except such as were generally demanded to prevent, or repel, foreign invasion.—After ten years, new Settlers were to bear an equal proportion of the public burthens with Native Citizens.

The law containing these provisions was repealed by an Act dated April 28th 1832, which exempted all “New towns,” for ten years, from the time of their foundation, from every description of tax, except Contributions for defence against foreign invasion. For the Site of each of these “New towns,” the State appropriated four Square leagues of land.

The establishment of Custom-houses in Texas, and of garrisoned posts to enforce the Collection of the National Revenue, which followed the periods of exemption from taxation granted to the infant Settlements, formed with the Colonists prominent Causes of dissatisfaction, while, on the other hand, the infraction of fiscal enactments was regarded by the Government of Mexico as indicative of an ungrateful and rebellious Spirit on the part of Men invited by its liberality to occupy its fertile lands. In June 1832, a party of Colonists attacked and Captured the Mexican garrison at the port of Velasco.—in April 1833, petitions complaining of the Tariff, and praying for the privilege of free importation, for a term of three Years, of the most important Articles of Consumption, were transmitted by the Colonists to the General Government.—in the Autumn of 1834, a number of persons seized the Collector of Customs at Anahuac, and expelled the Military stationed at his post,—and, in the Autumn of 1835, Texas and Mexico were in a State of open Warfare.

In November 1835, a Convention was called in Texas, and a Provisional Government proclaimed, which Conferred on a Governor and Council the power “to impose and regulate Impost and Tonnage Duties, and to provide for their Collection under such Regulations as might be deemed expedient”

An Ordinance of the Provisional Government, imposing certain duties of Customs, passed on the 12th of December 1835, was re-

pealed by another Ordinance on the 27th of the same Month, which placed a duty of twenty five per Cent, *ad Valorem*, on such goods, wares, and Merchandize as were "entitled to a debenture" in the port of Shipment, and a duty of fifteen per Cent, *ad Valorem*, on such as were not entitled to debenture.—Articles imported *bona fide* for the use of emigrants, including farming implements, household furniture, provisions, stores and Machinery of all kinds, were to be admitted free.

The declaration and establishment of the independence of Texas, and the adoption of a Constitution of its inhabitants, were followed by the Convocation of a Congress, which, on the 20th of December 1836, passed an Act "to raise a Revenue by Impost Duties," under which the following charges were exigible:—

On Invoice price of Wines, Spirituous and Malt liquors 45 per Cent *ad Valorem*.

Silk goods, and all Manufactures of Silk 50 per Cent *ad Valorem*.

Sugar and Coffee $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ad Valorem*.

Teas 25 *ad Valorem*.

Bread Stuffs 1 *ad Valorem*.

Iron and Castings—10 per Cent *ad val*.

Coarse Clothing, Shirtings, Shoes, blankets Kerseys, Sattinets, and Stuffs formed of a Mixture of Cotton and Wool. 10 per Cent *ad Valorem*.

All the non-enumerated goods an *ad Valorem* duty of twenty five per Cent on invoice price.

Another, and more Comprehensive, Customs law was passed on the 12th of June 1837 "for the purpose of raising a revenue to aid in defraying the public expences, sustaining the public Credit, and securing to the public Creditors a fair Annual, or semi-Annual interest on the Shares of Stock in the funded debt."

The Tariff underwent a farther revision by an Act passed on the 5th of February 1840, to which the law at present in operation is termed "Supplementary"

It is to be observed that the receipt of duties in National paper, profusely issued, on an unsound basis,—and, of course, rapidly depreciated,—has from time to time, caused the Tariff to appear much higher than it really was, and the successive endeavours to realize, Amidst the Confusion occasioned by a spurious Currency,

an adequate, tangible revenue, has imparted a capricious character to the fiscal legislation of the Republic, discouraging and injurious to the Merchant and the emigrant. The duties, at present, are receivable only in gold and silver, or in "Exchequer Bills," *at their Market value.*

There is a general and increasing feeling in favor of diminished duties, with a view to the ultimate adoption of a System of Free Trade, but no material alteration in this direction can well be anticipated until the Country is tranquillized in regard to its external relations

More than two thirds of the revenue derived from Customs is received at the port of Galveston. The Eastern Counties of Texas, which possess a comparatively dense population, Contribute but a small proportion to the public funds, owing to their geographical position, which secures impunity to the Smuggler. The gross amount received at the port of Galveston for the year ending the 31st of December. 1842, may be set down, in round numbers, at 110,000 (one hundred and ten thousand) dollars; the receipts for the same period at Brazos, Matagorda, Red River, San Augustine, and Sabine at 30,000 (thirty thousand) dollars. The average expense of Collection was a fraction above fourteen per Cent.

The attempts hitherto made to raise a revenue by *direct taxation* have been unsuccessful

[Endorsed.] No. 2. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch of 9th June. 1843.

Charges on Shipping in the Ports of Texas¹

Tonnage Duty. All Sailing Vessels entering any port of the Republic, from any foreign port or place, are chargeable with a tonnage duty of Sixty Cents per ton, and Steam boats with thirty Cents, according to registered tonnage.

Entrance. Any Ship, or Vessel, of less than one hundred tons burthen, pays one dollar and a half, of one hundred and upward, two dollars and a half,—

Clearance. For every clearance of Vessels of the above-mentioned burthen, the same fees respectively.

Port Entry. Two dollars.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

Permit to land goods. Twenty Cents.

Bond taken Officially. Forty Cents.

Permit to land goods for exportation that may be entitled to debenture, or official Certificate. Forty Cents.

Bill of Health. Twenty Cents

For every document (registers excepted) required by any Merchant, Owner, or Master of any Ship, or Vessel, not before enumerated. Twenty Cents.

[Endorsed.] No. 5. In Mr. Consul Kennedy's despatch of 9th June. 1843.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 12.²

Galveston, June 10th. 1843.

My Lord,

Mer Majesty's Sloop "Scylla" arrived last night from Vera Cruz bringing me a Despatch from Mr. Percy Doyle Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires at Mexico of which I have the honor to transmit a Copy, as well as a Copy of the Communication I have thereupon addressed to the Secretary of State of this Republic.³

The departure of the Steam boat for New Orleans, prevents me from adding more upon this occasion. I should mention however, that in the state of understanding between the Government of Her Majesty, and that of the King of the French concerning the close of the Contest between this Republic and Mexico, I have felt it right to communicate the subject of Mr Doyle's despatch in confidence to my Colleague Monsieur de Cramayel; And He concurs with me that every suitable effort should be made to dispose the Government of this Republic to meet these advances of the President of Mexico.

Charles Elliot

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Downing Street

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²No. 11, Elliot to Aberdeen, on the *Eliza Russell* claims, has been omitted.

³Elliot to Jones, June 10, 1843. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1090; in Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1908, II.

DOYLE TO ELLIOT¹

[Enclosure.]

Mexico, 27 May. 1843.

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that at an interview which took place with His Excellency the President General Santa Aña on the 24th Instant, He spoke to me a good deal about the present position of this Country with Texas, and added that He was ready to treat upon the terms proposed by him and forwarded through Mr Robinson, with which you are acquainted. I pressed him as much as possible with respect to the fallacy of the plan with respect to the Sovereignty of Mexico being acknowledged by Texas; but at present He does not seem at all inclined to give way on that point.

*I further stated to him how useless I felt it would be to send Commissioners to treat on any terms so long as the present warfare was carried on; and His Excellency has Authorized me to acquaint you for the information of General Houston, that He will agree to an Armistice, and He told me he would at once give orders for a total cessation of hostilities on his part, and requested that General Houston would send similar orders to the different Officers Commanding the Texian forces; and that in such case He was ready to receive any Commissioners which might be sent from Texas to treat on the terms proposed by him*²

I am of the same opinion with yourself respecting the total fallacy and impolicy of that part of the plan of the President Santa Aña claiming an empty Sovereignty over Texas, but as I collected from your Correspondence how important you felt it to be that an armistice should be granted, and even intimated that a large party in Texas with a view of doing what they thought best for them at the present moment might accept General Santa Aña's proposition, I felt it my duty to accept the offer He made and acquainted him that I would write to you on this Matter without loss of time.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²This paragraph only is printed in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1091; in Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1908, II. "The portion of this Despatch contained within the crosses [asterisks], is the portion which has been communicated to the Government of Texas.—CHARLES ELLIOT."

I have by the last packet informed Lord Aberdeen of what has taken place.

Percy Doyle.

To Captain Charles Elliot, R. N.

[Endorsed]. Inclosure No 1 in Capt. Elliot's despatch No. 12. to the Earl of Aberdeen. Galveston June 10th 1843.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No. 13.

Galveston June 21st 1843.

My Lord,

Thinking it possible that Her Majesty's Sloop "Scylla" may catch the Mail of the 29th at Vera Cruz, I have the honor to forward by her the accompanying Copy of the Proclamation of Armistice issued by this Government.⁴

But as it seems probable that my Communication through the United States will reach England before the Mail from Mexico I shall transmit the Correspondence connected with this Affair through the usual channel.

Charles Elliot

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Downing Street

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁵

No. 15.⁶

Galveston, June 22nd 1843.

My Lord,

Having reference to my dispatch No. 12 of the 10th Instant I have now the honor to transmit to Your Lordship the reply of the Secretary of State of this Republic to my Note to him,⁷ a Copy of which was forwarded in the despatch No. 12.

I beg also to transmit a Copy of the Proclamation of the Armistice issued by the President of Texas, and a Copy of the despatch I

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

⁴A proclamation suspending hostilities with Mexico, June 15, 1843. Printed in *Niles' Register*, LXIV, 307.

⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

⁶No. 14, Elliot to Aberdeen, on the whereabouts of Mr. John Orr, has been omitted.

⁷Jones to Elliott, June 15, 1843. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1092-1093; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

addressed to Mr. Doyle in reply to his of the 27th Ultimo, a Copy of which has already been forwarded to Your Lordship in my despatch No 12.

I also avail myself of this occasion to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatch No. 5 of the 10th Ultimo,⁸ and to transmit a Copy of the note I have thereupon addressed to Mr. Jones.⁹

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.
Downing Street

Charles Elliot.

ELLIOT TO DOYLE¹⁰

[Enclosure].

Galveston June 21st 1843.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your despatch of the 27th Ultimo by Her Majesty's Sloop "Scylla" (received here upon the night of the 9 Instant) and in reply I beg leave to transmit to you.

1st. Copy of a Note from myself to the Secretary of State of this Republic, dated on the 10th Instant.¹¹

2d. Copy of the reply of the Secretary of State to my Note of the 10th Instant, dated 15th Instant.¹²

3d. An authentic Copy of a Proclamation of Armistice by the President of Texas, dated 15 Instant.¹³

I trust that it will be in your power to induce the President of Mexico to accede to the arrangement made by this Government respecting the duration of the Armistice pending the Negotiations for peace, and till due notice of a determination to renew hostilities upon the part of either Government should be given to the other through Her Majesty's Representatives in Mexico and Texas. It is satisfactory to me to find that your opinions are concurrent with my own upon the fallacy and impolicy of that part of General Santa Aña's plan claiming an empty Sovereignty over Texas, and thinking it possible that your dates from England may not be so

⁸The correct date for Aberdeen's No. 5 is May 18, 1843.

⁹Elliot to Jones, June 18, 1843. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1096-1097; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

¹⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

¹¹Elliot to Jones, June 10, 1893. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1090; in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

¹²See Note 7, page 221.

¹³See Note 4, page 221.

recent as my own, and that it may be convenient to you at this Conjunction to know the impressions of Her Majesty's Government upon the propositions sent on to this Country by Mr Robinson, I have herewith the honor to transmit to you the Copy of a despatch from Lord Aberdeen, received three days since, dated upon the 18th Ultimo.¹⁴

I would remark, here, that there has been some misconception as to any opinion upon my part that a large party in Texas with a view of doing what they thought best for them at the present moment, might accept General Santa Aña's proposition. I remarked indeed in a private communication to Mr Packenham that it would not surprise me to find the project temporarily favored, and I have heard that was the Case to a limited extent, and for a brief space of time, but it was not my belief that it would be countenanced for a moment by the Government of the Republic, or indeed steadily, by any considerable part of the people. My observations upon that part of the subject were intended generally to sustain my own impression that a cessation of hostilities was very desirable on every ground of consideration, and particularly till you could learn the views of Her Majesty's Government after these overtures should become known in that quarter.

It is to be hoped that the wise and becoming conduct of this Government in refusing to take part in the struggle in Yucatan and respecting the late unauthorised movement of the two Texian Vessels of War to that Coast from New Orleans, will facilitate an early and honorable close of this Contest.

In the state of understanding between Her Majesty's Government and that of The King of the French concerning the settlement of these differences I considered it suitable to communicate the subject of Your despatch to my Colleague Monsieur de Cramayel before I addressed this Government in relation to it, and He concurred with me that every proper effort should be made to dispose the President to agree to the Armistice.

Percy W. Doyle

Charles Elliot.

H. M. Chargé d' Affaires, Mexico.

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed]. Inclosure No 3 in Captain Elliot's despatch No 15 to the Earl of Aberdeen. Galveston June 22d. 1843.

¹⁴See Aberdeen to Elliot, No. 5, May 18, 1843. Above, page 194.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁵No. 17.¹⁶

Galveston June 24th 1843.

My Lord,

I have the honor to forward Your Lordship some extracts from a private letter which I sent to Mr Doyle, with the reply to his despatch of the 27th Ultimo. The other parts of this letter need not be intruded upon Your Lordship; They referred to a request General Thompson had made to Mr. Doyle to see a private communication I had addressed to Mr. Packenham by the request of General Houston, upon the subject of the Prisoners taken at Mier, which Communication Mr Doyle had of course declined to shew to General Thompson.

I have also thought it convenient to forward with these despatches two Newspapers for Your Lordship's examination, the first (The "National Vindicator"¹⁷ which is the Government organ) containing the President's Instructions to the Commissioners sent on to New Orleans for the purpose of enforcing the orders upon Commodore Moore to return to this Port; and the Second (the "Civilian"¹⁸ by far the best conducted Journal and of most influence in the Country) containing some observations on the Armistice, deserving of attention.

Charles Elliot

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Downing Street.

ELLIOT TO DOYLE¹⁹

Extracts from a private letter from Captain Elliot to Percy W. Doyle, Esqr. Mexico. dated at Galveston June 21st 1843.

No. 1. "My despatch will make you acquainted with General Houston's acceptance of the Armistice, and I hope you will have no difficulty in inducing General Santa Aña to accede to the usual and reasonable arrangements General Houston has made respecting the

¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

¹⁶No. 16, Elliot to Aberdeen, reporting that he has received from Texas £3 15s 9d for supplies furnished the schooner *San Bernard*, has been omitted.

¹⁷Issue of June 3, 1843.

¹⁸The *Civilian and Galveston City Gazette*, June 24, 1843.

¹⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

duration of the Armistice. I do sincerely hope that these advances, on all sides, may be improved into a speedy and honorable pacification, and however great the relief to this Country will be, it seems manifest to me that it will be of higher permanent advantage to Mexico. For I firmly believe that it is in General Santa Aña's power, by speedy, wise, and liberal arrangements with Texas, upon the basis of it's independence, pretty rapidly to detach it from it's intimate connexion with the people and things East of the Sabine, to the great increase and security of the just and powerful influence of his own Country on this Continent. With a comprehensive policy on his part, steadily directed to these ends, Texas would settle to a considerable extent by emigration from England, Germany and France; And a people will be placed between the United States and Mexico, whose interest it will be not merely to maintain a Neutral attitude, in the event of dispute with that Country (which would draw a large portion of the foreign trade with Mexico into the ports of Texas) but rather to lean to the side of Mexico. For independent Texas will be in many respects a rival producing Country with the United States, and will soon come to feel that it is more likely the United States should stretch Westward over Texas, than that Mexico should stretch Eastward over Texas. I should tell you that there is no reason whatever to believe that the present Government of Texas has any undue feelings of partiality towards the United States. There is no bias that way, and the late honorable conduct of President Houston concerning the movements of the Texian Squadron to the Coast of Yucatan may also serve to help out a happy conclusion of this Contest; the continuance of which is filling this Country with desperadoes from every part of the South, eager to penetrate into Mexico and bidding fair to turn the Gulf of Mexico into a piratical cruising ground. General Santa Aña is preventing the settlement of this Country by people disposed to be peaceful and orderly, and filling it pretty fast with a class of persons, the fellows of whom I do not believe are to be found on the face of the Globe. The sounder policy will be to make a very liberal peace with Texas, and to strengthen the hands of this Government by every kind of friendly Countenance. Such a course would roll back a tide of mischief East of the Sabine, and a contrary will as surely induce a high flood West of it."

"Speaking of the late movement upon Yucatan by the Ships, I

cannot refrain from observing, that it was much more a United States, or at all events a New Orleans expedition, than a Texian. This Government was conscientiously, and extremely averse to it, did all that it could to prevent it, and all that it could to put an end to it, regardless of shameful abuse both in the United States and here, and much worse, be it observed, in the United States, than here. The Expedition sailed from New Orleans, was mainly assisted by Citizens of this place, and has I believe been recently reinforced by Volunteers raised in that City; and all this though it was notorious that Commodore Moore was acting in total disobedience of the orders of his Government. If the Government of the United States, could have prevented these things they surely ought to have done so, and if they could not, their powerlessness is very dangerous to their Neighbours, and deplorable for themselves."

2d. "The plain fact is that General Houston is very unpopular in the United States and here, because of his moderate policy with regard to Mexico, and particularly since his determined opposition to these purposes of interference in the Affairs of Yucatan."

"These feelings of ill will to him are aggravated by the impression that his wise and moderate conduct is agreeable to Her Majesty's Government, and well calculated to strengthen their efforts for a speedy and peaceful Settlement of this Contest. This is the true cause of all the bitterness towards him in the United States, and I happen to know that General Thompson has very particular friends in that Country, most particularly hostile to General Houston. Putting all these things together you will not wonder that I should earnestly beg that there may be no relaxation of your just reserve respecting the exhibition of my private letters to General Thompson."

3d. "The American Government and it's functionaries need careful handling in this Texian matter. Be assured that the adjustment of this question on the basis of the independence of Texas, is ill liked in the United States, particularly through the help of our own and other European Governments. These good folks desire to keep it an open question, as well for the chances of the future incorporation of Texas with the Union, as because it serves as a sort of *raw* upon Mexico, whenever there is any hesitation about American demands upon that Country. This reflection leads me to

think that it will be very advantageous if you can persuade the Mexican Government to adopt the principle of General Houston's arrangement with respect to the duration of the Armistice. If the duration of the Armistice depended in any way upon the good offices of American Officers near either Government, it is to be apprehended that it might not last long enough for any permanent useful purpose"

Copy. Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed] Inclosure in Captain Elliot's despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen No 17. Galveston June 24. 1843.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²¹

No. 18.

Galveston July 4th. 1843.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit a note from Mr. Jones,²² in reply to the note I addressed to him upon the 18th Ultimo communicating assurances of the continued interest felt by Her Majesty's Government in the prosperity and independence of Texas, and of the full determination to persevere in efforts for the peaceful adjustment of the difficulties between this Country and Mexico, whenever a hope of success should present itself.

With this communication I have also received private letters from General Houston, and Mr. Jones expressive of an earnest desire for the appointment of a British Consular Agent at Corpus Christi. General Houston thinks that "the effect would be very beneficial upon the dispositions of the Mexicans as well as the Texians, and even upon the Indians, who have recently depredated upon the poor families at that point. The Irish families who have claimed to be British Subjects will derive confidence, and resume their former habitations, and pursue the arts of peace with delight and Advantage. I doubt not, but what the United States will support a Consul at Corpus Christi." Mr. Jones thinks that a flourishing trade will soon grow up in that quarter with the neighbouring Mexican Settlements, and looks to the increase and

²¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²²Jones to Elliot, June 28, 1843. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1097, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

security of Commercial intercourse, as the surest means of establishing the steady pacification of the frontier.

I shall inform the President and Mr. Jones that my Instructions prevent me from making the desired appointment without Your Lordship's sanction, but that I am persuaded the President's wishes will always have great weight with Her Majesty's Government.

Aransas Inlet, and Corpus Christi Bay, are situated at the Mouth of the river "Nueces," and formed the Western limit of Texas, proper, according to the Spanish and Mexican divisions of the Country. Its contiguity to the San Patricio Settlements, alluded to by the President, will probably recommend this suggestion to your Lordship's consideration

Charles Elliot.

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.
Downing Street

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²³

No. 19.

Galveston July 15th 1843.

My Lord,

The Inclosures form a Correspondence, which I have recently had with a Gentleman of the name of Yates, a Citizen of this Republic, resident in this place. It arose from a letter He had addressed to a Mr. S. Converse in London dated on the 19th March last (of which I heard for the first time two day's since) recently published at Boston, and republished at New Orleans.²⁴

The impressions that the abolition of Slavery in this Republic, would be agreeable in England, and that it would be practicable to raise a loan there on the Security of the lands in Texas, in furtherance of that object, are probably entertained by many persons in this Country. But whether such views be well founded or not, it is the fact that Mr. Yates has been conveying to Mr. Converse his own inferences and impressions in these particulars, and not what I said to him; and Your Lordship will observe that

²³F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²⁴Yates' letter to Converse, widely printed in American newspapers, created the impression that he was writing with Elliot's authority, and that Great Britain was actively interested in procuring abolition in Texas. Smith, *Annexation of Texas*, 113.

He has ascribed the different turn of his letter to Mr. Converse, to the haste of that Communication; which would no doubt have been avoided if He had supposed it would find it's way before the public.

It is the case as Mr. Yates observes that I was on board the Steam Boat on the passage from Houston with my Colleague Monsieur de Cramayel, on the occasion to which He alludes, though I did not hear the address of which He speaks. But I did not consider that the excitement prevailing here at that time was otherwise than temporary; and I do not perceive that it formed part of my duty to report every casual ebullition of popular Sentiment, on Subjects of internal interest, in my despatches to Her Majesty's Government. I have conversed with my Colleague since upon the subject, more than once, and I believe his opinions were coincident with my own, as to the temporary character of the excitement manifested on that occasion; and perhaps, it may not be amiss to add that we both of us ventured to suggest to the Gentleman who was coming to Galveston to test the state of public feeling here, that He might expose himself to some degree of danger, by the abrupt introduction of such a Subject, on the people of this Town.

That the opinions of Mr. Yates and those who think like him, are founded upon sound conceptions of what would most conduce to the strength and durable prosperity of this Republic, is certainly my belief. But I have never given any warrant for the use of my name on such subjects, and certainly never said what has been imputed to me.

Charles Elliot

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.
Downing Street

YATES TO ELLIOT²⁵

[Enclosure.] Copy. Charles Elliot. Galveston July 12th. 1843.

To Captain Charles Elliot.

Sir—

I was much surprised to receive by the Steamer which arrived this Morning a Copy of the "New Orleans Republican" of July 3d

²⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

containing a letter purporting to have been written by me to S. Converse, Esqre. of London, which was preceded by a letter from a London Correspondent of the Boston Post, and some editorial remarks reflecting on yourself, and the Government you have the honor to represent in a most unwarrantable manner, and in which my letter was referred to as Authority for the correctness of those remarks.

Without reflecting on the impropriety of my Correspondent in publishing that letter, I feel it a matter of duty to place in your hands without delay, and as far as in my power a full exculpation from the charges thus made or insinuated.

In my letter to Mr. Converse under date of 19th March last, speaking on the subject of emancipating the Negroes of Texas, the following expression occurs "I had also held several conversations with the British Minister here, and from him I learned that such a Measure would secure for us the warmest support from the British Government, in our present Struggle, and also the means of paying for our Slaves, by their Citizens giving lands in exchange"

The Writer of the London letter under date of June 2d, says "I enclose the Copy of a letter received here by the last Steamer from Galveston, in which you will see that the British Minister in Texas has been endeavouring to persuade the people of that Republic, that if they will alter their constitution so as to abolish Slavery, then this government will aid them in their Struggle with Mexico, and furnish the Money to pay for their Slaves, the Texians giving lands, &c, &c".

My letter to Mr. Converse was written in much haste after the arrival of the Houston Boat referred to, in it, which occurred at a very late hour on Saturday Night, and the Steamer sailed for New Orleans on the Morning of the following day. Mr. S. P. Andrews of Houston and some others came passengers in the Houston Boat, with the avowed intention of ascertaining the feelings of the Citizens of Galveston on the Subject, *not of abolition*, but of gradual emancipation of Slaves, and on the representations of himself and his Associate I was induced to write in the strong and encouraging terms used in that letter. With respect to yourself and the efforts you have made to persuade the people of Texas, to entertain such a project it is due from me to you to say that

as far as my knowledge and your communication to me extends, you have stated distinctly that you were instructed by your Government to interfere in no manner with the internal institutions and regulations of this Government; and that *in answer to my enquiries*, you stated your private opinion as an individual, that such a measure (which I intimated as probable) would be gratifying to the British Nation, and secure for this her ardent support, and that there were parties in England who felt so deeply interested on the subject, that you believed such might be found who would advance the Capital necessary to purchase our Negroes, for the purpose of manumission, and that they would receive our lands in exchange on the assurance of a prohibition to the further importation of Slaves.

As you were a passenger on board the Houston Boat at the time I have mentioned, and witnessed the state of feeling which then existed amongst the passengers on that trip, and must have heard the address made to them by a distinguished Citizen, on their way down warmly advocating the Measure I presumed you would advise Your Government of the state of feeling which you then saw evinced, and therefore stated in my letter to Mr. S. Converse that I had reason to believe you had communicated on the Subject. You never have stated to me those communications, or any part of them; and I did not see you after your arrival from Houston, previous to the departure of the packet, for New Orleans, the suggestion on this point was therefore only conjecture on my part.

As to the intervention of Your Government in our Affairs with Mexico, emanating from a desire to promote the abolition of Slavery here, and it's being exerted as a consideration for such a Measure, the statement is too publicly destitute of foundation to need a refutation. Those who know anything of the foreign relations of this Government are aware of the fact that the intervention of the Government of Great Britian has been pledged to us by treaty stipulation, near three years since, and without the most remote reference to this Subject, and that it has since been most efficiently exerted in our behalf.

The London Correspondent and the New Orleans Editor have alluded to the true cause of the difficulty. They evidently care but little for Texas "her weal or woe" but are willing to sacrifice her prosperity and welfare to the protection of the Slave property

held in the States on her frontier. This country has been in a great measure governed and controlled by this influence, and it was to avoid it that I stated in my letter that the emancipation must be incidentally laid before a Convention of the people, in order to ensure success, and not because of the opposition I feared it would meet with at home.

There is no reason for the alarm these writers have expressed because if Texas should entertain the project, She will afford the Slave holders of the Union a better protection for their slave property, by treaty, than they now have from their Sister States.

Sir, I am no *abolitionist*, nor am I, nor have I ever been, nor can I be in correspondence with any, for the purpose of promoting their views, but I do believe that free labor is ten fold more productive of prosperity in this, or any enlightened country, than Slave labour, and it is for this reason I desire to see the introduction to this Country of free White industrious families of the laboring Classes, well satisfied that they will eventually supersede the Slave; and gradually but surely remove the incubus that rests upon us. This change must be a voluntary and a gradual one, and I have uniformly advocated the doctrine that a Government composed as ours is can only prohibit the further introduction of Slaves, and having provided the means for the purchase of those already introduced, must leave it optional with the proprietor to sell or retain at pleasure, and I sincerely believe that such a provision being made, Texas would become a free State, by the unanimous will of the Citizens, in ten years thereafter.

In conclusion permit me to assure you that while I sincerely regret the occasion for this letter, I cannot but feel happy in the opportunity it affords me of bearing my humble testimony to the uniform expression of your desire for the prosperity of my Country, the firm conviction that your official as well as private intercourse has contributed much to promote that object, and that in so doing I express the sentiments of a large Majority of my fellow Citizens.

A. J. Yates.

[Endorsed]. Inclosure No. 1 in Captain Elliot's Despatch No 19. to the Earl of Aberdeen. July 15. 1843.

ELLIOT TO YATES²⁶

Private

Galveston July 13th. 1843.

Sir.

I beg to acknowledge your letter of Yesterday's date founded upon a letter from you to Mr. S. Converse, recently published in Boston.

Whenever the subject matter of that communication has been mentioned to me in conversation, either by you, or any other Gentleman of my acquaintance in the Republic, I have invariably made the remark to which you advert, namely, that I was instructed to interfere in no manner with the internal institutions or regulations of this Government.

But either in doing that, or in denying the unfounded charge of undue interference, I have always guarded myself from being supposed to entertain different opinions upon the general subject, from those held by the great body of my Countrymen.

Sensible, however, of the inconvenience of any misconception on such a point I have also always said to others what I said to you; that is, that what fell from me must be particularly understood to be no more than the expression of my own individual opinion, for I had neither knowledge of, nor authority to speak to, opinions or feelings in any other quarter I can readily understand [in] the hurry of your Communication to Mr. S. Converse you intended to convey your own impressions founded upon your conversation with me, and not my expressions. But at all events I entertain no doubt that you will take some suitable means of preventing further misconception, so far as I am concerned.

Copy. Charles Elliot.

Charles Elliot.

A. J. Yates, Esqre.

Galveston.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No. 2 in Captain Elliot's Despatch No. 19, to the Earl of Aberdeen, July 15th 1843.

²⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

YATES TO ELLIOT²⁷

[Enclosure].

Private.

To Captain Charles Elliot.

Galveston.

Sir,

Your favor of the 13th Instant in reply to my letter of the letter [*Sic*] of 12th is before me.

That portion of my letter to Mr. Converse, under date 19th March last, which refers to conversations held with you on the subject therein alluded to was intended and can certainly be considered as nothing more than an expression of inferences drawn by me from your remarks, and in the excitement which then existed in this Community, I am free to acknowledge that those inferences were not warranted so much by your expressions, as by my own knowledge of the dispositions and feelings of your Countrymen on the Subject.

So far from understanding you to say that the British Government were disposed to interfere with the question of Slavery in this Country, I distinctly recollect your reiterated declaration that you had been positively instructed to avoid any interference with our Civil and domestic institutions.

I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity to remove the misconstruction put upon my letter to Mr. Converse in relation to yourself, and the misconception of the part you have taken in the matter which seems to be entertained by some and founded on expressions contained in that letter.

Sincerely hoping that no inconvenience may result to yourself from the temporary prevalence of erroneous impressions, which may be entertained by a few individuals in regard to the course you have pursued, and which can be so readily removed, I have the honor to be with Sentiments of the highest respect and consideration

A. J. Yates.

Copy. Charles Elliot

Galveston, July 15. 1843.

[Endorsed.]. Inclosure No. 3 in Capn. Elliot's Despatch No. 19 to the Earl of Aberdeen. July 15th. 1843.

²⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁸

No. 20.

Galveston July 16th. 1843.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to receive Your Lordship's despatches Nos. 6 and 7.

This Government has not yet appointed Commissioners to proceed to Mexico; pausing, till it shall be ascertained whether General Santa Aña has adopted General Houston's arrangement with respect to the duration of the Armistice. It is much to be hoped that the Mexican Government will not insist upon the immediate and unqualified acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of Mexico, as an indispensable preliminary condition to the opening of negotiations, but content itself with an expression of general readiness upon the part of this Government maturely to consider any scheme of adjustment which may be proposed, upon the part of Mexico.

With a continued state of pacification, and the lapse of time, feelings of irritation will naturally subside; and both parties addressing themselves to the task in a spirit of temperate enquiry I should hope that there are no insuperable obstacles to the settlement of this dispute upon a durable and creditable footing, and certainly upon terms of advantage to Mexico which there is no ground to believe could be secured by a protraction of the Contest.

I avail myself of this occasion to announce the return of the Texian Ships of War "Austin" and "Wharton" to this port, from the Coast of Yucatan, reporting intelligence that the difficulties in that quarter, are not yet adjusted. The Vessels arrived on the 14th. Instant.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁹

No. 21.

Galveston July 29th. 1843.

My Lord.

With reference to my despatch No. 19, I have now to solicit Your Lordship's attention to a letter³⁰ addressed by Mr. Yates to the Editor of the same New Orleans print, in which his letter to

²⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

²⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

³⁰Yates to the *New Orleans Republican*, July 17, 1843.

Mr. Converse of the 19th. March last was recently Copied from a Boston paper.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³¹

No. 22.

Galveston August 3rd. 1843.

My Lord,

Her Majesty's Sloop. "Scylla" returned to this anchorage on the 23rd Ultimo, bringing me despatches from Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires in Mexico dated on the 8th Idem, and I have now the honor to transmit to Your Lordship my subsequent correspondence with this Government,³² and that Gentleman.

I have also taken the liberty to forward some extracts from a private letter I have addressed to Mr. Doyle with these despatches. I may mention that I do not forward copies of Mr. Doyle's communications to me,³³ because I learn from him that they have already been transmitted through the United States.

Trusting that the present attitude of these Affairs will be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, I have the honor to remain,
Charles Elliot.

Her Majesty's Sloop sailed to Vera Cruz, with my reply, last evening

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

Charles Elliot.

ELLIOT TO DOYLE³⁴

[Enclosure.] Copy. Charles Elliot.

Galveston.

August 2nd. 1843.

Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge your despatch of the 8th

³¹F. O. Texas, Vol. 6.

³²Elliot to Jones, July 24, 1843. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1112-1113, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

³³F. O., Mexico, 163. Doyle to Aberdeen, No. 51, July 30, 1843, enclosing copy of letter to Elliot of July 8, outlining Santa Anna's ideas as to an armistice.

³⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

Ultimo. by H. M. S. "Scylla," and in reply beg leave to transmit to you,

1. Copy of a letter from myself to the Secretary of State of this Republic.³⁵

2. Copy of Mr. Jones's reply.³⁶

3. Copy of a despatch from the Secretary of War and Marine to General Wells.³⁷

I have also forwarded the Copy of a despatch which I have recently had the honor to receive from Lord Aberdeen dated on the 3rd Ultimo,³⁸ thinking it possible that you may not yet have received any despatches of so late a date at Mexico.

These moderate dispositions of the Government of Texas cannot fail to be satisfactory to the President of Mexico. But His Excellency will naturally have collected from public sources of information that General Houston is exposed to violent opposition in this Country on account of that Moderation, and it is much to be hoped that the Government of Mexico will have constant and very considerate regard to that state of things in the negotiations for the final adjustment of this painful and fruitless contest.

The release of the Texian prisoners in Mexico would have the effect of allaying angry feeling, and strengthening the influence of this Government for the attainment of its wise and moderate purposes: I believe too, that I cannot be saying too much in adding, that this step would be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government, and perhaps facilitate their dispositions to be helpful in the satisfactory settlement of this dispute.

In conclusion, I will take the liberty to express the hope and belief that General Santa Aña will fully avail himself of any becoming opportunity of reconciling his own personal and gen-

³⁵See page 236, note 32 above.

³⁶Jones to Elliot, July 30, 1843. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1114-1115, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

³⁷Woll to Houston, July 16, 1843, and Hill to Woll, July 29, 1843 (copies of which were enclosed in this letter and are here printed), are noted by Garrison as "not found." (*Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1115, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

³⁸F. O., Texas, 19, Aberdeen to Elliot, No. 9. This was really a despatch to Doyle (of which a copy was sent to Elliot) on Mexican threats with regard to foreigners in Texas. Elliot, therefore, sends a copy to Doyle, because mails to Texas were more regular than to Mexico.

erous impulses toward these Prisoners, with the dictates of sound Policy, and a just consideration for the situation and wishes of this Government.

Charles Elliot.

Percy W Doyle Esquire.

Mexico

[Endorsed] Inclosure No 5 in Captain Elliot's Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. No. 22. August 3d, 1843.

WOLL TO HOUSTON²⁹

[Enclosure]

Cuerpo de ejercito del Norte, General en gefe.

Matamoros Julio 16 de 1843

Sor Gral Dn Samuel Houston

Muy Señor mio, Conforme á las ordenes del Supremo Gobierno que me anuncia há proclamado V. un Armisticio en Tejas me apresaré á manifestar á V, que daré las convenientes para que se suspendan por las tropas de Ejercito de mi Mando, las hostilidades contra Tejas Mandando retirar en todos los puntos de la linea las avansadas, descubiertos, y partidas de observacion que tenemos sobre dicha pais, tan luego como se sirva V. anunciarme, que ha prevenido a las fuerzas que componen la espedicion de Santa Fé retrocedan inmediatamente suspendiendo toda hostilidad contra la Republica Mejicana, en el caso que dicha espedicion estuviere autorisada por Tejas—ó que se sirva hacer una declaracion oficial y solemne de que aquellos invasores no pertenean á Tejas, para que en este ultimo caso puedan ser batidos perseguidos por los tropas Mejicanas en atencion á que no estan y no puedan estar comprendidos en el armisticio que estoy facultado para celebrar con V. ni en la consiguiente suspencion de hostilidades.

Por lo tanto, desio que á la mayor brevedad posible se sirva V. Contestar, y si como es de creerse la espedicion de Santa Fé no ha sido autorisada por V. y de consiguiente hace V. a nombre de Tejas la declaracion oficial y solemne ya mencionada será conveniente nombre V. los Comisionados que en Union de los que eligere por parte del Supremo Gobierno se ocupan de celebrar un armisticio entre las partes beligerentes.

²⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

La villa de Laredo pudiera ser el punto en que los Comisionados se reuniéron.

Aprovecho esta ocasion para opecer a V las seguridades de la distinguida consideracion de afecmo Servidor. I. S. M.

Adrian Woll.

Copy. Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed]. General Adrian Woll to General Houston. Matamoros 16th July 1843.

Inclosure No 4 to Captain Elliot's Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. August 3d, 1843.

HILL TO WOLL⁴⁰

[Enclosure]. Copy. Charles Elliot.

Department of War and Marine

Washington 29th July 1843.

To General Adrian Woll.

Commander in Chief of the Northern Army of Mexico.

Sir,

Your Communication of the 16th July addressed to General Sam Houston, President of the Republic of Texas was by him received on the 26th inst. and referred to this Department for consideration and reply.

Added to the facts set forth in your Communication, the President of the Republic of Texas having been informed through Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires near this Government that Authority had been given to you by President of the Republic of Mexico, to act as Military Commissioner on the part of that Government to adjust an Armistice between the two parties, I hasten to inform you in accordance with instructions from His Excellency the President, that according to the suggestions made by you, the proper measures will be adopted on the part of this Government, to Ensure the Appointment of *two* Military Commissioners to meet those who may be appointed by Yourself at the Village of Laredo on the 25th day of September next, or near that time, to Engage in arranging the terms of an Armistice between the parties belligerent.

⁴⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

Orders have been issued in accordance with the proclamation of His Excellency the President of Texas, dated 15th June 1843 (a Copy of which is herewith enclosed) to the Officers Commanding the Forces of the Republic to cease hostilities against Mexico, and Commanding them to observe the requirements of the same.

Owing to the extent of uninhabited territory to the North, and the numerous obstacles which might, by possibility, intercept and cut off communications to the Troops to which you allude as composing the Santa Fé Expedition, they may not have received the proclamation and orders of the President in relation to the suspension of hostilities, to provide against and obviate the interposition of any obstacle from this Cause, to the successful issue of pending Negotiations between the two Governments. I enclose herewith a copy of the Order to Col. Charles A. Warfield revoking authority previously granted, and also an authenticated Copy of the Proclamation declaring an Armistice, with an order to Col. Jacob Snively endorsed thereon, that should those Officers with the forces under their Command, or either of them have appeared, or should in future appear on any portion of the frontier of Mexico, previous to the reception of similar orders through another Channel, you may have it in your power, and which it is hoped you will deem proper to Communicate to them, or either of them (as circumstances may require) these Orders, that they may in obedience thereto, immediately cease hostilities against the Mexican Republic with draw their Forces, and return to the interior Settlements of Texas.

I feel Confident that you will at once perceive the necessity of appointing the time for the meeting of the Commissioners on the part of the two Governments in September next, that the return of the Troops of this Government, from the North, may be procured, and the Armies of the two Countries with drawn and ordered so as effectually to prevent Collision during the Convention, and ensure the preservation of the consequent suspension of hostilities

A reply at your earliest convenience is solicited, and the time suggested for the meeting of the Commissioners it is hoped will meet your approbation.

I avail myself of this occasion to tender you assurances of the

very distinguished Consideration with which I have the honor to be.

Your most obedient Servant
The Secretary of War and Marine of
the Republic of Texas.

G. W. Hill.

A Copy.

Signed, Anson Jones.

ELLIOT TO DOYLE⁴¹

[Enclosure.].

Galveston July 30th 1843.

Extracts from a private letter
to Percy W. Doyle.

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 8th Instant; and I hope the President will accede to General Santa Aña's arrangement with respect to the Armistice

I look for the answers from Washington by the 1st or 2d Proximo. I am sorry to find from your letter that General Santa Aña still adheres to this point of the acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of Mexico by Texas, not for the sake of Texas, be it understood, for as a matter of private opinion I have long since thought that if the Texians were to consult only *their interests*, they could not do better than to treat upon General Santa Aña's basis. All the advantages are to them, and all the risks and disadvantages (and they are great) are to Mexico. What the *people of Texas* will do, I cannot undertake to say, but it is likely that they will be mainly guided by the feeling in the United States, and it seems quite probable that the arrangement will not be discouraged in that quarter. They would feel there, that it would be the firm and strengthening settlement of a United States population on the Mexican frontier with abundance of pretext to renew disturbances, and extend intrigue and pretensions Westward, as soon as it suited all their convenience to do so; and besides too, it would effectually break up the independence of Texas, which is extremely distasteful in the United States.

Lord Aberdeen's despatch to me of the 3rd Ultimo will place

⁴¹F. O., Texas, Vol 6.

you in possession of the views of Her Majesty's Government at that date. It is much to be wished, (in furtherance of their disposition to be helpful in the adjustment of this Affair) that the Mexican Government may not insist upon the immediate and unqualified acknowledgement of the Sovereignty of Mexico as an indispensable preliminary condition to the opening of Negotiations, but Content itself with an expression of general readiness on the part of the Government maturely to consider any scheme of pacification proposed by Mexico.

General Santa Aña should have regard to the position and difficulties of this Government as well as his own, and if the parties can only agree upon a suitable point de depart in these negotiations I do not quite despair of a satisfactory result.

In considering the chances of such a Solution, it has sometimes occurred to me that if Mexico were to offer to admit the limits of Texas to the line of the Rio Grande, and to grant the Navigation of that river under rules to be agreed upon between the two Governments, that of itself might be a tempting inducement. With regard to the acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of Mexico I suppose the Vocabulary might furnish becoming means of tempering the bitterness of that form of speech. It might be sufficient for example if Texas would [insert] in the Articles of Convention that She was reunited to the Republic of Mexico, and that all Laws, and Decrees passed or issued by the Supreme Congress or Government not at variance with the conditions of the Convention, should be binding upon this Government and people of Texas. Another point of difficulty and delicacy is the treaty making power, and upon that Subject Her Majesty's Government will no doubt express their views at some early date.

Perhaps it would be possible to reconcile the difficulties and exigencies in that respect by an article in the Convention agreeing upon the part of Mexico to the Commercial arrangements which Texas has contracted by treaty with foreign Powers, and further agreeing that Texas should continue to enjoy the rights of a Separate State for all purposes of foreign trade and Commercial intercourse, including the right to conclude and ratify future Conventions respecting foreign trade, and Commercial intercourse. But if Texas is to be left to regulate it's trade with other Powers as it sees fit, it follows of course that Mexico should be at liberty

to consider Texas a foreign State, in respect to it's trade with Mexico, and an article in the Convention, providing for the regulation of this point from time to time according to altering circumstances by Commissioners appointed by the two Governments, would do all that was formally requisite in that respect. I say, formally, for to speak plainly, as soon as there is a State of peace upon the frontier, high tariffs in Mexico, and venal Officers, and active Smugglers on both Sides of the frontier will do all the rest for themselves.

Another point is the flag: In that particular it might be arranged that Texas should retain it's own flag within it's own territory, and on board of it's Merchant Vessels, except in the ports of Mexico, and that therein the Vessels of Texas should wear the flag of Mexico, but be subject to the duties and charges agreed upon in the Convention.

All these are of course mere speculations of my own, and I should particularly say to you that I have never had one word of Conversation with any Member of this Government upon such subjects, but still I have thought it may not be entirely useless to mention them to you. The Commissioners from this Government are Mr. Samuel Williams, and Colonel George Hockley, both of them I believe known to General Santa Aña. Mr. Williams however will be the active Commissioner. He is one of the original Settlers in Texas, and I should think one of the very few men in this country with sense and moderation enough sincerely to regret the Separation from Mexico.

I am persuaded that the Instructions will be as reasonable and as moderate as they can be, due regard being had to General Houston's position, and I am equally persuaded Mr. Williams will be found cordially disposed to do all He can to accomplish some conclusion of this Affair upon a footing which ought to be satisfactory to the Mexican Government. But I cannot but repeat that General Houston's difficulties at home will be very great indeed; and General Santa Aña should have regard to them, and remember that it may be very easy to destroy his influence by unreasonable uncomplyingness at Mexico, and with it, all hope of a peaceful and moderate Settlement of this dispute.

Whilst I am upon the subject of modes of expression, may I use the freedom to suggest to you that it might be convenient if

General Santa Aña and his Government would fall upon some mode of designating General Houston which may leave it in my power to place their communications before him. It cannot be expected of course that they should commit themselves to any tacit acknowledgment of the independence of this Republic by their modes of address, but *General* is not a term of commital, and Señor Houston is not a term of suitable respect. General Santa Aña owes General Houston becoming Military respect and courtesy, as well as deep personal gratitude, for he saved his life; and seeing that Her Majesty's Government, and the Government of The King of the French deal with General Houston as General, and President of Texas, I hope we shall hear no more of Señor Houston from Mexico. At all events I must decline to be the medium of any Communication from the Government of Mexico which speaks of him as Señor Houston, for I feel He would have a right to complain of me if I made myself a party to frivolous incivility of that kind. I observe that the Government of Mexico does speak of the Government of Texas, and therefore upon that score I have no remark to offer.

Galveston August 2d. 1843.

The despatches have just arrived from Washington, and I hope their contents will be satisfactory to the Mexican Government. I learn from Mr. Williams that General Houston wishes that Colonel Hockley and himself should perform the double office of Commissioners to General Woll, for the arrangement of the truce, and then go on to Mexico. Pray strenuously endeavour to persuade General Santa Aña to release the Texian prisoners. No measure would be better calculated to allay angry feeling, and support the influence of the Govmt. for useful, and modern results.

Charles Elliot.

To Percy W. Doyle, Esqr.

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 6 in Captain Elliot's Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. No. 22. August 3d. 1843.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

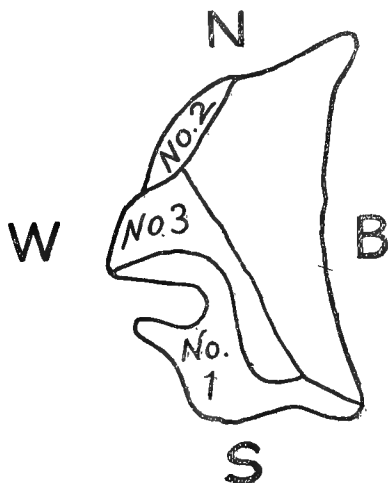
Private.

British Consulate

Galveston—August 6th. 1843.

My Lord,

The information which I have the honor to submit to Your Lordship has been tendered to me by a party concerned in the transactions to which it refers, upon the condition that I would not Communicate it to any person now resident in Texas.



The facts set forth in documents placed before me relate to the islands of Cozumel and Mugerres, or "Mohair," situated on the coast of Yucatan, and claimed as part of the territory of Mexico, but they bear more closely and immediately upon Cozumel, than upon Mugerres.—Subjoined is a rude outline of the form of Cozumel, with Sections marked for first, second, and third "choice."

On his first expedition against Mexico, Cortes touched at Cozumel, then an inhabited island, and the ruins of buildings erected by that Commander are said to be still visible on its E. N. E. portion.—Its length is estimated at about ten leagues—its breadth at the widest part, about five, and it is distant about fifteen Miles from the Mainland.

The outside, or Eastern, coast of Cozumel is represented as iron-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

bound and inaccessible; the Southern and Western sides are said to have a firm, accessible beach, with deep and tranquil water, where "Vessels of any draft may anchor, within a Cable's length of the Shore".— About three leagues from the Southern most point of the Island, lies "a fine Bay, well land-locked, having deep water inside, with a bar of nine feet water, at the entrance." The whole Coast abounds in fresh water springs. The larger division, towards the South, is "completely covered" with a dense mass of valuable forest timber, and brushwood. The lesser division, towards the North, consists of "low Marshy ground mixed with small lagoons." The arable land is a rich, West Indian Soil, "suitable," (says an agent sent to examine it)—for the Culture of Sugar, Coffee, Cotton, &c. in a fairly healthy climate, where frost is never known and every inch of ground is covered with thick forest of the tallest trees, among them, Teak, Cedar, and dye stuffs,—with two excellent harbours, "Brutus Cove," and "Port Thomson."

Easy to be defended and offering many advantages for Shipping, Cozumel is said to be well adapted for the establishment of a Commercial Nation; possessing local facilities for supplying Southern Mexico, the Bay of Honduras and Colombia, and, in a measure, commanding the passage between Yucatan and Cuba.

On Arrowsmith's Map of Mexico, Cozumel is placed about two hundred Miles North from the Capital of the British settlement at Honduras, and about fifty Miles South from the little island of Mugerres.

Mugerres, which is estimated to be about three leagues in length, possesses hardly any agricultural value being chiefly composed of sand, but it is said to Command a harbour of ample extent and great security, having "not less than three and a half fathoms of water at the entrance." A Vessel, once inside, cannot well be discovered, "the land surrounding the Bay, or Harbour, being high enough to hide a Ship's Masts".—It has been commended by the French as "a most desirable Naval Station," and the Texan Commander (Moore) thus writes concerning it, in a letter dated Sisal de Yucatan, 20th January, 1842.

"I have had the island and harbour of Mugerres examined, and have sent a Chart of the Harbour to the Navy Department. (of Texas) It is an excellent Harbour, but there is

very little good land, and scarcely any heavy timber on it. Before I return to Texas, I will examine the island of Cozumel myself."

Cozumel, which contained an Indian population, when visited by Cortes, appears to have been long abandoned by its ancient inhabitants, whose fields have been overrun by the rank and rapid vegetation of a tropical Country.—Within the last few years, it has become the object of Speculating, and, perhaps, political cupidity in this quarter.

In 1837, it was visited by two Texan Privateers named the "Brutus" and the "Invincible." At that time, it contained no Settled inhabitants. Some Indians who had crossed from the mainland in Canoes, were employed in catching turtle. "They had no knowledge of to whom the island might belong." The Texan privateers, or "Men of War," as they have been styled, took a nominal possession of the place, hoisting their flag, and commissioning Indians as representatives. When the privateers returned to Texas, they reported their proceedings to the Government, but the matter, with the view, as it would seem, to speculation, was not allowed to transpire.

In 1840, a project was devised, under the auspices of some leading Members of the (then) Texan Government, to open a way to the future occupation of the island. Taking advantage of dissension between Yucatan and Mexico, a plan was formed for its purchase by some Citizens of Texas, who proposed to offer their Government a rendezvous for its Navy; to encourage emigration, and, ultimately, when fit opportunity arose, to claim the right of self-government under Texan protection.—A Mr. Robinson, formerly United States Consul at Tampico, with certain associates, agreed to bring some hundreds of emigrants from New York, and to pay the Yucatan Government the sum of \$100,000 (dollars) within three Months from the date of the contract. Owing to the pecuniary embarrassments of the Married friends of these parties at New York, this project fell to the ground.

An agricultural establishment had been made upon Cozumel in the year 1838, by the Governor of Yucatan, the first Alcalde of Merida, and Colonel Peraza, a man of influence among the Yucatanians. They engaged in the cultivation of Cotton, sent to their plantation about thirty debtors and criminals taken from the prison of the City of Merida, and confided the Superintendence of

the business, with a share of the profits, to Vicente Alvino a Spaniard well acquainted with the locality, and who had been navigating many years as a *Contrabandista* between Belize and Sisal.

In 1841 Colonel Peraza, then on a Mission from Yucatan to Texas, when passing through New Orleans, was requested to co-operate with a Military officer of Texas who hoped to succeed in organizing a Company in Tennessee, for the purchase of a large part of the island of Cozumel. The documents before me State that Colonel Peraza pledged himself to favour this individual "all that he could."

The State of Yucatan embroiled with the general Government of Mexico, and, pressed for resources, issued a Law on the 5th of April, 1841, relative to the Sale and Conveyance of its vacant lands. On the 14th of October 1841, a Company was formed at Galveston, to purchase a portion of Cozumel, under the provisions of this Law. The first associates were three in number, and there were five others who were to have the privilege of joining them, if they came forward with funds "in good time." Among the five were the Commodore of the Texan Navy and two officers of rank in the regular service of Texas.

One of the three original associates who had been Collector of Customs at Galveston, under the Mexican Government, was furnished with Money and instructions, and sent to Galveston, where he arrived in November 1841. He was Commissioned, in the first instance, to purchase two Square leagues of land in the island of Cozumel, proceeding according to the designated order of selection already shown in outline. With the sanction of the local Authorities, he surveyed six Square leagues of land, and assured his associates that, "with sufficient powers of attorney and funds in hand," he could, "from time to time, acquire the whole island *gradually*, but not at once, in order to avoid suspicion." In consequence of the failure of the New Orleans Banks, the necessary means was not forthcoming, and the agent, who seems to have been a person of considerable acuteness, but not over wise in his moral perceptions, returned to Galveston in July 1842, after an absence of Nine Months, transmitting to his associates "A contract and detailed Map of Survey of Six Leagues of land on the island of Cozumel, and Translations of Official documents accrediting the

location, survey, and purchase of the said land, and the Sale by the Government of Yucatan confirmed, and the titles ready to issue whenever the provisions of the law upon the subject, as set forth in the said official Communication, are complied with."

It is alleged that the right of pre-emption yet remains with the parties for whom the agent selected the six leagues of land

I now come to the last point in the proceedings respecting Cozumel, according to the information placed before me.

I am assured that the *quiet* occupation of the Island, by the path already opened, was suggested to M. de Saligny, Chargé d' Affaires of France in Texas, who is at present in Europe, by whom, it is alleged, the proposition was seriously entertained

Whatever may be the value of the present Communication, I have deemed it my duty to transmit it to Your Lordship, for the following reasons

1st. That—I believe the facts, as I have stated them, to be substantially true.

2nd. That—Americans are quick in discerning local advantages, and persevering in the endeavour to turn them to their own account.

3rd. That—The Government of Mexico, having been baffled in its attempts to reduce Yucatan to obedience, the latter state may be so far free to exercise an independent prerogative as to transfer its vacant lands to Foreigners for a trifling consideration

4th.—That desirous of insular aggrandizement, France might be willing to secure an early hold on a position near to Mexico, within a short sail of the British Settlement of Honduras, and not remote from the Isthmus of Panama.

5th. That—Without presuming to attach any special importance to the transactions under review, it is, at all events, the more prudent course to report them to Your Lordship.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOTT.²

Draft.

F. O. August 18, 1843

Captain Elliot.

No. 10.³

Sir,

Your Despatches to No. 20 inclusive, with the exception of No. 13, have been received and laid before the Queen.

With reference to my Despatch No. 6, of the 3rd of June last, relative to the proposals made to Texas by Genl Santa Anna for the Settlement of the Contest between Texas and Mexico, I have to transmit to you herewith for your information, a Copy of a Despatch which I addressed to Mr. Doyle, Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires in Mexico, on the 1st Ulto, upon the same subject.*

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁵*Private.*

British Consulate.

My Lord.

Galveston August 22d. 1843.

I beg leave to transmit to Your Lordship a printed Article which I have extracted from the "New Orleans Bulletin" of Thursday, August 10th. It has been the Subject of Comment in this place.

By Statements in the London Newspapers recently received here, it would seem that parties in England entertain the impression that the people of this Country are willing to treat for the emancipation of their Slaves. I have been, and am, endeavouring to ascertain how far the impression is warranted by facts,—before I transmit a reply to the Queries contained in Your Lordship's Despatch marked "*See Te No. 1,*" and dated May 30th, 1843.

The Earl of Aberdeen K. T.

William Kennedy.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. The letter is unsigned.

³F. O., Texas, 19. Aberdeen to Elliot, No. 8, June 19, and No. 9, July 3, 1843, have been omitted. The first referred to the land claims of Cotesworth, Powell, and others; the second transmitted copies of correspondence with Doyle, in Mexico, relative to the threatened treatment of all foreigners found in Texas when Mexico should reconquer that territory.

⁴F. O., Mexico, 169. Aberdeen to Doyle, No. 10, July 1, 1843. Aberdeen urged larger concessions by Mexico, and also expressed the view that by making these, abolition in Texas might be secured. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 130-131.) For a different view of Aberdeen's leading purpose, see Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 93.

⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁶*Private.*

British Consulate.

Galveston August 23rd 1843

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a printed translation of the Land Law of the Mexican State of Yucatan, referred to in my despatch marked "Private" and dated the 6th Instant.

I hope soon to be enabled to transmit a Chart of the Harbour and Sketch of the Island of Mugerres, off the Yucatan Coast.

Information has been brought by the Texan War Vessels lately employed in aiding Yucatan, that the Government of that State had granted to American officers and Seamen, in their Service, the privilege of settling a certain portion of Vacant public land, and that the said officers and Seamen were making preparations,—when the Texan Vessels left Campeche—"to visit the island of *Cozumel*, and locate their Claims upon it."

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOTT TO ABERDEEN⁷No. 24⁸

Galveston August 23r. 1843

My Lord,

I avail myself of a short delay in the departure of the Steam Boat to New Orleans to report the return (last Evening) of the Texian Custom House Vessel which took back to Matamoros the Mexican Officer who had brought in General Woll's dispatches of the 16th Ultimo to this Government

Mr. F. L. Giffard Her Majesty's Vice Consul at Matamoros went down from here to that place in the same vessel, and I learn by a Note from him dated on the 14th Instant that General Woll had assured him He would use his best efforts to induce the President of Mexico to release the remainder of the Texian prisoners. It does not appear to be determined whether the Commissioners for the arrangement of the Armistice are to meet at Laredo or at Matamoros, but it is probable that Matamoros may be preferred. They would meet about the 25th of next Month

⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.⁸Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 23, of 1843, is missing from the archives.

I take the liberty of forwarding a Newspaper which will place Your Lordship in possession of all that has transpired respecting the result of the late attempts to obstruct the Santa Fé traders on their return to that place from Missouri. Your Lordship will remark that the order to the Texian Officer was dated on the 16th February last, that is, rather more than a Month before any prospect of Negotiation presented itself to this Government.

It appears probable that this interference of the Government of the United States in behalf of the Mexican traders would be pleaded in support of decided interference in behalf of Texas, in the event of a resumption of hostilities, and any recurrence of the incursionary Warfare of last year upon the part of Mexico against this Country.

Your Lordship's dispatches to No 9 inclusive have been received.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁹

Private.

British Consulate

Galveston, August 29th 1843

My Lord,

In a despatch marked "Private," and dated on the 23rd of the Month, I expressed a hope that I might "soon be enabled to transmit to Your Lordship a Chart of the Harbour and Sketch of the Island of Muges, off the Yucatan Coast.

Availing myself of the opportunity afforded by Her Majesty's Sloop of War "Scylla," which sails today from Galveston for Vera Cruz, I have the honor to forward a Map of the Island of Muges, with the Survey of the Coast and Harbour made by order of the Texan Commodore.

I have incurred an outlay of a few dollars in this Matter, which I propose to include under the head of "Consular Contingencies"

William Kennedy

P. S. The Map transmitted is enclosed in a tin case, and I have reserved another copy for transmission, should the one now sent by any accident fail to reach its destination

W. K.

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

ELLIOTT TO ABERDEEN¹⁰

No. 25.

Galveston September 5th
1843

My Lord,

I have the honor to report that Her Majesty's Sloop "Scylla" arrived here on the 28th Ultimo, bringing me a despatch from Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires at Mexico dated on the 15th Ultimo,¹¹ proposing on the part of General Santa Aña, an exchange of prisoners. The Inclosures are the Note¹² I addressed to this Government upon the subject, and my reply to Mr Doyle, but Mr Jones's answer will hardly reach me in time to be despatched by this opportunity.

The Scylla sailed to Tampico and Vera Cruz on the 29th Ultimo.

Affairs in this quarter remain in the situation reported in my last despatches. I may mention however that the elections for the next Session of Congress closed yesterday, and I believe it is generally considered that the result has been favorable to the Administration

Charles Elliot

To the Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

ELLIOTT TO DOYLE¹³

[Enclosure].

Galveston. August 28th, 1843.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge your despatch of the 15th Instant (received this morning) and in reply I beg leave to forward the copy of a note which I have addressed to this Government.¹⁴ In the absence of General Houston on the Upper Trinity at an Indian Council, from which he is not expected back for the next fortnight, and under the circumstances of the other claims on the Services of the "Scylla," I have not thought it right to request the

¹⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.¹¹F. O., Texas, 23. Doyle to Elliott, August 15, 1843.¹²Elliott to Jones, August 28, 1843. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1123-1124, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.¹³F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.¹⁴See note 12, above.

Commander to remain 'till I can receive replies from Washington. She will therefore Sail again tomorrow.

Whilst I perceive no reason to doubt that General Houston will accede to General Santa Aña's proposal, I must beg it may be observed that I am speaking without authority, and must by no means be understood to commit him to that effect. The Mexican prisoners, however, are perfectly at large, and I am so sensible of General Houston's considerate dispositions toward them, that I am persuaded He would not offer the least objection to their return. It should be mentioned that many of them are engaged in profitable Employments, and it is possible some amongst them may prefer to remain by their property, more particularly under the hope that peace is about to be restored, and that they may have an opportunity of realizing it, and returning at their leisure.

It is very satisfactory to learn that the President of Mexico seems inclined to do whatever may be in his power, in the sense of conciliation, for the promotion of an honorable and lasting peace; and I am sure it may be depended upon, on the other hand, that this Government will cordially respond to those feelings.

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

Charles Elliot.

Percy W. Doyle Esqre.

H. M. Chargé d' Affaires
Mexico.

[Endorsed] Inclosure No 2 in Capt Elliot's despatch to The Earl of Aberdeen No 25. Sept. 5. 1843.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁵

Slave Trade.

British Consulate

No 4.

Galveston. Sepr 5th. 1843

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a Return to Your Lordship's despatch marked "Slave Trade No. 1," and dated May 30th 1843.

In conformity with Your Lordship's instructions, I have endeavoured to make the reply to each question as concise as possi-

¹⁵F. O., Slave Trade, Vol. 479.

ble. Had Texas been an older Country, offering ampler materials for the return, some of the replies would have been more brief

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

William Kennedy

[Enclosure.].

Republic of Texas.

Consulate of Galveston.

Return to a Despatch Marked, Slave Trade No. 1—dated May 30th. 1843

Query 1st. Answer. No Census of the Republic of Texas having yet been taken, it is impossible to state, with accuracy, the amount of its population, or the respective Numbers of Whites and of Coloured people forming that population. According to election and other returns, the White population may be estimated at 80,000 (eighty thousand) souls, the Indians at 12,000 (twelve thousand) and the Slaves at 16,000 (sixteen thousand). The free persons of Colour are extremely few.

It is to be observed that this estimated population is embraced within the limits that designated Texas as a department of Republican Mexico. The additional territory claimed by Texas since the Revolution, but neither occupied by her Settlers, nor held by her troops, contains a considerable Mexican and Indian population, for estimating whose numbers, there are no reliable data. By far the greater portion of this territory is waste.

There is no Registry of Slaves in Texas. An Act of Congress "to raise a Revenue by direct taxation," imposed a tax upon Slaves, and the Assessors appointed under the Act gave in returns for the year 1840, which produced the following result:—

Negro Slaves under 15 years of age.....	4,992
Over 15 and under 50.....	5,899
Over 50	332

Total 11,223

There were no returns from nine (probably remote and thinly peopled) Counties.

Allowing for omitted and imperfect returns, the whole Slave population of Texas, at the close of the year 1840, may be set down, in round numbers, at 12,000 (twelve thousand). Owing

to her unsettled relations with Mexico, the amount of Slaves introduced into Texas, since 1840, especially by sea, cannot have been considerable nor is there any substantial ground for supposing that the entire Slave population of the Republic, including a late accession by the adjustment of the North Eastern boundary line with the United States, at present exceeds 16,000 (sixteen thousand) souls.

Population in 1832. By calculations chiefly based upon the Statistical Report of a Commission, employed by the Mexican Government, the population of the, then, Department of Texas, in the year 1832, may be estimated at about 20,000 (twenty thousand) Whites, 2,000 (two thousand) Negroes, and 15,000 (fifteen thousand) Indians.

Population in 1837. The Texan Revolution in 1835 had, on the one hand, the effect of breaking up Settlements and dispersing Slaves, and, on the other, of attracting a crowd of Military Adventurers and speculators from the United States. No good estimate can be formed of the amount of the population in the year 1837. It may be remarked that, at this period, there was no material decrease in the numbers of the Indians of Texas. In subsequent years, the Cherokees, and other tribes from the United States, were treated as intruders on the soil, and expelled from the Republic by force of Arms.

Query 2d. Answer.—Information, drawn from competent private sources, warrants the conclusion that, within the last ten years, no Slaves have been imported direct from Africa, and indeed, that no vessel from the African Coast has, of late years, entered a Port of Texas. It is confidently alleged that the following list includes nearly all the Slaves that have been imported from every quarter, with the exception of the United States, since the year 1833.

1835. In this year, the notorious Munroe Edwards and a partner named Christopher Dart purchased 183 Slaves in Havanna, Shipped them openly on board an American Schooner called the "Shanadoah," and landed them in Texas, at the river San Bernard, South of the Brazos, in the Neighbourhood of the Cotton plantations. These Slaves continued under the control of Edwards until 1838. A Mortgage had been executed to the factors at Havanna, to secure the payment of 35,000 dollars, the un-

liquidated balance of the purchase Money. Edwards endeavoured to avoid payment of this claim, and also refused to account to Dart for his interest in the purchase. The Slaves were placed under legal Sequestration, and Edwards filed a release from Dart for his share, which release proved to be a forgery. Edwards was arrested, but availing himself of enlargement on bail, he fled to the United States and passed from thence to England. By plausible representations and the use of fabricated letters of introduction, he succeeded in imposing on the friends of Negro Emancipation in both Countries. He is now imprisoned in New York, where he has been sentenced to undergo a long term of Confinement for swindling.—The Havanna firm, concerned as factors in the purchase of the Slaves for Edwards and Dart, have instituted legal proceedings in Texas for the recovery of the 35,000 dollars still owing to them, but, as yet, without effect.

In the same year (1835) 40 Slaves, Shipped at Cuba, on board the American Schooner *Harriet*, was landed at the river San Bernard.

1836. This year a Schooner (name unascertained) conveyed 40 Slaves from Cuba to the Port of Velasco, where part of them were landed, but a Collector of Customs being stationed at that Port, the Schooner was ordered off, and she landed the remainder at Caney Creek.

In the Autumn of the same year (1836) a Schooner under the Spanish flag, Commanded by one Moro, a Spaniard, and owned by a person named Coigly, born of American parents at Matanzas, and supposed to have carried 200 Slaves from Cuba, ran up the river Sabine, which divides the United States and Texas. It is not known, here, whether the Slaves were landed or not. There is a story that the owner, Coigly, who was on board, was murdered, and that the Spanish Master went off with Cargo and Schooner.

1837 and 1838. During these years, 41 Slaves, in two Shipments, were brought from Cuba and landed near the Brazos river, and thence distributed over the plantations

Excluding some persons of Colour, kidnapped from the British West India Islands, who do not belong to this classification, and who were claimed by the British Government, the total of ascer-

tained imports of Slaves into Texas, within the last ten years, from all places except the United States, Amounts to 504.

The fact that there were few or no persons in Texas possessing sufficient Capital to enable them to undertake the risk of the Voyage, is the reason assigned for there having been no direct importation of Slaves from Africa.

There are no means for ascertaining the annual amount of Slaves imported from the United States. With the exception of some purchased by Europeans at New Orleans, nearly all have been introduced by American immigrants. By Section 9th of the "General Provisions" of the Constitution of Texas, the admission, or importation, of Africans, or Negroes, into the Republic, except from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy. The same section provides that—"Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from bringing their Slaves into the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such Slaves were held in the United States."

Query 3d. Answer. In criminal cases, the law does not extend either to the Slave, or to the free Man of Colour, the same protection that it yields to free White persons.—For example—a Slave, or free person of Colour, Convicted before a District Court of maiming a free White person, (which, in the case of Whites is punishable by fine and flagellation) incurs the penalty of death. By the same Act, it is provided that, for offences, not Capital, Slaves shall be tried before County Courts, at a special term to be immediately called, and "it shall not be necessary in such cases, that a bill be found by a Grand Jury, but the party shall be required to proceed to trial upon a charge made out and signed by the person holding the information, setting forth the offence, with which such Slave stands charged."—It is further provided by said Act, that—"if any Slave, or free person of Colour, shall use insulting, or abusive language to, or threaten any free White person, upon complaint thereof before any Justice of the peace, such Justice shall cause such Negro to be arrested, and, upon Conviction, the Slave, or free person of Colour, shall be punished by stripes, not exceeding one hundred, nor less than twenty-five.

Query 4th. Answer. The law enacts that if—"Any person shall unreasonably, or cruelly treat, or otherwise abuse, any Slave,

he, or she, shall be liable to be sued in any Court of Competent Jurisdiction, and on Conviction thereof, shall be fined in a Sum not less than 250, nor more than 2,000 dollars." It is further provided that—"if any person, or persons, shall Murder any Slave, or so cruelly treat the same as to cause death, the same shall be felony, and punished as in other cases of Murder." It is the duty of the District Judges to carry into effect the provisions of this law.

Query 5th. Answer. The evidence of a Slave is not received in Courts of law.

Query 6th. Answer. Opinion stigmatizes persons who maltreat their Slaves, and the general tendency is to feed them sufficiently, and to use them without rigour. Scanty fare and harsh treatment are generally confined to the Slaves of impoverished owners.

Query 7th Answer. The Negroes of Slaveholders in easy circumstances are considered to enjoy as good health, and to live as long as free persons, but it may well be supposed that this cannot be the case in regard to the Slaves of persons comparatively poor. Owing to the comparatively recent introduction of Slaves into Texas, there is no satisfactory test of their longevity. When the owners are poor, the dwellings of the Slaves will too often be insufficient to protect them from the variations of the Climate, which, in Winter, is cold even along the sea coast. The searching "Northerners" cannot fail to operate keenly upon the African temperament, and to call for a supply of warm clothing, which insolvent owners are unable to afford. Nor are the Negroes on the low Alluvial lands that are subject to overflows exempt from the fevers peculiar to such localities. They suffer occasionally from attacks that require Medical remedies and care, and these, in a measure suited to their wants, their Masters are not always in a condition to provide.

Query 8th. Answer. The Slave population is annually increased by the introduction of Negroes from the United States, most of whom belong to immigrants—Owing to the unsettled state of the external relations of Texas, the increase has been comparatively small, and is chiefly exhibited in the Eastern Counties of the Republic. The Constitution declares that—"Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from bringing their Slaves into

the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such Slaves were held in the United States."

Query 9th Answer. The Manumission of Slaves is of rare occurrence.—Section 9th of the "General Provisions" of the Constitution of Texas has these words.—"Nor shall Congress have power to emancipate Slaves, nor shall any Slave-holder be allowed to emancipate his, or her, Slave or Slaves, without the consent of Congress, unless he, or she, shall send his, or her, Slave, or Slaves, without the limits of the Republic."

Query 10th Answer.—The laws and regulations have become—in, the letter—less favourable to Slaves since Texas obtained the position of an independent State. The real condition of the Negroes is little, if at all, affected thereby, as, during the period of Mexican supremacy, the laws for the mitigation of Slavery were virtually unenforced.

Query 11th Answer. There is no professed or recognized section of Citizens in Texas favourable to the Abolition of Slavery. Whatever concurrence of opinion may exist among individuals, it has not yet developed itself through open Association, public Meetings, or the agency of the press.

Query 12th Answer. The difference in the eye of the law between a free White and a free Coloured Man, is extreme. Some evidence of this difference has been given in the answer to the third Query.

The Constitution declares that—"No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the Republic without the Consent of Congress."

An Act of Congress makes it unlawful for any free persons of Colour to emigrate to the Republic. Any person so emigrating is to be arrested, and required to give bail for 4,000 dollars with the security of an approved Citizen for his removal out of the Republic. If unable to comply with this requisition of the law, such person is to be committed to Jail, and, after Notice, to be sold into Slavery for the term of one year. During the year, he is open to liberation, on rendering the specified bond. Failing in this, he is to be returned to the Sheriff at the end of the term, to be by him sold, at public Auction, and—"Any such free person of Colour so sold, shall remain a Slave for life."—The same Act prohibits Owners and Masters of Vessels from bringing, or aiding in

bringing, free persons of Colour into the Republic, under a penalty varying between 1,000, and 10,000 dollars, with a reservation in favour of Ship Cooks and working hands.

Query 13th. Answer. Free Coloured Men have never been admitted to offices of the State.

Query 14th. Answer. No periodical Census has yet been taken of the population in the District of the Galveston Consulate.

William Kennedy.

Consul at Galveston

[Endorsed.] In Mr. Consul Kennedy's despatch of 5th September 1843.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁶

Private.

British Consulate.

Galveston. Septr. 6th. 1843.

My Lord,

In the return which I have had the honor to make to the questions in Your Lordship's despatch of 30th May, marked "Slave Trade No 1," I have stated that there is, in Texas, no recognized party favourable to the Abolition of Slavery.—This statement has been made with a full knowledge of the fact that, within the present year, certain proceedings have occurred, in this Section of the Republic, having reference to the emancipation of the Slaves.

Some idea of the character and local effect of these proceedings may be gleaned from Newspaper publications, of which I beg leave to enclose extracts.¹⁷

On or about the 18th of last March, a Mr Andrews, who has been about three Years resident in this Country, and who, I understand, has been in the legal profession, at the town of Hous-

¹⁶F. O., Slave Trade, Vol. 479.

¹⁷This and the preceding dispatch from Kennedy have been printed in British Sessional Papers, 1844, Commons, Vol. 49; *Slave Trade Correspondence, Class C*, pages 282-286. They are here reprinted as of unusual interest and not easily available. The eleven enclosures in Kennedy's letter of September 6 are newspaper cuttings for 1843, as follows: *Texas Times*, March 18; *Galveston Civilian*, April 1 and 29, August 9, 12 and 26; *New Orleans Republican*, July 3 and August 29; *Houston Telegraph*, August 22 (two cuttings) and August 30. These treat of the Andrews abolition movement and of the Yates-Converse correspondence, and are all printed in the volume of the British Sessional Papers just noted. The volume also contains much interesting material on the alleged violation of slave trade laws by a British firm, Frankland & Co. Other volumes of the Sessional Papers containing slave trade correspondence on Texas are 1845, Commons, Vol. 50, and 1846, Commons, Vol. 51.

ton, accompanied by a Mr. League, visited Galveston, and began, cautiously, to unfold a project of Slave emancipation. The supporters they found were not, it appeared, numerous; they were not permitted to develop publicly the object of their Mission; and, ultimately, Mr Andrews was forced, by the unlicensed interference of the populace, to enter a boat and proceed to the Mainland, under an injunction not to revisit the Island. His Colleague, Mr. League, quietly withdrew, without abiding the risk of ejection by a Mob. At this point, the agitation of the project of emancipation ceased in Galveston, and I am not aware that it has been again commenced in any other part of the Republic.

The last of the Newspaper extracts which I have taken leave to transmit (No. 11) is from the avowed and admitted organ of the President of the United States at New Orleans. To that Article I would respectfully invite Your Lordship's attention, as I am assured, by a party whose trustworthiness I have long known, that Materials for its Composition, and of others in a similar vein, were received from a "qualified" source at the City of Washington (U. S.). I am told that the suggestion of the "*New Orleans Republican*," recommendatory of the occupation of Texas by American troops, had (according to the writer from Washington) given "great satisfaction to the Secretary of State."—The Journalist was counselled to avoid political extremes, so that, by appealing to the interests of all Sections, unanimity of action might be secured "When the question of Annexation came before Congress in December next,—at which period it would be submitted to that body, in the President's Annual Message."

The New Orleans Journalist was farther advised to address the Southern interest on the topics most likely to stimulate—to expatiate, among other points, on the danger to be apprehended from the emancipation of the Texan Slaves—(estimated by his Correspondent at 15,000)—And the loss, by Texian rivalry, in the Cotton Market of England.—To the North, independent Texas was to be held up as a sort of British Colony, whose smuggling operations would defeat any Tariff, and whose Anti-American prejudices would be fostered by British Capital and emigration.—"Annexation"—it was added—"had become a leading question with the administration, and decided action would take place upon it."

My informant, who has no connexion whatever with Newspapers, dates his communication on the 28th. of August, on which day he left New Orleans—the extract (No 11.) to which I have referred, appeared on the 29th of August.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

Draft.

F. O. Sepr. 18th 1843.

Captain Elliot.

No. 11.

Sir,

Your Despatches to No. 22 inclusive have been received and laid before the Queen.

With reference to your Despatch No 11 in which you convey the desire expressed by the Texian Govt that a British Consul Agent should be appointed at Corpus Christi Bay, I have to inform you that H. M. Govt. do not consider that such an appointment is necessary as yet.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²

Strictly Private.

British Consulate.

Galveston. Sepr 23d. 1843.

My Lord,

I had the honor to transmit to Your Lordship on the 29th of last Month, by Her Majesty's Sloop of War "Scylla," proceeding from Galveston to Vera Cruz, the copy of a Map of the Island of Mugerres, with the Survey of the Coast and Harbour, made by order of the Texan Commodore for the use of his Government.

Referring to my despatch marked "Private" and dated *August 6th*, I beg to state that I have *seen* the Signature of M. de Saligny, Minister from France to Texas, attached to a document to be used by the party holding it in the event of M. de Saligny's death. This document is in acknowledgment of certain claims of the holder to be recognized by France in case she shall obtain possession of the island in question.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. The letter is unsigned.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

Referring to my despatch marked "Private" and dated *September 6th*, I have to inform Your Lordship that recent accounts from the United States tend fully to establish the accuracy of the information conveyed to me by my Correspondent at New Orleans, and, in all important particulars, communicated to Your Lordship in that despatch.

It may be proper to mention that M. de Saligny has been absent in Europe more than a year, that the duties of French Chargé d' Affaires are discharged by a *locum tenens*, and that the friends of M. de S. in this place profess to anticipate his early return to his post.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOTT TO ABERDEEN³

No. 28.⁴

My Lord,

I have had the honor to receive Your Lordship's despatch No. 10 inclosing the copy of a despatch to Mr. Percy Doyle dated on the 1st July.⁵ It has always appeared to me that the Course of the people of this Country concerning the final adjustment of their difficulties with Mexico will be entirely controlled, or at least mainly influenced by the purposes and proceedings of the Government and people of the United States.

Her Majesty's Government will have better means of judging of those purposes and proceedings than I can furnish from this quarter. But I can certainly perceive no grounds for modifying the opinions I have already had the honor to submit that the acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas by Mexico has always been ill liked by the present Government, and a large part of the people of the United States; that such a Solution has become much more unpopular throughout the whole Union since it

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

⁴*Ibid.* Elliot to Aberdeen, Nos. 26 and 27, September 15, 1843, have been omitted. No. 26 treated of the *Eliza Russell* claims. No. 27 enclosed Houston's proclamation of September 4, 1843, permitting any Mexicans in Texas to repair to headquarters of General Woll, and also on this topic a copy of Jones to Elliot, September 4, 1843. This last in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1125, in Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1908, II.

⁵See page 250, note 4, above.

has been supposed to be favored by the Government of Her Majesty, and that of the King of the French; and lastly that if General Santa Aña be brought to act upon a material suggestion of Your Lordship's despatch 1st July to Mr. Doyle, this question will at once become one of great importance in the Affairs of this Continent.

Your Lordship is no doubt aware that there is considerable and growing uneasiness upon this subject throughout the South Western part of the Union, and the reports which reach us here through the press of the United States and other sources are noticeable because of the evidence they afford of that state of disquietude. We hear of the rights of Louisiana to all the territory as far West as the "Nuecas," of the determination of the people of that State to assert those rights for themselves if the General Government does not otherwise effectually interpose for the breaking up of any arrangement menacing, in their view, the stability of their Slave Institutions, of the renewal of General Jackson's negotiations for the purchase of Texas, and a variety of other rumours of the like nature.

It is commonly said here too, that the Conversation of the new Chargé d' Affaires from the United States, near this Government, (General Murphy), is unreservedly hostile to a settlement of the difficulties under any other auspices than those of his own Government, and I learn that at a late festive meeting he addressed a large assembly as his "Fellow Citizens." I take the liberty of mentioning this incident to Your Lordship, and [not?] that I attach much importance to it, for if His Government had any immediate purposes in view, this Gentleman would probably have been more circumspect than he seems to have been; but it causes a state of general feeling which I have thought it right to place under Your Lordship's attention. Indeed I would wish to mention that whilst it is my conviction that nothing can be more settled than the disinclination of a large part of the people of the United States to any adjustment of the affairs of Texas and directly carried out by their own Government and [not?] in what they understand to be their interests, it is equally my habit to receive the details of any reported project with the utmost reserve, and I certainly have had no means of forming any safe opinion as to the manner of interference in these concerns.

I am of course sensible that much that is said and written in the United States on the subject deserves no attention, but I believe that I have made no mistake as to the real state of feeling in respect to it, and I have considered it proper at this conjuncture to repeat the impression.

It is to be supposed that this uneasy treatment of the acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas by Mexico upon liberal arrangements with respect to the Slave population, must help to satisfy Genl Santa Aña of the soundness of that course for the strength and safety of his own Country. And if he bases his policy upon that condition, granting an amply sufficient period to this Government for deliberation, and liberal limiting proposals, (for it will need both time, and favorable concomitant terms to prepare the people to adopt such a combination) I believe he will succeed in accomplishing a signal political triumph, lastingly honorable to his fame both as a Statesman, and a benefactor of Mankind.

One great practical advantage of the proposal of Mexico to acknowledge the Independence of Texas upon the condition to which Your Lordship has adverted, would be the indisposition of the Slave holders of the United States to bring any more of their people into this Country with the prospect of that conclusion before them, or with the prospect of a renewal of hostilities upon such a ground, if Texas refused such a condition. It is a very material consideration in this subject, that the Cotton growing capabilities of Texas are superior to those of the United States; and if the principle of free labor can be established here, what with the opportunity of procuring labor from Mexico, and by immigration from other quarters, and the increasing supply and improvement of the Staple from India, there would be very soon an end of the remunerative production of Cotton by Slave labor in the United States.

The supply from Texas this year will amount to nearly 100,000 Bales (a considerable portion of it the produce of free labor) and if peace can be secured upon the terms Your Lordship has suggested, I entertain no doubt whatever that the Supply from Texas will exceed a Million of bales within 10 years from the date of such an arrangement. That supply must be exchanged chiefly against British Manufactures; And unless the tariffs of the

United States, and the recent one of Mexico are very soon abated, it is easy to foresee that this Country will rapidly come to be the Seat of a considerable trade.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S.

I shall take the liberty of providing a Copy of this despatch to Mr. Doyle.

C. E.

ADDINGTON TO ELLIOT⁶

Draft.

F. O. October 3, 1843.

Captain Elliot.

Sir,

In reply to your despatch marked "*Separate*" of the 4th of Augt. in which you request to be transferred to some other post, on the ground of ill health, I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acquaint you that His Lordship regrets that he can not hold out any hopes of being enabled to comply with your request; but His Lordship directs me to add that if you are desirous of obtaining temporary leave of absence for the restoration of your health, His Lordship will very willingly grant it.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁷

Private.

Galveston. October 10th 1843.

My Lord.

I have the honor to acquaint Your Lordship that the Commissioners from this Government for the Settlement of the difficulties with Mexico, Mr. Samuel M. Williams and Colonel George Hockley will sail for Matamoros tomorrow or next day.

Their immediate object will be the arrangement of the terms of the Armistice, but I collect from them that they will not be able to go on to Mexico till Congress here shall have meet and sanctioned the necessary appropriation

I beg leave to forward herewith the Copy of a letter of introduction⁸ which I have taken the liberty to give the Commissioners to Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires at Mexico, as also the copy

⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. The letter is unsigned and unnumbered.

⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

⁸Not transcribed.

of another private letter addressed to that Gentleman by this occasion.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO DOYLE⁹

Private.

Galveston October 10th 1843

My dear Sir.

The departure of the Commissioners for Matamoros affords me an opportunity to write to you a few lines. You will observe by the extracts from the American papers in the accompanying Newspapers that they are rather excited upon the subject of British interference in the Southern Sections of that part of the World.

I trust that Mexico will be true to the great cause of humanity, and to itself, on this momentous occasion. The mere announcement of their just and honorable determination that a land which was free under their rule should not be turned into a Pen of Slaves for the convenience of persons possessing such property in the exhausted Slave States of the North American Union would of itself be a very important step towards the establishment and security of the due and needful weight of Mexico in the affairs of this Continent. They have but to signify that the sine qua non conditions of their acknowledgment of Texas by Mexico are decided and approved measures for the early and final disappearance of Slavery here, and formal adherence to the declaration of Mexico that the Independence is recognised and understood to be *complete*, whilst Texas remains a Separate Nation, but if [of] non effect in the case that it should annex itself to any other Country, without the consent of Mexico. Such a policy on the part of Mexico in the present emergency will have the effect of turning evil into good to it's lasting honor, and disaster into safety and advantage, interposing more effectual barriers against encroaching purposes from the other side of the "Sabine," than the best lines of military defence, maintained in strong force, and the most effectual manner.

I said in my note to you a few days since that I am satisfied General Santa Aña may consent to a truce of very liberal dura-

⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

tion (it matters not how long) if He causes it to be publicly understood at the same time that no combination of circumstances would ever induce Mexico to conclude a definitive arrangement with Texas till perfectly satisfactory arrangements were made for the Abolition of Slavery within some reasonable space of time, and on the contrary that Mexico is prepared to adjust finally on the most liberal footing as soon as that difficulty is removed.

No more Slaves will be brought into Texas after such a declaration of the Mexican Government, and the tide of immigration from the Slave States will be at once arrested; but there will be, instead, a very large immigration from the free States of the Union (orderly people that come to work for their bread in peace, not to idle away their time in the hope of profitable adventure into Mexico), and from quarters in Europe well affected to Mexico, chiefly directed to the frontier conterminous with Mexico, which is the region of Texas best suited to European Constitutions. If hostilities are resumed again (a very unlikely event after such a declaration of the Mexican Government), that Government would find itself in an attitude of great importance and force in this part of the World. The people of the United States are given to keen speculative calculation, and that prospect would present to them the possibility of Mexican Arms marching forward into Texas with proclamation that Slavery had no legal existence *as far West as the "Sabine,"* that the disabilities of people of Colour whether of the mixed Indian or African races were in like manner non-existent within those limits, that the lands in Texas held by Settlers not possessed of Slaves, or willing to manumit them, should be confirmed to them provided they hold themselves neuter to the contest, and finally that sympathy from the S. W. States of America would be answered with sympathizing invitations to the Black and Coloured people of all races in those regions to pass over to the right bank of the "Sabine" where they would find less talk about the rights of Man, and a little rational enjoyment of them. Such reflections as these would assuredly present [a barrier?] to the blustering part of the population here and in the United States, immediately upon the public signification of the policy of the Mexican Government to have fast peace with Texas as soon as Texas saw fit to place Itself in a really independent attitude, as respected the S. W. States of America, in-

stead of one of advanced post of aggression against Mexico, which it will continue to be till Mexico has the sound wisdom to sever the tie that connects Texas with those States.

Added to the high honor and other force that Mexico would derive from this policy, there should be joined the reflection of that certain distraction and violence as in the Councils of the United States sure to follow any attempt of the S. W. States to force on a War with Mexico, arising out of any just measures for it's honor and safety, as to the Abolition of Slavery in Texas, which was a violation of the Constitution of Mexico from it's very commencement. The best and wisest Statesmen of the United States fully comprehend that it is for the well understood interest and safety of their own Country that Slavery should not be suffered to extend in a S. W. direction. They are opposed to it both on lofty moral principle, and upon grounds of policy; and if Mexico acts upon the suggestion which has been made from London, I believe there need be no serious apprehension of anything worse than a great deal of talk. If there be any unreasonable faltering in that particular, I believe on the contrary that the intrigues which I am persuaded are ripening, will occasion some very serious inconvenience.

I make you no excuse for troubling you with these thoughts because I am sure you will feel that I do so in some hope they may help the public Service, and I need not say that it will give me great pleasure to attend to any suggestions which you think may serve the like purpose in this quarter

Charles Elliot.

Copy

Charles Elliot

[Endorsed] Inclosure No. 2. in Captain Elliot's private despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen Octr. 10th 1843.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁰

No. 7.

British Consulate.

Galveston October 11th. 1843.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a Return in duplicate of the prices

¹⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

of Indian Corn, Cotton and hides at the Port of Galveston, for the Quarter ending 30th. Ultimo.

I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting a General Report respecting the Trade of this Country, which I have held over, for the purpose of rendering it as correct as possible. To arrive at statistical accuracy in an extensive and thinly peopled Country, where intelligence is not always enlisted on the side of truth, and where the Machinery of internal administration is of necessity very imperfect, is an extremely difficult task.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

Secret.

Galveston October 31st. 1843.

My Lord,

In a conversation with the President yesterday, he placed in my hand an original despatch from Mr. Van Zandt, Chargé d' Affaires from this Republic in the United States, to the Secretary of State of Texas, dated at Washington on the 18th Ultimo. The President did not offer to furnish me with a Copy of the despatch, neither did I consider it suitable to ask for one, and I can therefore only furnish Your Lordship with a general statement of its contents from memory. But I read it with attention, and I do not think that any material point has escaped my notice.

Mr. Van Zandt begins by stating, that he had called a day or two before at the Office of the Secretary of State upon a subject of trifling importance but Mr. Upshur interrupted his representations by remarking that He was glad to see him, for he had been on the point of writing to request him to converse on a matter of moment. He then entered eagerly into the subject of the annexation of Texas to the United States, expressing much hope that the Government of Texas had not changed it's policy upon that point. The President informed me, at this place of Mr. Van Zandt's despatch, that upon announcing the late Armistice to that Gentleman, He had been desired to take an occasion of verbally acquainting the Government of the United States, that the gen-

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

eral Instructions to the Agents of this Government near that of the United States upon the subject of Annexation must be considered to be no longer of force, I use General Houston's language; "that, that door was closed."

Mr. Van Zandt in reply to Mr. Upshur's first observation adverted to an expression in a despatch of the Secretary of State of Texas, (quoted in his own despatch of the 18 September) to the effect that it did not seem to the Government of Texas that the acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas by Mexico would interpose an insurmountable obstacle to annexation with the United States, if that combination should therefore be considered convenient. It seemed on the contrary, that it might smooth the way to that result, by means of subsequent treaty between the two Countries

Both the President and the Secretary of State, with whom I have conversed this morning, told me that this observation had been thrown out to induce the more hearty efforts of the Government of the United States with that of Mexico to secure the acknowledgment of their Independence by Mexico; but having that Independence recognized, it was not the wish of the present Government, nor they firmly believed would it be found to be that of the majority of this people, that any treaty or other scheme of Annexation should be entertained.

Returning to Mr Upshur's conversation, as reported by Mr Van Zandt in the despatch of the 18th. September, I should inform Your Lordship that it conveyed generally the determination of the Government of the United States to endeavour to effect the annexation of Texas during the next Session, if the Government of Texas consented to the promotion of such an arrangement.

To Mr. Van Zandt's remarks (speaking in that particular, as an unauthorized person) that though it certainly seemed to him that such a proposal might find favor in Texas, still he could not but remind Mr. Upshur of the former failure of the scheme of annexation in the United States, Mr. Upshur replied that circumstances had materially changed since, that it was the great measure of the present administration; that they had already sounded leading persons in the Senate, and that though it was

probable they would be stormily opposed, still they believed they should be able to carry the project.

He wished Mr Van Zandt to report the subject of the present conversation to Texas by express, and to ask for immediate instructions in order that affairs might be sufficiently advanced by the next meeting of Congress in the United States. But Mr. Van Zandt did not consider there was any need for an express, probably because he had nothing to transmit, but the statement of a personal conference, for I remarked that nothing was delivered to Mr Van Zandt in a written form, and that Mr Upshur declined to furnish him with a Copy of the Instructions to General Thompson at Mexico, though he suffered me [him] to peruse them.

Mr Van Zandt closes his despatch with a request for early Instructions, and a decided expression of his own opinion that the present administration at Washington is perfectly sincere in these professions and purposes, but leaving it to his own Government to form it's own judgment of their political strength to carry out such a scheme

I said I hoped I was not asking too much in requesting to know in what sense this Government proposed to reply to these overtures.

General Houston answered that Mr Van Zandt would be instructed to communicate verbally that it did not seem to the Government of Texas to be convenient or necessary to entertain such proposals at all, till the Senate of the United States had manifested its readiness by resolution to treat with Texas, upon the subject of Annexation

I did not pursue the conversation for the moment, desiring to reflect upon the course that it might be convenient to take in the present state of my information. But I have now to report the subject of a conference which I sought with the President and the Secretary of State this morning.

Attentively considering the Communication from Washington which the President had been so good as to shew me, and generally the indications of public feeling, and violent attack to which he had been exposed on account of some supposed undue and dangerous influence on the part of Her Majesty's Government in the Affairs of Texas, I thought that it was incumbent upon me to declare (after renewed examination of my communications

from Your Lordship) the scope and sum of Her Majesty's purposes concerning the settlement of the dispute between Mexico and Texas.

The President might assure himself that the Queen continued to take a lively interest, in the prosperity and Independence of Texas; and moved by a sincere desire to hasten the close of a fruitless and painful Warfare, Her Majesty's Government would willingly use every friendly effort in a strictly impartial sense, to consolidate a peace upon terms conducive to the honor, advantage, and stability of both the parties engaged in this contest.

This was the plain purport of all my communications from Her Majesty's Government.

But observing from what had passed at Washington that another phase of these affairs had now presented itself, I hoped the President would give me leave to offer some reflections arising out of that condition of things. I spoke of course without authority. If however His Excellency felt himself in a situation to assure Her Majesty's Government that he had entire confidence in the good will and ability of the Government of the United States to secure the recognition of the *bonâ fide*, and durable Independence of Texas by Mexico, by friendly means, and further that the associations between the people of this Country and of the United States, made it an object of moment to this Government that their affairs at Mexico, should be left to the countenance of the United States, it certainly was my opinion that Her Majesty's Government would readily desist from pressing the subject in that quarter, neither could I suppose that Her Majesty's Government would take umbrage at the expression of a such a wish upon the part of this Government. How far it might be conducive to a speedy settlement of these difficulties, and to the well understood interests of the people of Texas that the Government of Mexico should find itself negotiating with the Government of the United States for the acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas, to be followed by a treaty of Annexation with that Union, were points upon which it did not belong to me to offer any opinions.

I hope, however, that His Excellency would authorize me to make a communication of his own views and intentions upon these

proposals of the Government of the United States to Your Lordship

The President requested me to convey the expressions of the gratitude of the Government of Texas for the kind and powerful support they had received from that of Her Majesty; earnestly to request that there should be no relaxation in these friendly efforts to hasten the acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas by Mexico, to state with perfect plainness that the Government of Texas had no ground to consider the professions of the Government of the United States to be directed by other motives than those of internal convenience; and that no reliance was placed upon their hearty interposition for the settlement of this dispute upon the basis of the Independence of Texas. But that even if the case were otherwise, the Government of Texas could never so far forget what was due to the Government of Her Majesty from which it had received earnestness of helpfulness, or to its own interests, as to postpone the[ir] support to any other.

Her Majesty's Government might rest assured that with the Independence of Texas recognized by Mexico, He would never consent to any treaty or other project of annexation to the United States, and He had a conviction that the people would sustain him in that determination. He had formerly been favorable to such a Combination. But the United States had rejected the proposals of this Country in its time of difficulty; neither was the subsequent conduct of that Government calculated to induce the Government and people of Texas in this mended state of things, to sacrifice their true and lasting advantage to the policy of party in that Country.

The Government of the United States had been appealed to for interference in these affairs simultaneously with the Government of Her Majesty and that of the King of the French, and if those Government's had taken a more active and decided part in securing the recognition of their Independence, the President could see and feel that they had entitled themselves to the gratitude and confidence of Texas, but He could not observe that the existence of such feelings furnished just ground of complaint or uneasiness to the Government of the United States. He learnt that the Government of the United States was now taking a very lively interest in their efforts, as he anticipated would be the case as soon

as they heard of the Armistice, and the withdrawal of the Instructions respecting annexation; But up to this moment the Government of Texas had not been favored with one word in a written form in explanation of their purposes and proceedings. They were no doubt kind, but what they were he could not positively say.

I remarked to the President that this might be a convenient occasion to advert to one point which appeared to be the foundation of the existing misconception respecting the purposes of Her Majesty's Government. The subject to which I alluded was the desire of Her Majesty's Government for the Abolition of Slavery in Texas, collected from what had appeared in the public prints, and particularly from a late Conversation in the House of Lords. There was nothing here to occasion surprize or uneasiness. The Government of Texas in common with the whole world must have been perfectly aware of the settled feeling of the British Government and Nation upon the subject of Slavery, and though I had not yet received Instructions to press that topic, I naturally concluded that such instructions would soon reach me.

Her Majesty's Government would probably dwell upon the wrongfulness of Slavery; on the deplorable error of setting out in the life and fortunes of a Nation, with all its prospects based upon an Institution, condemned and decaying every where, acknowledgedly a cancer where it did exist, and the subject of increasing want of confidence, and aversion in States, from which it had passed away

These and other grounds of reasoning would possibly be strongly pressed upon the attention of this Government, but the President was too well acquainted with the character of the British Government to suppose that it would be unmindful of the just right of this Government and people to decide for themselves.

General Houston had not the least uneasiness upon such a point; And without entering at all into this particular Subject, He could at least say generally that the views of Her Majesty's Government would always receive the most attentive consideration of the Government and people of Texas.

Implicit reliance may be place in the sincerity and steadiness of the opinions General Houston expressed in this Conversation; but I certainly perceive no such ground to depend upon the course

of the people of Texas, if the project of annexation should be presented to them.

The President would no doubt use strenuous efforts in the sense he has declared, but his administration closes in the Month of December 1844, and if He is not succeeded by a person influenced by the same policy, the uncertainty upon the subject would be much encreased.

Your Lordship will perhaps be already informed as to these intentions of the Government of the United States, and no doubt of their ability in respect to them; But I have nevertheless felt it my duty to report this information in detail, and I will take the liberty to add an opinion which I offered to the President in a private way, that is, that their project seems to be shaped with the alternative intention of settling the matter in the way that pleases them, or of disordering any other settlement, and of the two, it seemed to me, that the last was the more hopeful result, for I did not believe that the Government of the United States, had any confidence in their own power to carry out a project of annexation. But the agitation of it could hardly fail to alarm the Government of Mexico.

I should mention that the American Schooner of War "Flirt" arrived here on the 17th. Instant with Despatches for General Murphy, and referring to the date of her departure from Norfolk (the 30th. Ultimo) I conclude that the intelligence she brings is to the effect related in Mr Van Zandt's despatch. But General Murphy does not appear to have been authorized to commit himself in writing upon the subject.

General Houston and Mr Jones told me, that incredible as it seems, they were disposed to believe that the Government of the United States had listened to hastily to some extravagant reports from here, as to the sinister purposes of Her Majesty's Government in connexion with the Governments of Mexico, and of Texas for the assumption of this Country in Her Majesty's name, and assured me that a small squadron of American Ships of War would shortly follow the Schooner. I remarked that these rumours were no doubt calculated to excite the people of this Country, and by throwing discredit upon General Houston to facilitate the frustration of his negotiations with Mexico; but I

would undertake to say that the Government of the United States never attached the least credit to such folly and falsehood.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

No. 30.³

Galveston, November 13th. 1843.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Mr Addington's despatch No 12,⁴ and I avail myself of this occasion to report that intelligence has reached this place from Matamoras to the 29th. Ultimo, announcing that the Commissioners from this Government had proceeded to Sabinas (about 90 leagues to the Northward of Matamoras) to meet General Woll and arrange the terms of the truce. It is probable that a reference will be necessary both to Mexico and to this Government before the conditions are finally adjusted.

Having heard through the public press of some misunderstanding at Mexico upon the subject of an English Ensign, displayed amongst some flags said to have been taken by the forces of that Republic.⁵ I think it may be convenient to forward to Your Lordship a newspaper containing an account of the manner in which that Ensign fell into the hands of the Mexican Government.⁶ I also take the opportunity of this despatch to mention that the trade between Mexico and the Western parts of this Country has once more revived with considerable vigour, under the influence of a state of truce, and particularly of the prohibi-

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

³Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 29, September 30, 1843, has been omitted. It referred to the "Little Penn" claims, and contained copies of Jones to Elliot, September 16, and Elliot to Jones, September 28, 1843, which are in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1128 and 1139, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

⁴October 3, 1843.

⁵September 28, 1843, while attending a public ball, Doyle observed draped among "trophies taken in war," an English boat flag. He demanded its removal, was refused, and later the Mexican government declined to give it up to him. As a result, he discontinued diplomatic relations with Mexico until ordered by Aberdeen to resume them. (Adams, *British Interest and Activities in Texas*, 153-154.)

⁶Not found.

tory regulations of the Mexican Government, so favourable to the promotion of extensive illicit traffic.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Charles Elliot.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁷

No. 8.

British Consulate.

Galveston, November 13th 1843.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a return in duplicate, relating to the following Subjects:—

Custom Laws of Texas,

Wreck Masters and their Duties.

Maritime Jurisdiction.

Collectoral Districts.⁸

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁹

No. 32.¹⁰

Galveston, November. 29th. 1843.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit herewith the copy of a dispatch which I have this day addressed to Mr. Doyle at Mexico, in reply to a despatch from him, announcing the interruption of his official intercourse with the Government of Mexico, and I also take the liberty to forward an extract from a private letter which I have sent to him with my public Communication.

Begging to refer Your Lordship to the appeal made by General McLeod¹¹ in his letter to me of the 26th. Instant (Inclosure No 2 in my despatch to Mr. Doyle) in behalf of Mr Antonio Navarro, I venture to hope that Your Lordship will compassionate his situation, and instruct Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico

⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 7.

⁸Kennedy merely summarized the laws on these subjects. They can be conveniently consulted in Gammel, *Laws of Texas*.

⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

¹⁰Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 31, is missing from the archives.

¹¹Hugh McLeod, a graduate of the United States Military Academy (1835). He resigned from the army, practiced law, and early joined Texas in resisting Mexico. He commanded the Sante Fé expedition, was a member of the Texan Congress, 1842-1843, served in the Mexican War, and later on the Confederate side in the Civil War. (Appleton, *Dict. of Am. Biog.*)

to intercede in his favor on the renewal of the public intercourse between the two Governments.

His fate has always been the subject of great solicitude to the Government and people of Texas, and I am sure they would be grateful for the kind Offices of Her Majesty's Government. It has also occurred to me that acts of public clemency at the suggestion of Her Majesty's Government may be amongst the most pleasing proofs of respect and atonement which the Government of Mexico can afford for its late unsuitable conduct.

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

Charles Elliot

ELLIOT TO DOYLE¹²

[Enclosure].

Galveston, November 29th 1843.

Sir,

By the last arrival from New Orleans, I have had the honor to receive Your Despatch of the 5th. Ultimo, acquainting me that you had been compelled to suspend all diplomatic intercourse with the Government of Mexico 'till you had received further Instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

Accounts of the circumstance which induced that event had already reached this place through the press of the United States, and in a dispatch to Lord Aberdeen, dated on the [13th.] Inst which will go to England by the Mail of the 1st Proximo from Boston, I had thought it might be convenient to forward His Lordship the copy of a Newspaper [of which another copy is herewith transmitted] containing a statement of the manner in which the English flag in question fell into the hands of the Mexican Government.¹³

Since the receipt of your despatch of the 5th Ultimo, I have communicated with the Editor of this paper, and I learn from him that He received his information direct from General Green, who was present in the affair at Meir (*sic.*).

I have also ascertained from other respectable persons who had conversed with General Green upon this subject whilst He was here, that no English flag was displayed in that conflict, or upon any other occasion in the course of the operations which closed at that place.

¹²F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

¹³See Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 30, November 13, 1843.

The flag was used by the man into whose possession it had fallen, as a sleeping covering, and was found by the Mexicans, either, in his Knapsack, or it may be as a wrapper to his kit.

Thinking it possible that there may be some pretension that a British flag was captured, when the persons composing the "Santa Fé" expedition surrendered, I have taken an opportunity of ascertaining directly from General H. McLeod who commanded that force, that no English flag was ever used in that service, or to the best of his knowledge was in the possession of any person in that expedition.

Percy W. Doyle, Esqr
Copy.

Charles Elliot.

Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.]. Inclosure. 1. In Captn Elliot's No. 32. November 29. 1843.

M'LEOD TO ELLIOT¹⁴

[Enclosure.]

Galveston.

Sir,

November. 26th. 1843.

Inage Morris informed me on yesterday that you had desired to learn from me, whether any British flag accompanied me in the Expedition to Santa Fé, in 1841, under my command.—No such flag could have been officially used, and if any individual carried one it was without my knowledge—Indeed I am quite sure it was not done.

While addressing you upon this subject, would it be improper, to solicit your kind offices, unofficially, for my unfortunate Companion, Mr Antonio Navarro.—His release would be but an act of justice to himself, and would confer happiness on a large family and numerous friends.

This, if it can be accorded, I respectfully solicit in the name of General Lamar, under whose authority, as President of this Republic, that Expedition was sent as well as in that of.

True Copy.

H. McLeod.

Charles Elliot

To. Honl. Chas. Elliot.

H. B. M. Chargé d' Affaires

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No. 2. In Captn. Elliot's No 32. November. 29. 1843.

¹⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

ELLIOT TO DOYLE¹⁵

Private Note.

Galveston November 29. 1843.

Brought up in a Military profession I take the liberty of remarking, that the triumphant display of flags as National trophies, always requires unequivocal proof that they were actually fought under, and captured in conflict.

Ships of War, for example, usually carry the flags of all Maritime Powers, amongst their stores, but when a Ship of War of one nation is taken by a Ship of another, it would be absurd and insulting to display any other Ensign in triumph than that of the Country to which the captured vessel belonged.

If the British flag had been displayed and fought under at Meir, which it certainly was not, the right course would have been to forward a detailed and authentic statement of the facts to H. M. Government, with a request to know if any authority had been given for the use of the British National Colours to the persons from whom they were taken, within the limits of the Mexican territory or elsewhere.

It was not time for the Mexican Government to take any further proceedings with respect to that flag 'till they had been formally answered in that particular.

Persons who were captured in Mexico, fighting under National Colours which they had no authority to use, would no doubt be liable to be treated as mere marauders.

But the triumphal display of the flag of a friendly Power, taken from such persons, is really much less an act of disrespect to that Country, [foolishly disrespectful as it is] than of total want of regard to the character of the Nation, exhibiting such spoils amongst the trophies of honorable and regular War.

Whatever degree of dissatisfaction this impertinence may occasion Her Majesty's Government, it is manifest that the offence is much more serious against the honor and dignity of Mexico. For if it had been true that the people at Meir had fought under a British flag it would be equally [true] that, that very fact had rendered them within the description of marauders, or banditti, and Nations do not make triumphal display of the proofs of their prowess, over persons in that category, at the disregard too, of the

¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. The letter was not addressed, but was probably from Elliot to Doyle.

obligations of public comity to friendly Powers. The statement, however, that a British flag was taken in action at all, is void of foundation, and the unavoidable conclusion is, that the Mexican Government, has fabricated an explanation of it's conduct, which would have been discreditable in the last degree if it had been faithful.

If there is any military person amongst your colleagues, I am sure he will testify to the correctness of this exposition of military usage, and probably satisfy the Mexican Government of the unfortunate attitude in which it has placed itself by this unseemly adoption of the false report of this Commanding officer at Meir. His immediate and exemplary punishment, and the most signal, and public proof of their own respect for the flag of a friendly Power, are steps far more necessary for their own relief, from a very discreditable scrape, than for the sake of any other consideration. It will no doubt be very easy for H. M. Government to set this nonsense to rights, so far as the dignity of Great Britain is concerned, but the Mexican Government should be told by some friendly adviser, that what they do spontaneously is what alone can set them to rights in the estimation of other Powers.

Charles Elliot

[Endorsed.] Inclosure 3. In Captn. Elliot's No 32. November 29. 1843.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

Galveston Dec. 2d. 1843.

My Lord,

The late accounts from Mexico induce me to address Your Lordship upon some points which may be of interest if these difficulties should grow into serious heats. Since I have been in this Country I have been endeavouring to procure some trust worthy information respecting the suitableness of the Rio Grande for purposes of Commerce, and therefore if need me, for flotilla operation.

An intelligent English Mariner of the name of Simpton was in the Service of the Texian Government, in command of a small revenue vessel is well acquainted with the Mouth of that river,

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

and I hope in the course of a few weeks to forward Your Lordship a chart of it, rudely drawn indeed, but upon the general correctness of which I should be disposed to place reliance. He is now absent at Corpus Christi, but will bring his papers back with him, and I shall then be able to select what may be useful.

The river itself, so far as I can learn from persons who have crossed it at various points as high up as the Presidio Grande (which Your Lordship will find marked on all the Maps) is ill fitted for general commercial use, or military transport, being very shallow in the dry season, and it is said, having rapids, before that point. All the rivers however, discharging themselves into the Gulf, vary greatly in their navigable facilities, according to the season, and I dare say, that in the winter and spring Months, the Rio Grande would be navigable for a great distance in light iron boats, such as are used in the upper Ganges and Indus. There is a safe anchorage at it's Mouth called the "Brassos del Norte" for vessels not exceeding 10 feet of draught, but on the bar itself, there are not more than 7 feet of water.

My experience in China, My Lord, taught me that one very serious want of our Military Marine is a sufficiency of vessels of force and resource, either of the Steam arm, or sailing, of a light draught of water. For expeditionary purposes into an enemy's Country, and conjoint operation, when troops must be covered and supplied, this is a very great want, and I would take the liberty to submit that three classes of iron Steam boats would be very necessary for effective Service in Mexico. The largest like the "Nemesis," "Pluto," and "Pligothern" and not to draw more than 6 feet of water at the utmost, with a full supply of coal and other Materiel. A second, with a lighter Armament say a long 18 lb. brass gun, forward and aft not to draw more than 3 feet or 3 feet and a half, and lastly four or six of the class of boats employed on the Upper Indus and Ganges, or even more with a force of ten or fifteen sail of boats of these classes it may be depended upon that there would be no difficulty in penetrating into the heart of Mexico, by the Rio Grande and the rivers to the *Southward* and *Westward* of Vera Cruz. It may be added too that after San Juan had fallen there would be no manner of use for any large Ships or Steam boats on this Coast of Mexico, except to serve as Depots for the light force in advance.

Matamoras, Tampico, Alvarado, Tabasco are all accessible to

Vessels of the draught I have indicated, Indeed I should mention that at Tabasco there are 11 feet of water on the bar, and that is one point to which I would most particularly draw Your Lordship's attention.

The temper of Yucatan and Tabasco towards the present Government of Mexico is a consideration of much interest. The Tabasco river, or indeed the rivers into which the Main stream branches are navigable for a great distance. The Texian Corvette "Austin" for example drawing upwards of 10 feet of Water went up as high as San Juan de Baptiste (about 80 Miles from the Mouth) and I believe there is said to be a boat communication very nearly the whole way to the City of Mexico by that Stream.

If that point were at once secured, and the people of that Province assured of protection and security at the period of the General Settlement, it is in the highest degree probable, that they would at once declare against the Central Government, and either join themselves to Guatemala or to Yucatan, forming a Republic with easy means of communication between the two Seas, and good ports on either Shore. Neither do I believe there would be much difficulty in pushing a flotilla so far either by the Tabasco Stream, (or by another to the Westward of it, also accessible by vessels of draught), that a land force might be transported to within a very few Marches of Mexico.

Tampico is another point of importance on account of it's contiguity to the Mining Districts, and with that and Matamoros in the possession of Her Majesty's forces, and declared to be free ports during the continuance of hostilities, I am disposed to think that a much more extensive trade would be carried on with Mexico, than we have ever had in a state of peace;—And further that the North Eastern Province would very readily second this scheme, and be equally unwilling to return to General Santa Aña's prohibitive system, for the better maintenance of his authority in the Central part of the Country. The eagerness with which the people of those parts of Mexico have returned to the illicit traffic between this country and their own, satisfies me that it might very easily be thrown open upon the most extensive scale.

Blockade, Your Lordship will perhaps permit me to remark, is a mode of Warfare less likely to be stringent upon these people than inconvenient to ourselves, for they have no Merchant Marine to

distress, and they are generally independent of foreign Commerce. Indeed it would seem that a blockade would be seconding General Santa Aña's purposes of foreign exclusion, and I am afraid of dishonesty. The supply of any force operating on the Coast between the Rio Grande and Vera Cruz (if there should be difficulties in that particular in the Country itself) could always be depended upon from Texas. Cattle are abundant here at extremely moderate rates, and depôts of every kind of provision de bouche could always be kept up here from New Orleans to any extent, and also at moderate prices. Depôts of Coal might also be formed here if it were not considered preferable to establish them at the Brassos del Norte, Tampico, and on the Keys off Vera Cruz, as well as at Loguna and Tabasco.

In the sending of stores of any kind to the Brassos del Norte, or Tampico it would be necessary that they should be transported in vessels of very light draught; not more than 7 feet for Tampico or 9 for the Brassos del Norte. If iron Steamers of the smaller class should be considered necessary for any purposes of Her Majesty's Government in this quarter, I would submit that they might be sent out in frame to this place with their Machinery and everything ready for setting up, and with people competent to perform the work. It might be given out that they were sent here to be disposed of for the Navigation of the rivers of Texas, but with a Secret understanding with this Government, as to their ultimate destination; or they might be set up at Jamaica. I would take the liberty to say that Vessels for such a Service should *not be long*, on account of the sinuosities of the rivers of these Countries; from 70 to 80 feet. I would also suggest that Captain Hall late of the "Nemesis" should be consulted on all points calculated to render them more handy and efficient for Service in small Water, and in rapid streams with abrupt turns. I have seen such feats performed with vessels of light draught (the passage of the "Nemesis" to within a few miles from Canton by the *inner Channel*, for example; and where she was only prevented from arriving by having a few feet too much of length) that I have a confidence a force of the kind, I have suggested could be pushed into the very heart of Mexico.

Hoping Your Lordship will ascribe this intrusion to it's true motive, that is, a desire to further the public Service

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Charles Elliot.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

Galveston December 8th. 1843.

My Lord,

I have now the honor to forward Your Lordship the original draught of a Coast Chart of Texas (No 1) procured from Mr. Simpton the person to whom I adverted in my private letter of the 2d. Instant. In the event of hostilities with Mexico an accurate knowledge of the Coast and it's ports might be important, for shoal as they are, they are the most practicable in this Gulf between New Orleans and Vera Cruz, and indeed between that place and Cape Catoche, and at all events they might be necessary of resort, for purposes of Supply. I would once more take the liberty to remark that though the Chart is roughly drawn, I believe it's general accuracy may be relied upon.

I also transmit herewith a Sketch of the "Tobasco River" which I have procured from Lieut Downing H. Crisp of the Texian Navy who visited it in command of the Schooner "San Bernard" in 1841, in company with the Corvette "Austin"

This Gentleman is an Englishman by birth and the Son of an old Commander in the Royal Navy—He has been well known to me ever since I have been in Texas, and being able to speak to his good character and sufficiency as a steady Officer and Seaman, I am sure that reliance may be placed in his information as far as it goes. Mr. Crisp did not visit Huasacalcos (about a degree and a half to the Eastward of Alvarado) but one of his Brother Officers did so, and reported 8 or 9 feet water on the Bar, and good navigation inside. I believe it is at this point that the Mexican Govt. has projected a Canal to communicate with the "Chimalapa" upon the Pacific side. I may perhaps mention to Your Lordship that in my passage from England to this Country I became acquainted with a very intelligent Spanish Gentleman who had been many years in Mexico, and He assured me that the "Rio Grande" or "Tololotlan" disemboguing at San Blas upon the Pacific, is navigable at Seasons for a long way, and speaking of it's practicability for Commercial purposes, he said that he was satisfied there would be no difficulty of getting up within easy distance of Guadalajara, by that river, in such Vessels as I described to him to be navigating the

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. The letter is unnumbered.

Upper Ganges and Indus.—He also spoke favorably of the Tampico River and the land route from that point to San Luis de Potosi (with very little expence) for commercial transport.

I have once more to offer Your Lordship my excuses for this intrusion, but not being sure that Her Majesty's Government may have the same information, I have thought it right to transmit it. I would also beg to add that I have no good Map of Mexico with me, and am therefore unable to judge to what extent this information is either superfluous or erroneous. I would take the liberty to remark however, that if there is correctness in what I have heard of the practicability of the "Tololotlan River" or indeed of any of the Rivers disemboguing on the Pacific Shores of Mexico, there would be no difficulty in despatching an effective Steam flotilla to that part of the Coast of Mexico from Bengal and Bombay through Torres Straits, forming Coal depots from India and New South Wales at Port Essington, the Sandwich Islands, and any other convenient points in the Pacific Islands.

Iron Steamers of the smaller class would have to be sent out in frame, and set up at the point on the Pacific Side of Mexico, or at least near the point that they are intended to move from; But such Steam Vessels as we had in China could readily perform the Voyage by Torres Strait, and keeping in a low parallell, they would avoid the strength of the Trade

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Charles Elliot.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No. 34.⁴

New Orleans. Decr. 29th 1843.

My Lord,

Having reference to my despatch No 7 of this year, mentioning that the Government of Texas has levied discriminating duties on the trade from the United States, in consequence of the failure of the treaty of Commerce, I have now the honor to report that the Government of the United States by Treasury order dated on the 12th Instant has adopted a similar course in relation to the trade from Texas.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Charles Elliot.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.

⁴*Ibid.* Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 33, is omitted. It transmitted *The Civilian and Galveston Gazette* for November 8, 1843.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁵*Separate.*

New Orleans. Decr. 29th. 1843.

My Lord,

Having reference to Your Lordship's obliging readiness to grant me leave of absence for the restoration of my health I beg to observe that in the present Situation of circumstances I have not felt myself warranted in requesting that favor. But I have taken the liberty of repairing to this place, chiefly for better advice and convenience than I can find in Texas for an instant, [having] fallen into a very weak state of health.

Your Lordship is aware that I am in the channel of my public correspondence here, and I shall of course proceed to my post in any case of necessity. But in the actual attitude of affairs connected with Texas I believe I am as suitably posted at New Orleans as I should be in that Country, and I will therefore request Your Lordship's sanction to remain here or there, for the present, as I may judge most convenient for the public interests.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁶*Private.*

New Orleans. December 31st 1843.

My Lord,

I had the pleasure of meeting Mr Clay last Evening, who is here upon a visit, and he made some observations upon the subject of Texian Affairs, which I think it convenient to communicate to Your Lordship.

In reply to some remarks from a friend of his own upon that part of the Message⁷ of the President of the United States referring to Texas, he said that all question of the advantage or otherwise of annexation either to the United States or Texas, was entirely superfluous, for he could state in the most positive manner that no scheme of that kind either by treaty, or in any other form, could be

⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 6.⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 6. *Ibid.* Elliot to Aberdeen, Nos. 35 and 36, December 31, 1843, have been omitted. No. 35 referred to the "Eliza Russell" claims, and the method of their payment through the collector of customs at Galveston. No. 36 enclosed a return of correspondence for the year 1843.⁷President Tyler's annual message, December 5, 1843.

carried through the Senate of the United States. The preponderance of Mr. Clay's party in the Senate, and the decided manner in which he repeated this declaration two or three times, will I hope be my excuse for this intrusion.

Being upon this subject I take the liberty to observe to Your Lordship that both my Colleagues Monsieur De Cramayel (who is also staying here) and myself, have been much surprised that the President of the United States should have dwelt at so much length on the affairs of Texas without a word of notice of the feelings or wishes of the Government and people of that Country. It has also appeared to us that this lively interest in the affairs of Texas would have been more kindly timed, and more suited to the necessities of the case in December 1842, when there was reason to apprehend that the Mexicans did meditate an incursion into Texas: But at that time the Government of the United States was negotiating it's claim convention with Mexico, and in the prepare of that business Texian interests and dangers appear to have been overlooked.

At all events there can hardly be thought to be any practical need to declare that Mexico must not be suffered to make war upon Texas, at the particular moment that She is engaged in the attempt to make a peace with Texas, and I must confess that the interference of the United States is not intelligible to me, upon any ground that has been explained. The President's allusion to the particular views, of other Powers, or I believe the phrase is, the peculiar views, is not compatible with due respect for the independence of Texas.

It has been forgotten or disregarded that it is for the Government and people of Texas to consider, and accept or reject any counsels founded upon the peculiar view that Slavery is a wicked and a dangerous Institution, and I am inclined to think that nothing would be better calculated to help the suggestions of other Powers, that [than] these arbitrary declarations of the United States. The President of the United States would never have spoken so imperiously of the perfect right of any State in this Confederacy to deal with it's own affairs, as he has upon this occasion concerning Texas.

I do not believe that this tone will be agreeable to General Houston, and I look for some early and calm notice from that

quarter, that Texas has a Government and people. The Message of the President of Texas will reach Your Lordship with these despatches, and I believe it will afford Her Majesty's Government much satisfaction. I hardly know whether I can give better proof of the favorable effect it has produced in this Country amongst well judging persons than to mention that Mr Clay spoke of it in terms of approbation, and indeed generally of General Houston's policy; a circumstance the more honorable to General Houston, as he was always a strong political opponent of Mr Clay's in this Country. Mr Clay indeed did not seem to me to be friendly to the Annexation of Texas to the United States either now, or prospectively. He said more than once that the United States were wide enough already, and that there was much more of risk, than convenience or strength in extended Confederacies.

In a separate despatch which I had the honor to write to Your Lordship on the 29th Instant, I have requested sanction to reside here or in Texas during the present Agitation of Texian affairs in this Country, and I would wish to add in a private form, that the want of quiet trustworthy channels of Communication between Texas and New Orleans is one of my chief reasons, for requesting that permission

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT⁸

Draft.

F. O. January 3d. 1844.

Captn. Elliot.

No. 2.⁹

Sir,

I transmit to You herewith, for Your information, a Copy of a Despatch which I have addressed to H. M's Minister at Washington,¹⁰ with a view to put a stop to the Misrepresentations which have been circulated of late in the United States, and the errors

⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 9. The letter is unsigned.

⁹F. O., Texas, 20. Aberdeen to Elliot, No. 1, January 3, 1844, has been omitted. It acknowledged receipt of despatches from Elliot.

¹⁰Aberdeen to Pakenham, No. 9, December 26, 1843. This is the first of the noted Calhoun-Pakenham letters, and in it Aberdeen, while maintaining Great Britain's right to take ground against slavery wherever found, disclaimed any intention of interfering improperly to secure the abolition

into which the Govt. of that Republic seem to have fallen, on the subject of the policy of Great Britain with respect to Texas.

You will communicate the inclosed Despatch to the Texian Govt.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹¹

No. 1.

British Consulate
Galveston, January 5th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to forward Copy of a Despatch addressed by me to Captain Elliot at New Orleans. To avoid the risk of delay where delay might, perhaps, be disadvantageous, I have also transmitted Copy of the same despatch to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, United States.

I beg to enclose extracts from a Newspaper called the "*Citizen*,"¹² which was established last Summer for the express purpose of supporting the Measures of General Houston.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ELLIOT¹³

[Enclosure]

British Consulate
Galveston January 2d 1844

Copy.

Sir.

I beg to inform you that, by accounts received from the Seat of Government, it appears that on the 19th Ultimo, a "Joint Resolution for the Annexation of Texas to the United States," was read a second time and referred to Committee.

of slavery in Texas, or of "seeking to act directly or indirectly in a political sense on the United States through Texas." The correspondence as published in the United States is in Sen. Doc. 341 (Serial No. 435), 28 Cong., 1 Sess. As published in Great Britain it is in Sessional Papers, 1847-8, Commons, Vol. 64, *Return of Pakenham-Calhoun Correspondence* (136), and contains an additional letter, Pakenham to Aberdeen, April 28, 1844. There are also two additional unpublished letters, Aberdeen to Pakenham, January 9 (F. O., Texas, 20), and June 3, 1844 (F. O., America, 403). For quotations and analysis, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, ch. VII. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, p. 200 *seq.*

¹¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

¹²December 30, 1843.

¹³F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

The impression of parties recently arrived from the Seat of Government is that this resolution will pass.

Captain Elliot, R. N. New Orleans, U. S. William Kennedy.

[Endorsed] Enclosure No 1. In Mr Consul Kennedy's. despatch, dated January. 5th 1844.

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL¹⁸

No 2.

British Consulate

Sir,

Galveston January 8th. 1844.

The growing Commercial intercourse between England and this Country, and the prospect of its progressive enlargement, render it desirable that the attention of the Shipping Interest, should be directed to the character of the Charts generally consulted on voyages to Texas. Of all that I have had an opportunity of inspecting, not one is correct, while some are considerably, and some extravagantly in error.

There are, at present, five British Vessels in this Port.—The Chart used on board one of these (represented by the publishers as corrected to the year 1841) exhibits an error of nearly two degrees in the Longitude of Galveston Island. The Charts of two others, which the publishers describe as having been corrected to the year 1843, severally indicate the depth of water on Galveston Bar at Sixteen or Sixteen and a half feet,—the real depth being, at low water, about ten feet, and, at high water, twelve, except on the occasion of a Spring tide. In all the Charts hitherto in use, the Coast line of Texas is wrongly laid down.—Of the five Merchant Vessels I have mentioned, the last that has arrived—A Schooner from Nassau, New Providence—ran aground in attempting to make the Port, and was only got off by sacrificing part of her Cargo, —A Misfortune attributed by the Master to his Chart, which it appears, misled him to the extent of some sixty Miles.

Voyages to Galveston are burthened with an unusually high rate of insurance, yet, with such a Measure of Caution as no honest and judicious Ship Master will fail to exercise, and the assistance of a trust-worthy Chart, no extraordinary danger, or difficulty need be apprehended for vessels whose draughts of water will permit them to pass the Bar.

¹⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

In the hope that it may prove useful, I have the honor to transmit a Chart¹⁴ of Galveston Bar, and Harbour, as surveyed in 1841 by the Commodore of the Texan Navy, and recently corrected by an experienced local draughtsman. On the accuracy of this Chart, with reference to all the points essential to be known by Navigators, reliance may be placed.

It will be seen that the North East end of Galveston Island is in Latitude N. 29°, 18', 50" and Longitude W. 94°, 48', 30".

The average height of the Island, above the bed of the Sea, is eight feet—and of the Sand-hills that border the Coast, fifteen feet.—Some conspicuous land mark is much required, as a guide to Vessels when making the Port. There were formerly beacons on the North East end of the Island, but these disappeared in 1842, and have not yet been replaced. The authorities, however, in answer to an application from this Consulate, have expressed an intention "to have the necessary beacons, or land-marks erected, so as to enable vessels bound inwards to make the Anchorage, or pass into the Harbour, without danger."

The Coast being so low, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Bars, breakers may generally be observed, and vessels becalmed, on approaching the Bars, must guard against the indraught Current, from neglect of which precaution, some have been lost.

Navigators will do well to keep a sharp look-out for Currents, which run in the direction of the prevailing winds. The Currents inshore will vary a little according to the veering of the wind, and the shallowness of the water renders this variation comparatively rapid. A vessel becalmed near the land is liable to drift ashore, unless she be brought to an anchor, which can be safely and easily effected at any point along the Coast.

The "Norther," which is the prevailing wind during the Winter Months, produces gales, but they are not of long duration. If a Vessel is caught by a "Norther," it will blow her off the shore. During the greater part of the year, especially in Summer, South Easterly winds prevail, with variations caused by local influences. After a continuence of strong Northerly winds, the water in Galveston Bay is "blown out," and, for some succeeding days, the tides seem very strong.—A vessel at Anchor in the Stream should be carefully and well secured.

¹⁴Not found.

According to returns from the Galveston Custom-House, Sixteen British Vessels, sailed to that Port in the years 1841 and 1842. Of these, four were lost on the Coast, while it does not appear that any American Vessels, of which a much greater number visited the Port, experienced a similar fate during those years. Other causes than the intricacy of the Navigation, or the infidelity of the Charts, have certainly been assigned for the loss of the four Ships, but the latter is not the less an evil that calls for remedy as well as notice.

William Kennedy.

John Bidwell, Esq.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹⁵

Draft.

F. O. January 11th. 1844.

Capt. Elliott. R. N.

No. 4.¹⁶

Sir.

With reference to my Despatch No. 2, of the 3d Inst. I transmit to you herewith, for Your Information a Copy of a Despatch¹⁷ which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, on the subject of that part of the late Message of the President of the United States to Congress which relates to Texas.

P. S. I have to direct You to read the inclosed despatch to the Texian Secretary of State.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁸

No. 4.¹⁹

New Orleans, Jany. 15th. 1844.

My Lord,

Nothing is yet officially known of the proceedings of the Texian

¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 9. The letter is unsigned.

¹⁶F. O., Texas, 20, Aberdeen to Elliot, No. 3, January 3, 1844, has been omitted. It related to the whereabouts of Mr. John Orr and contained copies of letters from Doyle and from Orr's father.

¹⁷F. O., Texas, 20, Aberdeen to Pakenham, No. 1, January 9, 1844. See note 10, p. 291. Aberdeen expressed indignation at the tone of President Tyler's message in which it had been hinted that England was seeking to block the annexation of Texas. Pakenham was instructed to communicate the contents to the American Secretary of State, but did not do so, and the letter was never published. For quotation, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 156-157.

¹⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

¹⁹F. O., Texas, 9, Nos. 1 and 2, 1844, Elliot to Aberdeen are missing from the archives. No. 3, January 12, 1844, has been omitted. It transmitted bills in settlement of the "Eliza Russell" claims.

Commissioners charged with the attempt to conclude a truce with Mexico. But I hear from authentic sources of a letter from one of them (dated on the 6th Ultimo) which mentions that although their progress was slow, he did not despair of some satisfactory conclusion

The Message of the President of the United States, however, could not be known in Mexico before the end of last Month, at the earliest, and Your Lordship will be best able to judge of it's effect on the pending negotiations.

I collect from the public prints in this Country that a Second Convention for the settlement of certain Claims of Citizens of the United States has recently been concluded at Mexico, and I am disposed to think that the agitation of the question of Annexation, at least by the Government of the United States, will be a good deal quieted by that event. That agitation, with other accidental circumstances, served no doubt to forward the conclusion of the Convention. But perhaps that Measure, and the breaking up of the Negotiations, if that too should happen, will restore the Government of the United States to the same state of feeling in this respect, as had always obtained up to the period of the late armistice; except indeed when their own immediate affairs become matter of urgent pressure at Mexico. In that state of things, the Situation of Texas, and the character of the warfare, were forcibly insisted upon, as was the case for example, shortly before the claim convention of last year; But the satisfactory settlement of the claim negotiations appears to have been attended with tranquillising effects on the other grounds of interest and remonstrance.

Observing that these affairs are once more in question between the Governments of the United States and Mexico, it is to be hoped that the first will be able and willing to satisfy the other, that there is no purpose of annexing Texas to the North American Union. That would probably be the most hopeful mode of pacificating this Contest, the kindest course both to Texas and to Mexico, and in the opinion of the most eminent Statesmen in the United States, the sound and honorable policy for their own Country.

I should mention to Your Lordship that movements have been made in the Texian Congress in the direction of annexation to the

United States, but I do not enter into that subject at present, because they have not yet passed into any definite form.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honorable
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT²⁰

Draft.

F. O. Jany. 31. 1844.

Captain Elliot.

No 5. Confidl.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 4. of the 11th inst. respecting that part of the late Message of the President of the United States to Congress which relates to Texas, I transmit to you Confidentially herewith for your information a Copy of a despatch upon this subject which I addressed on the 12th inst. to Lord Cowley H. M Ambassador at Paris, together with an Extract of H. E. reply thereto. I also enclose an Extract of the despatch from Mr. Fox referred to in my despatch to Lord Cowley.²¹

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²²

No. 5.

New Orleans February 10th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's despatches to No 3 of this year, and to transmit herewith the Copy of a Note which I have this day addressed to the Secretary of State of Texas, covering the Copy of Your Lordship's Despatch No. 9 of last year to Mr. Pakenham.²³

²⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 9. The letter is unsigned.

²¹F. O., Texas, 20. Aberdeen to Cowley, No. 16, January 12, 1844; Cowley to Aberdeen, No. 33, January 15, 1844; Fox to Aberdeen, No. 133, December 13, 1843. Aberdeen, stirred by Tyler's message foreshadowing annexation, virtually proposed to France to join with Great Britain in preventing this. France gave a favorable reply. For quotations from these documents, and analysis, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, pp. 157-160; Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, p. 383, *seq.*

²²F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

²³This was Aberdeen's instruction to Pakenham, December 26, 1843. See Note 10, page 291.

The state of my health has prevented me from proceeding to Texas by this occasion. But it appeared to me to be of consequence at this Conjuncture, that no time should be lost in placing General Houston in possession of this exposition,—And I therefore determined to forward a Copy of the despatch, signifying at the same time, in a private note to the Secretary of State, that it would not be convenient it should be published in Texas, unless the Government of the United States, to which it was particularly addressed, should see fit to publish it in this Country.

I am recovering from my indisposition, and hope to be able to pay a visit to General Houston by the next boat, which will leave in two or three days.

Rumours are in circulation here (brought from Texas) that a truce of 10 years has been agreed upon, between the Mexican and Texian Commissioners,—but I have a few private words from an authentic source dated at Washington in Texas on the 6th Instant, and at that date they were not in possession of any such information, and did not write in confidence of such a result. I am not without hope, however, that a state of truce may be maintained.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honorable,

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO JONES²⁴

[Enclosure.]

New Orleans, February 10th 1844.

Copy

Charles Elliot.

The Undersigned Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires to the Republic of Texas, has the honor to transmit to Mr Jones the Copy of a despatch from The Earl of Aberdeen to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, and he regrets that the state of his health prevents him from having the pleasure of communicating it in person.

The President will perceive from this exposition to the Government of the United States how accurately he has always estimated the friendly purposes of Her Majesty's Government towards the Republic of Texas, and their state of feeling and principle of

²⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

guidance upon all the other points adverted to in the despatch to Mr. Packenham.

In forwarding this Communication The Undersigned is sensible that it would be superfluous on his part to dwell upon the continued interest which Her Majesty's Government takes in the Independence and prosperity of Texas, or to do more than repeat the assurance of their continued efforts to promote those results.

Charles Elliot.

To The Honorable Anson Jones, Washington on the Brazos.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure in the Despatch No. 5. from Captain Elliot to the Earl of Aberdeen, Feb. 10, 1844.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁵

No. 6.

New Orleans, Feby 17th 1844.

My Lord.

It has been so generally reported in Texas that a scheme of Annexation to the United States by treaty, is in an advanced state, that I consider it right to notice these reports to Your Lordship; remarking that nothing of the kind has transpired here, and that the statement is not believed by persons of great knowledge and weight in this Country.

Your Lordship has however been for some time aware of the feelings and purposes of the present administration in the United States upon this subject, and will of course be fully informed of the actual position of circumstances at Washington, in relation to it.

But speaking of the policy of the Government of Texas, I will not hesitate to repeat my belief that the President is steadily determined to sustain the durable independence of the Country. Your Lordship however, is aware of the pressed condition of Texas, and if the recent movements at Washington should induce a rupture of the truce, and the option of annexation to the United States should really present itself (of the likelihood of which, I am an incompetent judge) it is not to be expected that the Government of Texas could or would resist the popular impulses in that direction.

²⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

Upon the whole there is reason to believe that the Government of Mexico should put an end to all further risk of inconvenient Complication, by adjusting a truce with Texas, accompanied by declarations, necessary for it's own safety

I leave for Texas the day after tomorrow to pay a visit to General Houston, but my health is so shattered that I must request Your Lordship will have the goodness to grant me leave to proceed to the Northern parts of the United States whenever I may find it necessary to depart. Indeed I should have already availed myself of Your Lordship's leave of absence, but I thought it might be convenient to the public interests that I should remain, either till the truce had been steadily established, or till it's rupture, consequent upon the tone at Washington, had produced such a different phase of affairs, as might change the position of Her Majesty's Government in respect to them.

To The Right Honorable

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁶

Separate.

New Orleans.

March. 7th 1844.

My Lord,

Since I had the Honor to address you last, I have been afflicted by a dangerous Sickness, which has left me almost without strength.

Your Lordship will observe by the accompanying Medical Certificate that I have no choice but to request permission to leave these Climates as soon as possible

I should prefer to return to Europe as the Certificate advises, but if Your Lordship shall be of opinion that it would be more convenient for the public interest that I should not go so far from my Post at present I would endeavour to find suitable change on the Northern parts of this Continent, and return to my duties as soon as my health enabled me.

The Right Honorable,

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

²⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

RUSHTON TO ELLIOT²⁷

[Enclosure.]

New Orleans.
7th March. 1844.

My Dear Sir,

I think it my duty to advise you as a Measure absolutely necessary to re-establish your health, that you change our Climate for a Northern one and that you leave New Orleans and its vicinity at as early a period as may be practicable

I conceive that your attack of severe Dysentery has proceeded from a debilitated state of the Digestive Organs, brought on by long residence in tropical Climates, and am satisfied that your continued residence either here, or in a latitude as low as Texas, would be attended with great risk of a return of your present Complaint, and from the consequences of such a return you have everything to dread.

Under these circumstances, I conceive it your duty at whatever sacrifice, to leave our hot and humid Climate, for one more dry and bracing.

W. Rushton: M. D. Edin

To Capt. Elliot.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁷No. 8.²⁸

New Orleans, March 15th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit the Copy of a note which I have recently received from Mr Jones²⁹ acknowledging my own note of the 10th Ultimo already forwarded to Your Lordship.

The Government of Texas has lately dispatched two Gentlemen in the President's particular confidence (General Henderson³⁰ and

²⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

²⁸F. O., Texas, 9. Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 7, March 7, 1844, acknowledging receipt of despatches, has been omitted.

²⁹Jones to Elliot. February 19, 1844. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1149, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

³⁰James Pinckney Henderson, b. North Carolina, 1808; d. Washington, D. C., 1858. He served as brigadier-general in the Texan army, 1836, was secretary of state, 1837-1839, diplomatic agent in England and France, 1839-1840, was sent on a special annexation mission to the United States,

Mr. J. D. Miller) to Washington, and joining that circumstance to the movements in the Texian Congress and to the steady current of report, both in the United States and in Texas, that Negotiations are either on foot, or in contemplation upon the subject of annexation. I shall consider it my duty to request the Government of Texas to furnish me with explanations of the real state of affairs in this particular, for transmission to Your Lordship.

My health is still very weak, but I trust I shall be able to go to Galveston for a few days by the boat of the 18th instant. I should add that I am going under strong Medical advice as soon as possible, and proceed to to the Northward.

I learn by a few private lines from Mr Jones of the 16th February, that up to the 6th January their Negotiations for a truce had gone on perfectly satisfactorily, indeed that every point but one was adjusted.

But at that period the negotiations were suddenly suspended by command from Mexico, and forming my opinion from the date of this order, it seems probable that the interruption may have arisen from the nature of the Communications which the Mexican Government was then receiving from Washington on the Potomac.

It was thought by the Texian Commissioners, and Government that the Negotiations would be renewed.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honorable,
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³¹

No. 9. Galveston March 27th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have just received from Mr Jones in a private way, a Copy of an Armistice³² recently concluded between the Mexican and Texian Commissioners, and the Steam boat being upon the point

1844. He became Governor of Texas, 1846, and was appointed to the United States Senate, 1857. (Appleton, *Cyclop. of Amer. Biog.*)

³¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

³²This was the armistice signed February 15, 1844, by Hockley and Williams, the Texan negotiators, in which Texas was characterized as a Mexican Department. The government of Texas refused to ratify such an agreement.

of starting for New Orleans, I have only the time to offer a very few remarks upon the subject.

It is not to be doubted, that these stringent conditions upon the part of Mexico are attributable to the alarm, and irritation excited in that quarter by the movements of the Government of the United States in relation to annexation, joined to the impression that the Agents of this Government at Washington upon the Potomac, were in the actual course of negotiation upon that subject.

I offer this opinion without hesitation, because it consists with my knowledge that the terms agreed upon between the Mexican and Texian Commissioners before the intelligence of the movements at Washington could have reached Mexico were of a much easier and more practicable nature than these. I think it can be no source of surprise to Her Majesty's Government that later intelligence should have determined the Government of Mexico to provide for it's own security, by taking care not to grant a truce of convenient duration for the deliberate conduct of negotiations at Washington, having in view the Annexation of this Country to the North American Union.

The single prospect that presents itself to my mind of a renewal of these negotiations between Mexico and Texas upon a hopeful "footing" is that this Government should at once desire it's Agents at Washington to signify to the Government there, that an Armistice had been concluded between this Republic and Mexico; and that the President felt it due to the honor of this Country, and just to all other parties concerned to put an end to Negotiations for Annexation to the United States of America, whilst Negotiations were going forward at Mexico, proposing a totally different settlement. And if this Government take that course, and proposes at the same time to the Government of Mexico to extend the Armistice to such a period as will be really necessary for the conduct of the Negotiations in that quarter, it seems possible that the Ministers of the Powers friendly to a safe and honorable adjustment of this dispute may be enabled to induce the Government of Mexico to grant more satisfactory terms of Armistice, than these now placed under Your Lordship's notice.

Having no time to write a Separate despatch to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington by this opportunity, I have taken the

liberty to enclose this dispatch to him, with a request that he will peruse, and forward it to Your Lordship.

I remarked to the President and the Secretary of State last Autumn that it seemed to me the Schemes of the Government of the United States were shaped with the alternative project of settling this question in the way that pleased them, or of unsettling any other arrangement, and I can detect no subsequent reason for thinking that the impression I formed then, was erroneous.

My health is still in a very precarious state, but I am remaining here for a few days in the hope that I shall have the pleasure of seeing the President or the Secretary of State at this place.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honorable,
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³³

Secret.

Galveston. April 7th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to inclose Copies of a correspondence which I have recently had with this Government, and I take the same opportunity to report to Your Lordship the substance of a Conversation that I have this day had with General Houston, taking the liberty to remark that he particularly requested me to consider it unofficial, and private.

The period and nature of the first approach of the Government of the United States to that of Texas upon the subject of annexation are known to Your Lordship, as well as the manner in which it was met from this quarter. The Texian Agent at Washington continued nevertheless to move the President to abandon the determination not to entertain the matter whilst any uncertainty existed as to the willingness of the Senate of the United States to ratify a treaty of annexation:

But General Houston adhered steadfastly to his own policy, notwithstanding all the eagerness excited in Texas, both in Congress and amongst the people, by the movements of the Government of the United States, and I should add in spite of pressing private

³³F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

instances from persons of great weight in that Country, to whom he is warmly attached.

At length, however, having reason to know that the two Houses of Congress had prepared and would carry resolutions, either unanimously, or certainly by a Constitutional Majority, which would have deprived him of all further control of this business, he considered that the safest course was to prevent that turn of affairs by a Secret Message,³⁴ expressing his readiness to attempt to meet the wishes of the people, and for that purpose requesting an appropriation to dispatch a Special envoy to Washington to be charged with the proposed Negotiations. It may be observed here, that General Houston led me to understand that he had not committed himself to any personal opinion in favor of the contemplated arrangement, in this Message.

The result of this step was the passing of an Act or resolution involving the required appropriation, the other details of which General Houston did not feel himself at liberty to disclose, the Measure having been committed to his further management under the Seal of Secrecy.

In this stage of affairs Congress separated, and General Houston does not appear to have been in any haste to dispatch the Envoy, till he should ascertain the result of the Negotiations for the truce with Mexico. The consequence of the proceedings at Washington upon these Negotiations is already before Your Lordship; but it appears that about the time that the Government of Texas learnt that there was little to hope from that quarter, another very pressing official representation from Mr Upshur was brought to the President by General Murphy, accompanied by General Henderson, the Gentleman selected for the Mission to Washington.

This representation, of great length and urgency, (I use General Houston's language as nearly as my memory serves me) Containing argument, encouragement, solicitation, and indeed little short of Menace, was met upon his side by an exhibition of the uneasy condition into which the proposal of these Negotiations had already cast the Country, and of the still more dangerous consequences which would ensue from the probable breaking up of

³⁴Houston's secret message on annexation, January 20, 1844. (Wooten, *Texas*, I, 425-426.)

their present hopes of arrangement, and present support, and the equally probable result of the failure of the Scheme of annexation in the Senate of the United States.

In view of all these considerations he required from the American Chargé d' Affaires an official letter to the Secretary of State of Texas (beyond the letter of Mr Upshur) expressive of his consent upon the part of the Government of the United States, that they should Communicate in a formal written way to the Envoy of Texas, *before any Negotiations were opened*, their readiness to place at the disposal of the Government of Texas, a Column of 1000 infantry, and 600 or 700 heavy Cavalry, to be moved, whenever it might be considered necessary for the safety of this Country, to the Western border of Texas, further that a Naval force equal to that of Mexico should forthwith be stationed in the Gulph of Mexico, also to be at the disposal of this Government, and finally, that the Government of the United States should distinctly guarantee to Texas the acknowledgment of it's Independence by Mexico, if the project of annexation failed of success.

General Houston states that General Murphy did write the letter in question, and assures me that the Instructions to General Henderson are precise and imperative upon the refusal to open Negotiations till the required written guarantees of the Government of the United States are duly furnished.

I have now submitted to Your Lordship what I collected from General Houston's private conversation to be the present situation of these affairs, so far as this Government is concerned; and in reply to his observations on the difficulty of his position, I said that I could not doubt they would be appreciated by Her Majesty's Government.

But I could not refrain from remarking that I thought it would have been a wiser and more just policy upon the part of the Congress and people of Texas, to have adhered to their declarations of determination to maintain their Independence. Such a course would have reassured the Government of Mexico, and given increased force to the representations of the Powers engaged in inducing the settlement of this dispute upon that footing—Indeed, except for these proposals of annexation to the United States, and the readiness of Texas to meet them, it did not seem to me that

there was much risk of any renewal of hostilities between the Contending parties. Mexico had invited negotiation and settlement; and as Texas seemed to be willing to make the sacrifice of its Independence in one question, I could not [doubt] the Government of Texas would have found any serious difficulty in maintaining a state of truce (particularly with the assistance of friendly powers) but that state of truce should gradually ripen into a state of permanent peace.

Speaking without express authority from Her Majesty's Government, I would nevertheless take the liberty to say that it seemed to me the honorable and the wise course upon the part of the Government of Texas to all parties concerned would be to instruct General Henderson forthwith to announce to the Government of the United States that an armistice had been concluded between Texas and Mexico, and that whilst Negotiations continued open in that quarter, there must be an end of all Negotiations not actually concluded at Washington, upon the express terms of General Henderson's Instructions

Situated as he feels himself to be, General Houston would not take this step, but I think it highly possible that he has pressed upon General Henderson the necessity of precise adherence to his Instructions, neither do I imagine that he has ever entertained much confidence in the success of the Scheme of annexation, or certainly any personal wish to postpone the Independence of the Country to such a solution. He said that if the project failed he trusted that the Governments of Her Majesty, and The King of the French would find means of preventing all further risk of complication in that direction, by forthwith accomplishing the Settlement of the question on the basis of the acknowledgment of Texas by Mexico. I remarked that what had lately passed was hardly calculated to strengthen the friendly purposes of those Governments, or to inspire them with Confidence.

General Houston appeared to attach much importance to General Murphy's letter, and to the stringent conditions General Henderson would insist upon, before Negotiations were opened. But I told him that I would not regard those considerations in the same point of view. It seemed plain to me, on the contrary, that if the Government of the United States could carry through their pro-

ject, it would be upon their own terms, not upon conditions dictated by Texas. General Henderson would be told in an early stage of affairs that if he adhered to conditions which General Houston must have known that the Government of the United States could not act upon, the arrangement must fall to the ground, and the people of Texas would judge where the blame should be laid. As for General Murphy's letter of consent, it would be easy for the Government of the United States to disavow that proceeding, and upon the whole I could not think that these precautions would serve any other purpose than to enable the Government of the United States to get rid of the difficulty easily, and injuriously to General Houston, if they found they could not carry out their Scheme. If they could carry it, General Henderson would probably be easily prevailed upon to sign the treaty upon their terms, and trust to the people of Texas for support.

The detention of the Texian prisoners by Mexico, and the indisposition to grant a truce of any considerable duration to Texas deprived this Government of sufficient strength to resist the recent influences from another quarter, and it may be that General Houston adopted the only course left to him for the maintenance of any control over events.

I shall take the liberty to forward this despatch under cover to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington for his perusal, as also a Copy to Mr Bankhead.³⁵

To the Right Honorable,

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO JONES¹

[Enclosure]

Galveston March 22d. 1844

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

The Undersigned etc. etc. etc, has lately had the honor to

³⁵British Minister at Mexico. Pakenham had been transferred from Mexico to Washington in 1843, and after an interval during which Doyle represented Great Britain, Bankhead was appointed, arriving in Mexico early in 1844.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 9. This and the two following letters are calendared in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, but as not all have been printed in easily available form, they are reprinted here.

acquaint Mr Jones that Her Majesty's Government was engaged in continued efforts to induce the Government of Mexico to acknowledge the Independence of Texas, and he has now the gratification to add that renewed communications have taken place between the Government of Her Majesty and that of The King of the French, and that His Majesty has expressed His concurrence in the purposes of The Queen, and has signified His Pleasure to command the French Minister at Mexico, to join his continued friendly assistance to that of Her Majesty's Representative

But adverting to the proposals of the Government of the United States respecting annexation, to the recent Mission of distinguished Citizens of Texas to Washington on the Potomac, and to the impression so general in Texas that Negotiations having that object in view are either in progress, or in contemplation, the Undersigned finds it his duty to express the hope that the Government of Texas will furnish him with explanations on the subject for transmission to Her Majesty's Government. He is sure that they will be made in that spirit of frank and friendly unreserve which has always characterized the intercourse of the two Governments

It must be unnecessary to say that the Undersigned is perfectly aware of the President's personal opinions upon this subject, and he has not failed, agreeably to the President's wish, to communicate to Her Majesty's Government His Majesty's determination to sustain the Independence of this Republic, and His Excellency's confident hope that the people would uphold him in that course—Indeed referring to the Conferences which the Undersigned had the honor to have with the President and Mr Jones at Galveston during last Autumn, he can suppose that the Mission to Washington of the Gentlemen in question, has been dictated by a wise desire to avoid any cause of offence or irritation to the Government of the United States, and to explain with frankness that the Government of Texas could not entertain the subject at all, even if all other obstacles were removed, after the former rejection of such an arrangement by the Government of the United States, and wholly without reason to know that the Senate of the United States would ratify it now, or in future.

The Congress of Texas, however, has met and separated since the date of the Communications to which the Undersigned has

referred, and the President will feel with force that it is just and necessary in the present appearance of circumstances that there should be no room for the least uncertainty on the part of the Governments engaged on the behalf of Texas at Mexico; for it is not to be supposed that they could continue to press the Government of Mexico to settle upon one basis, whilst there was any reason to surmise that Negotiations were either in actual existence, or in contemplation, proposing a combination of a totally different nature. It is manifest on the other hand, that a distinct disavowal on the part of the Government of Texas of any intention to consent to such a Scheme either now, or prospectively, could not fail to strengthen the hands of the Ministers of Their Majesties The Queen, and The King of the French at Mexico.

Confiding in the steadfastness of the people of Texas to the pledges in the fundamental acts of their National existence, Several of the Great Powers have acknowledged the Independence of this Republic, and entered into treaties with it. Whilst that confidence subsists, it may be depended upon that the Government of Her Majesty will never relax in their friendly efforts to induce the Government of Mexico to adjust on the policy so forcibly pressed upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government by the Government of Texas, not adopted without mature deliberation by Her Majesty's Government, and in their judgment equally necessary for the security of Mexico, and the strength and prosperity of Texas.

Charles Elliot

The Honorable Anson Jones.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 1 in Captain Elliot's Secret Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. Galveston April 7 1844.

JONES TO ELLIOT²

[Enclosure]

Copy.

Charles Elliot

Department of State

Washington

March. 25th. 1844.

The Undersigned Secretary of State of The Republic of Texas has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Note addressed him on the 22d Instant by Captain Elliot H. B. Majesty's Chargé

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

d' Affaires, informing this Government that Her Majesty was engaged in continued efforts to induce the Government of Mexico to acknowledge the Independence of Texas, that renewed communications have taken place between the Governments of Her Majesty and that of the King of the French, who had expressed His concurrence in the purposes of The Queen, and also requesting explanations on the subject of the recent Mission of Citizens of Texas to Washington on the Potomac, and the Negotiations supposed to be in progress between Texas and the United States in reference to annexation.

The friendly interest which Her Majesty's Government have on this as well as many previous occasions expressed for the Welfare, prosperity, and Independence of Texas has been received by the President with the liveliest satisfaction, and it is due to that friendly interest that the request made by Her Majesty's Representative should be answered with frankness and unreserve.

Early in the present summer and just before the propositions for an armistice were received from General Santa Anna instructions were given to our Ministers abroad to inform the friendly Powers whose good offices had been invoked in settling the difficulties between this Country and Mexico, that unless a satisfactory prospect of such a Settlement soon appeared, Texas would assume a new and entirely different attitude, and abandoning the hope of an adjustment of the existing War by their friendly aid, resort to other means for the accomplishment of this object. For a while the hope of the establishment of a satisfactory Armistice was entertained, during which time and while this hope appeared reasonable, this Government omitted any change in it's national policy. In this situation matters remained until the recent meeting of the Congress of the Nation, soon after which time it became very apparent the Government of Mexico were indisposed to any amicable settlement upon reasonable and admissible terms. The Texian Prisoners were detained in captivity, contrary to the pledges given by Santa Anna for their release, the friendly relations between Great Britain and Mexico were suddenly interrupted, by which our hopes from that quarter appeared to be disappointed, intelligence from our Commissioners beyond the Rio Grande engaged in conducting the terms of the Armistice was of a very unfavorable

character, and the people of this Country tired of uncertainty and delay naturally turned their attention to annexation, the door to which had just been unexpectedly opened, as the most certain remedy for existing evils. Under these circumstances, the Congress of the Nation met and adjourned.

Their acts in relation to the subject have been committed to to the care of the President under the seal of secrecy. Whatever has been done, therefore, in relation to this subject has been in obedience to the requirements of their acts.

The Mission of General Henderson to the City of Washington is immediately concerned with this subject, and should the Government of the United States yield it's assent to the assurances which the Representatives of this are required to ask of it, the Government of Texas will view the policy of annexation as the most proper one left it, under all existing circumstances, at the present time, to pursue.

In the earnest hope that this statement and explanation may be entirely satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, . . .

Anson Jones.

To Captain Charles Elliot,

H. B. M. Chargé d' Affaires.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 2 in Captain Elliot's Secret Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. Galveston April 7th 1844.

ELLIOT TO JONES³

[Enclosure]

Galveston April 3d. 1844.

Ccopy.

Charles Elliot.

The Undersigned etc. etc. etc. has had the honor to receive Mr Jones's note of the 25th Ultimo in reply to his own of the 22d idem, and he offers his acknowledgments for this statement of the situation of circumstances which shall be transmitted to Her Majesty's Government without delay.

In the mean time, however, he considers it right to remark that he does not believe Her Majesty's Government have formed the same opinion as this Government upon the indisposition of Mexico to any amicable settlement with Texas upon reasonable

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

and admissible terms. Indeed he is disposed to think that Her Majesty's Government had become more sanguine that a different state of feeling was growing up in that quarter, and he considers any recent appearances to the contrary to [be due to] the indisposition of Mexico to the annexation of Texas to the United States. Thus impressed he believes that Mexico would have consented to terms of armistice more acceptable to this Government, if it had not been thought prudent to avoid a truce of convenient duration for the conduct of Negotiations at another point, having in view a combination naturally so ill liked at Mexico, as the Annexation of Texas to the United States.

He will merely further remark of the truce agreed upon between the Commissioners of Texas and Mexico, that if it had conformed with the policy of this Government to avail themselves of that opening, he entertains the opinion that it might have been improved into a convenient duration and form.

Of the detention of the Texian prisoners in Mexico which has been noticed by Mr Jones as another proof of the indisposition of the Government of Mexico to amicable settlement, the Undersigned will freely admit, (speaking for himself) that he thinks the Government of Mexico ought to have released those prisoners. But he is bound to confess, with equal frankness that he has reason to think the Mexican Government will be able to adduce motives for their conduct in this particular, which may account for it, without resorting to a general indisposition to adjust with Texas upon peaceful and honorable terms, as the ground of the continued detention of these unhappy men.

The temporary interruption of the Official intercourse between Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Mexico and that Government is noticed by Mr Jones as another event of a discouraging character. The Undersigned can only say upon that point that He is sure Her Majesty's Government would not have delayed to Communicate their apprehensions to the same effect to the Government of Texas if they had participated in them for a moment.

Weighing all the circumstances of the case as carefully as he can, the Undersigned will take the liberty here to express the belief, that at no period of the interposition of Her Majesty's Government for the settlement of the dispute between Texas and Mex-

ico, could it ever have appeared to them that there were better founded hopes of an early and honorable adjustment than at the moment, when, as Mr Jones observes, the door to Annexation was unexpectedly opened to the people of this Country. The approach in that sense was most probably unexpected in Mexico too, for it came when there was a state of known truce between the parties, when Texian Commissioners respectfully received, were actually in the Mexican territory, and whilst Negotiations, first for an armistice, and then for a peace, were known to be in contemplation, and in point of fact in progress.

The intimation of such a proposal to the Government of Texas by the Government of the United States would of course become known in Mexico about the same time, and made under the state of circumstances then existing it can hardly be a source of surprize that it produced the disturbing effect which has followed.

The Undersigned thinks he should not discharge his duty if he omitted to express the earnest hope that the Government and people of Texas will not make the incalculably heavy sacrifice of their separate National existence under the impression that the prospect of amicable settlement with Mexico has passed away. He believes there is no good ground for such an impression, and he is also of opinion that it is still in the power of the Government of Texas to renew the Negotiations with Mexico upon a hopeful basis by reassuring that Government upon a point on which it is entitled to expect complete reassurance before friendly Negotiations with Texas are firmly set on foot.

The Undersigned cannot refrain from observing that there is no want of evidence in the press of the United States that very eminent and practised Statesmen in that Country are firmly opposed to the annexation of Texas to that Union, either at all, or at least under any other condition than the consent of Mexico, peacefully obtained. Neither does it seem to be doubtful, judging from the same sources that these opinions are shared by a large part of the people of that Confederacy. The Undersigned trusts that his own sincere desire for the Independence and prosperity of Texas will be the excuse for alluding to these considerations, on which, however, he has no intention to dwell

He will close this note with the renewed declaration of the

desire of Her Majesty's Government to be helpful in the adjustment of this dispute upon terms of honor, justice, and advantage both to Texas, and to Mexico, and with the expression of the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that the preservation of their Independence is the best security of the people of Texas for their ultimate prosperity, both political and commercial.

The health of the Undersigned is still in a very broken condition (so much so that he writes with difficulty) but he will wait at New Orleans or in it's immediate neighbourhood as long as he safely can, and will be happy to receive any Communication which the Government of Texas may do him the honor to forward to him through the channel he has already indicated to Mr Jones.

The Honorable Anson Jones.

Charles Elliot.

[Eldorsed.] Inclosure No 3 in Captain Elliot's Secret Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. Galveston April 7th 1844.

LUSIGNAN TO ABERDEEN¹

Cambrian House.

Ryde, Isle of Wight

Monseigneur.

12 Avril. 44

Je vous prie d'excuser la liberté que je prends de vous écrire sans vous avoir préalablement été présenté mais je ne connais personne, et d' ailleurs j' ai trop entendu parler de votre bonté, pour craindre de vous offenser.

J' ai longtemps vécu parmi les tributs Sauvages du Texas, et principalement parmi les Comanches et les Wakoës. Je les ai laissés avec l' intention de venir en Angleterre éveiller l' attention d' un public généreux, et s' il était possible d' obtenir que votre Gouvernement exigeât au nom de l' humanité, plus de justice de la part des Texiens, envers cette noble race d' hommes qui disparaît tous les jours sous le Bowie Knife et la misère.

Lorsque je laissai les Wigwamps des Prairies, j' étais aussi ignorant que les bons Indiens de la difficulté d' obtenir un accès auprès du grand Monde de Londres: je promis aux chefs des nation alliées de faire des propositions au Gouvernement Anglais et d' implorer La protection. Je vins à Londres où je ne tardai pas à découvrir que

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 11.

les choses se faisaient différemment, alors je souris de ma simplicité, et me préparai à retourner aux grandes Prairies.

Une chose, néanmoins m'inspire le courage de vous écrire Monseigneur; je ne veux pas me reprocher de n'avoir point osé faire une tentative pour Soulager ces Indiens si bons, et si supérieurs au peuple démoralisé, qui les opprime actuellement

Je vois dans les journaux que Mr Tyler machine en ce moment l'union du Texas aux provinces du Sud des Etats-Unis. Un tel événement a été prévu par les Indiens qui sont résolus dans cette circonstance à en venir à une guerre d'extermination. Ils ont formé une ligne formidable, comptant plus de quatrevingt mille guerriers, et comprenant toutes les nations sur les frontières de la civilisation, depuis les Dahcotahs (Sioux) du Mississipi, jusqu'aux Pawnees et aux Comanches du Rio Colorado.

Je ne sais pas jusqu'à quel point une réaction si terrible pourrait être désirable pour le bien être de l'humanité, mais dans tous les cas, j'ose Monseigneur, vous adresser une demande: "si le Texas est annexé aux Etats-Unis, et si les Indiens de l'Ouest du Mississipi se lèvent en masse dans le but d'une guerre d'extermination, leur serait-il permis par le Gouvernement Anglais de traverser les frontières des hautes provinces du Canada, pour s'y procurer de la poudre et des armes, et s'y réfugier momentanément en cas d'une défaite dans le territoire de l'Ioway.

Je suis jeune, Monseigneur, mais j'ai la Confiance des Nations Indiennes, et si je puis leur donner une réponse affirmative au sujet de la question que je viens de vous soumettre, jamais le Gouvernement de Washington ne possèdera, *de facto* un pouce de terrain, au delà de la Rivière Sabine.

Thaddeus di Lusignan.

A Son Excellence, The Earl of Aberdeen. London.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²

No. 4.

British Consulate.

My Lord.

Galveston April 18th 1844.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Lordship Copy of a Communication which I have this day addressed to Captain Elliot, R. N, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires to this Republic, (at present in the

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

United States) respecting the expediency of obtaining *early Official Information*, as to any Measures, contemplated, or enacted by the Legislature of Texas, have reference to the Commercial and Maritime interests of Great Britain.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

William Kennedy.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN³

[Enclosure]

British Consulate

Copy

Galveston, April 18th. 1844

Sir,

I beg leave to request that you will endeavour to obtain for me, from the Seat of Government in this Republic, a copy of the laws passed during the last Session of Congress, in order that I may report to the proper quarter all enactments of consequence to our Commercial and maritime interests.

With a view to the public advantage, I would respectfully suggest that, on occasion of the absence from this Country of Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires, during the Legislative Session, it might be expedient to have a proper person, duly authorized, to watch over the proceedings, to note whatever Measures promised to prove prejudicial, or otherwise, to British Interests, and seasonably to advise the resident Consul, or Consuls, of the passage of any act that might effect the trade of the Current year.

Congress usually closes its deliberations about the first week of February, and, for lack of some arrangement by which an early and accurate knowledge of the laws may be secured, Shipments may be made from England to Texas under the faith of one Tariff, and arrive just in time to be taxed inopportunately, under the provisions of another.

William Kennedy.

LUSIGNAN TO ADDINGTON⁴

Cambrian House.

Ryde, Isle of Wight.

Sir,

May 6th. 1844.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your letter of the 4th It.⁵

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 11.

⁵Not found.

I will remain in England, till I hear something positive respecting the intentions of Prest. Tyler towards Texas.

I humbly hope His Lordship did not think that my address was actuated by any Motive of unbecoming curiosity.—In fact, I have lived among the Indians, I feel as they do,—and that feeling is bitter hatred against the dishonest population which is daily intruding into the very heart of our hunting grounds.

If in the course of events the Foreign Office should require an exact Statistic of the hostile Indian population upon the borders of the States, from the Mouth of the Sabine river to the great Dahcotahs tribes, I could furnish one quite correct, together with an insight of the underhand policy of the *Mormons* with the Ioway tribes

The combined Indian Nations, could they but receive powder and flints from the Canadian Military Posts, would soon Master the Country West of the Mississippi. They can appreciate to its real value the boasted power of the United States. They have Witnessed the Black Hawk expedition (1832) and also the Florida War. They are not to be imposed upon by the Indian Agents, In fact they are now aware of their own strength.

Moreover, with the cunning of their wild Nature, they have discovered the difficulties both political and "*financieres*" under which the States are actually labouring.

I see in the News papers, that a Mr Anderson is coming over to England to treat of the Annexation business.—If he is the same Genl Anderson living in San Agostino near the Sabine, and a Speaker of the House of Representatives, a man with red hair, I would pray You Sir, to submit to His Lordship the following request.

T^r is That during Mr Anderson's transactions at the Foreign Office, not the least hint should be given to him, by which he could suspect that I am in Europe. All these who, in Texas may wish to watch my conduct believed me gone to California, and Mr Anderson knows enough of Indian dealing, not to perceive at once that the Texian "Big heads" have been deceived upon my Movements, ever since 1842. Knowing which, he would send information at home, and many poor fellows, entirely devoted to me, would soon taste "of the Bowie Knife."

The immediate Neighbourhood of Genl Anderson's dwelling is inhabited by halfbreeds and old Mexican hunters—these, unsuspected, furnish me with all kinds of information. Were they to suffer through my means, I would feel it deeply.

During the interviews which the General may obtain at the Foreign Office, His Lordship will perhaps require some accurate information as to the truth of the Statements made by the Texian *Envoi*. This I am ready to furnish faithfully and correctly,—for I am but too well acquainted with all the Secretaries, leaders, and *hoc genus omne* of Texas.

One thing I will beg from the Foreign Office; in the event of the Annexation I have mentioned, the office will know it a long time before the fact is made public.—Could I hope to receive hint, as early as possible, so that I could hasten home and begin operations immediately

You will I hope, Sir, excuse my bad English and still worse phraseology, together with my ignorance of forms in addressing myself to “Superiors,” my only excuse is that among the red men of the Wilderness, I had but little opportunity to become “*au Fait*”

H. U. Addington, Esqr.

Thaddeus di Lusignan.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁶

No. 7.

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston, May 8th. 1844.

My Lord,

As Captain Elliot is, I am instructed to believe, at present in the United States, and has merely left general directions to forward his despatches to the care of Her Majesty's Consul at New Orleans, I beg to enclose to Your Lordship Copy of a Communication which I have addressed to him.—I have likewise deemed it best, under all the circumstances, to transmit a Copy to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, in the United States.

I also beg to enclose to Your Lordship Copies of two official letters to Captain Elliot, severally dated 5th and 7th June 1843,⁷ explanatory of an allusion to the character and object of General Murphy's Mission to this Republic, contained in Enclosure No. 1.

⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

⁷See THE QUARTERLY, XVI, 316-318.

On the 5th of January last, I addressed a despatch to Your Lordship (No 1 of this years series) enclosing Copy of a letter to Captain Elliot (then in the United States) dated January 2d., in which I apprized that gentleman of the fact that parties recently arrived from the Seat of Government in this Country, entertained the impression that a Resolution for the Annexation of Texas to the United States, which had been advanced some Stages by Congress, would pass the Legislature. I avail myself of the occasion to state that the Spirit of the Resolution referred to was carried out, and with speed that might well be termed precipitate, by the assembled representatives of the Republic, I enclose copy of a letter^a from these representatives to Members of the United States Congress, published in the American Newspapers, of whose authenticity I have no doubt, containing an unofficial overture for Annexation. —This letter it will be seen, is dated January 2d of the present year.

The Capacity and experience of General Andrew Jackson, formerly President of the United States, his unquestioned patriotism, and the force of his character give weight to his opinions abroad, as well as at home. On the territorial importance of Texas, he is entitled to speak with the authority of a Man to whom the Subject is familiar. There is historical evidence to show that he was no stranger to the operations for Western aggrandizement which preceded the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, were subsequently revived, and suspended for some years, in consequence of the alarm produced by what has been called "the Conspiracy" of Colonel Burr. I have heard, and I believe truly, that General Jackson, has used all the influence he possesses with the President of this Republic, as his old political and Military leader to induce him to aid in accomplishing the Annexation of Texas to the Union. —I take leave, therefore, to enclose extracts from the public prints, indicative of General Jackson's sentiments on the question of Annexation, even at the risk of submitting to Your Lordship Matter already communicated from superior Sources, to whose functions the transmission of intelligence purely political, and the comments that naturally spring from it, are exactly and altogether germane.

^aA declaration passed by Congress, affirming that Texas earnestly desired annexation. The members of Congress were for the moment suspicious of Houston's diplomacy. (Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 161.)

If I might be permitted to volunteer an observation, respecting General Jackson's estimate of the territorial worth of Texas, I would respectfully remark that he has by no means, overrated the value of the Country in a *Military* point of view.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ELLIOT⁹

[Enclosure.]

Her Majesty's Consulate

Copy.

Galveston, May 6th. 1844.

Sir,

The United States' Cutter "Vigilant," arrived at this Port on the evening of the 25th Ultimo, conveying, as the bearer of despatches requiring quick transmission, a son of General Murphy, Chargé d' Affaires of the United States to this Republic.

I have been assured, from a quarter in which I place reliance, that the "Vigilant" has brought official communication of an arrangement entered into by the Government of the United States and that of Texas, by which the former Stipulates to provide a frontier force, and to station Vessels of War in the Gulf of Mexico, for the protection of Texas during the progress of Negotiations and Measures preliminary to it's contemplated Annexation to the Federal Union.

I have been farther assured that, as a sequel to the preceding arrangement, the intention to send Commissioners to the Mexican Capital, to treat for a pacification,—understood to have been entertained by the Texan Executive has been relinquished. I have also been assured that a formal Notification had been transmitted by the Government of the United States to the Government of Mexico, signifying the determination of the former to repel, by active agency, and hostile interference, on the part of the latter, with Texas and it's inhabitants, during the time appropriated to the Negotiations and Measures previously mentioned.

The party from whom I have derived these assurances is the same who, on the 5th of June last year, furnished me with a Report indicating the special character and object of General Murphy's Mission to this Republic, the details of which Report I took instant

⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

occasion to impart to you, officially, and the substantial faithfulness of which subsequent events have but too clearly established.

The general accuracy of the information now supplied to me is fully borne out by Statements of fact in the local Newspapers, whether advocates, or opponents of the Executive.

I am apprized, likewise, of the corroborative fact that a Concentration of United States' Troops, has been ordered to be made at Fort Jessup, which on reference to the Map, will be seen to be only some twenty or thirty Miles distant from the Sabine River, that forms part of the North Eastern Boundary line between this Country and the United States. My informant—in whose fidelity, judgment and discretion I repose the utmost confidence—states that he has learned—"from a source the most authentic"—that two Regiments of Infantry has been ordered to Fort Jessup.

The Americans of Galveston, with but few exceptions, are much elated by the anticipated introduction of Texas into the Circle of Confederate States. So strong is their faith in "Annexation" that lists are going round for Signature, in support of the Claims of Candidates for office under the Federal Government. Names have been subscribed to two Memorials recommendatory of parties for the Office of Collector of Customs at Galveston, under the impression that the expected change is at hand.

By all the European residents who form a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of this place,—the Annexation of Texas to the United States is, I believe, regarded with extreme aversion. If a contrary Sentiment be entertained by any, it is only by the grossly ignorant, or by those, whose character and condition render them indifferent to the future.—The better class of British, and the more stable of the Mercantile Community are disquieted by apprehensions as to the future, and speculated uneasily on the Silence hitherto maintained by those Powers of Europe who recognized the Republic of Texas, and concluded Treaties with her in the capacity of an independent State.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

William Kennedy.

Her Britannick Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires. To Texas.

Care of Her Majesty's Consul. at New Orleans.

P. S. May 7th.

The United States' War, Steamer "Poinsett" arrived at this

port to day, from Pensacola, and will, it is said, leave tomorrow, with despatches for Vera Cruz.

W. K.

May 10th.

The United States Frigate "Potomac," arrived off Galveston to-day, and sent in her launch.

[Endorsed.] Enclosure No 1. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch No 7, dated 8th May. 1844.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁰

No. 11.¹¹

New Orleans May 10th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's despatches to No. 8 inclusive.

The details of the proposed treaty of Annexation between Texas and the United States are now known to Her Majesty's Government, and Your Lordship will no doubt be fully informed as to the probability or otherwise of its ratification. After the 1st Instant however, failing the arrival of Texian Commissioners in the City of Mexico, that Government is in a situation to renew hostilities, and it seems possible that early steps will be taken to move forces, at least up to those limits, which never formed part of Texas by an territorial division, except the Act of the Texian Congress. It is noticeable that it was proposed in the Congress of Texas, in their early proceedings, to extend their Western frontier to the Pacific.

Their present limits in that direction are no doubt a moderate modification of those wider pretensions, but it does not appear that there is a better title to the line of the Rio Grande carried up to the 42d degree of latitude, than there would have been to the line of the Pacific.

At all events by this treaty the Government of the United States has formally taken over from the Texian Plenipotentiaries, the whole Country described to be Texas by the Texian boundary Act; that is, a region of vast extent involving an immense part of New

¹⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

¹¹Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 10, 1844, has not been found. As there is no reference elsewhere to such a Number, it is possible that Elliot by error counted his despatch "Secret" of April 7, as No. 10.

Mexico (it's Capital inclusive) as well as considerable portions of Chichuaha, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas. Within the greater part of which territory no Texian Citizen has ever yet been for any purpose of settlement.

Mr Tyler, indeed, in his late Message states that the question of limits is open for discussion with Mexico. But the treaty itself is silent upon that point, and therefore if it should be ratified and lead either to a struggle or Negotiations with Mexico, the United States would be setting out from these territorial pretensions of Texas. The Government of the United States appears to be under some impression that there will be a movement of Mexican forces within the limits of the territory which it is the purpose of this treaty to make part of the domain of the United States, for they have lately strengthened the American force at Fort Jessup on the Texian frontier, and it is also said that a Squadron is shortly to rendezvous in the Gulf of Mexico. It does not appear to be likely that the treaty will be ratified at present, and I remain of the opinion that it is still in the power of the Government of Mexico to put an effectual end to this long foreseen complication, or to any possibility of it's renewal. But if the policy so often pressed upon Mexico by Her Majesty's Government and other friendly powers, should continue to be rejected, there can be little doubt that these difficulties will soon present themselves again. For whilst there is reason to think that the powerful part of the democratic party in the United States, moved by various motives, will join their political opponents in resisting the present treaty, it seems equally probable that they will at some more convenient moment renew the attempt to secure all that portion of the territory, which it is declared formed part of the Louisiana domain, before the treaty with Spain of 1819, with the consent of Mexico, if it can be purchased, without it, if it is refused. It may, I think, be depended upon, that if Mexico can be induced to acknowledge the Independence of Texas, the Government and people would reject any renewed overtures for annexation to the North American Union. Their recent consent has been less the result of a desire to form part of that Union, than of a belief that the agitation of such

a project would dispose the Government of Mexico to acknowledge their Independence.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honorable,
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹²

No. 12.

New Orleans May 20th 1844.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to receive Your Lordship's despatches to No. 10. inclusive.

With the expression of my thanks for the leave of absence I had requested, I have to report that I shall proceed in the course of a few days to the Springs in the Mountains of Virginia, and I would take the liberty to suggest that Communications addressed to the care of Her Majesty's Consul at Boston would reach me in four or five days after their arrival at that place. By the way of the river I could repair to New Orleans, and thence to Texas, in the course of a very short time, and I shall be ready to do so if Your Lordship shall deem it necessary to forward me instructions to that effect.

I have desired Mr Kennedy to forward any informations to Her Majesty's Government, during my absence, which he may judge to be of interest,—But in view of the state of affairs I have considered it right to direct him not to enter into any Correspondence with the Government of Texas respecting their political relations with the Governments of Her Majesty, or of the United States, or of Mexico, and to confine himself strictly to an unobtrusive and prudent discharge of his Consular duties.

I have sealed up the Archives, and placed them in the custody of Her Majesty's Consul at this place, and they are deposited in a fire proof vault. There seems to be a general impression in this part of the United States that there is no prospect of carrying a Measure of annexation, at least during the present Administration.

The Right Honorable,
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.
Downing Street

Charles Elliot.

¹²F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹³

No 9.

Her Britannick Majesty's Consulate
Galveston May 27th 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit herewith Copy of two Communications addressed by Me to Captain Elliot,—one having reference to the hoisting of the National Flag at Galveston—the other advertising to the character of the instructions furnished for the discharge of my duties during the absence of Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires.

I would respectfully request Your Lordship's Consideration of the question embraced in Enclosure No. 2.

In the Copy with which I have been honored of Your Lordship's letter to Mr John Macdougall, dated the 18th Ultimo, it is stated that Captain Elliot is "Compelled, from ill health, to return to Europe, on leave of absence"

It appears from Captain Elliot's letter to Me, dated New Orleans, May 20th (twentieth) that he contemplated proceeding to—"Some Northern part of the United States, for the restoration of" (his) "health,"—he having—"by the last Mail received permission" to do so.

Under the presumption that Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires will still be found in the United States, I have forwarded the originals of the two enclosures, to the care of Her Majesty's Consul at New Orleans.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ELLIOT¹⁴

[Enclosure.]

Her Britannick Majesty's Consulate

Copy.

Galveston May 25th 1844.

Sir,

On the occasion of your absence at Havanah, in the Month of May last year, not having been favoured with instructions of any kind by you, I followed the example of the local Authorities and the Consuls of foreign Nations, and hoisted a flag at the Consular

¹³F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.¹⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

Office, on the Morning of the 24th of that Month, in honor of our Gracious Sovereign's birth-day.

After your return to Galveston, in reply to a Communication which I addressed to you, on the subject, you directed me, by letter, dated 17th June—"Never to display the National Flag at all, except in the case of an approach of a force hostile to the Republic."—Whatever my opinions touching the matter might have been, I deemed it my duty to yield implicit obedience to the order, and immediately copied your letter, for future guidance, into the Consular records

It having been the custom for the Consuls of other Nations represented here to hoist their flags on all special occasions, the omission on my part to do so became, from time to time, a theme of animadversion, especially among the residents of American birth, the Consuls of whose Nation are furnished with a Flag, as part of their Official outfit, and are instructed to "hoist it every day, in front of the Consular office unless in boisterous, or rainy weather"

On the death of Judge Eve, late Minister of the United States to Texas, the flag of Texas and the flags of Bremen, France, and the United States were hoisted half mast high, at the respective Consular offices, and I did not escape censure for omitting what the fellow-Countrymen of the deceased Minister were accustomed to consider a becoming and usual indication of respect.—My instructions, however, left no doubt as to the course to be pursued by me, and I have continued to abide strictly by your order.

In a letter which I received from you on the 15th of December last, on the eve of your departure for New Orleans, you reminded me of your "desire that the National Colours should not be displayed at (my) residence or office." My reply to this letter, written on the same day contained the following words:—"While each particular of your directions shall command my most careful attention, I would respectfully observe that I duly recorded for my official guidance the instructions with which you favoured me in a letter dated June 17th 1843."

Some eight or ten days previous to the 24th of this Month, I was waited upon by the Mayor of Galveston, and the United States Consul at this Port, who, in friendly terms, inquired

whether I intended to hoist a Flag on Her Majesty's Birth-day, as they were desirous to unite in demonstrations of respect for the day.—I told these gentlemen—as in your letter of June 17th you directed me to do, whenever the question should be raised—that you—“disapproved of the practice, because it is not usual for Consuls in Civilized Countries to hoist their National Flags”—Conceiving it possible that inferences not Complimentary to the parties whose object was to honour a day dear to every loyal Subject of the Crown, might be drawn from the bare citation of the prescribed reply, I took the liberty of adding such expressions as appeared to me calculated to obviate such an effect.

It not [now?] only remains for me to state that, on Yesterday, being the Anniversary day of Her Majesty's birth, no Consular, or other National Flag, was hoisted in the town of Galveston,—the external Celebration of the happy occasion having been confined to the British Merchant Vessels at present in Port.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

William Kennedy.

Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires.

[Endorsed.] Enclosure. No 1. In Mr. Consul Kennedy's despatch No 9, dated May 27th. 1844.

KENNEDY TO ELLIOT¹⁵

[Enclosure].

Her Britannick Majesty's Consulate

Copy.

Galveston May 27th. 1844.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 20th Instant, in reply to mine of the 6th in which after stating that you have—“by the last Mail, received permission to proceed to some Northern part of the United States, for the restoration of” (your) “health.”—You direct me, during your absence, to forward any information to Her Majesty's Government which I may “Consider of interest”—while I am carefully to abstain from—“entering into any correspondence with the Government of Texas, upon the subject of their political relations with the Governments of Her Majesty, or of the United States, or of Mexico”—and—“in view of the actual state of affairs”—you are pleased to add—“you cannot too par-

¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

ticularly press upon" (my) "attention the necessity of confining" (myself) "strictly to an unobtrusive and prudent performance of" (my) "duties as Consul at Galveston."

It would seem, from the exceptional character of a portion of the preceding instructions, that, during your contemplated absence, I should be warranted in corresponding with the Government of Texas upon Subordinate Matters; such, for instance, as questions involving the interests of British Subjects, that might arise within my Consular limits, and, in regard to which—from want of proper redress being afforded by the local Authorities, or from any other cause,—I might think that a representation should be made to the Supreme Government of Texas.

In reference to all cases of this description, I have hitherto held it to be my duty to make *my* representation to *you*, as Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires, that you might take such steps therein as you might deem expedient, in accordance with the instructions which you might have received from Her Majesty's Government.

But now—with your intimation of an undefined term of absence before me—unadvised of your wish to continue official Communication with me during that absence,—unacquainted with your intended place of Sojourn—undirected, save by the passages of your letter which I have taken leave to quote—I am constrained to say that, should any cases of the class alluded to arise, I shall be perplexed as to the course to be adopted, wishing on the one hand, so to discharge my duties as to escape the reproach of obtrusiveness, and most reluctant, on the other, to see the interests of my Countrymen suffer for lack of seasonable representation in the proper quarter.

It is my immediate impression that it would not be prudent for me to take any steps for which I have not the clearly expressed sanction of Her Majesty's Government, or of Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires, and in the various official Communications with which I have been honored as Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston, I am unable to discover any directions exactly applicable to the anticipated contingency.

Under the circumstances herein mentioned, should any inconvenience, or detriment, be occasioned to the public service, or to individual interests, it would appear to be no more than equitable

that the measure of my responsibility be in strict proportion to the extent of my delegated powers.

In a Communication dated the 18th Ultimo, I requested you to endeavor to obtain for me a Copy of the Laws passed during the last Session of the Texan Congress, in order that I might be enabled to "report to the proper quarter all enactments of consequence to our Commerce and Maritime interests"—Not having been favoured with a reply, and unwilling to make a direct application to the Seat of Government for a duly Certified copy of the Laws in question, I propose to avail myself of a Copy of the Acts, as recently published for general use,—it being desirable that Legislative changes, of the kind referred to, should be reported as early as possible

William Kennedy.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires.

[Endorsed.] Enclosure No 2. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch No 9, dated May 27th. 1844.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁶

No. 10.

Her Britannick Majesty's Consulate

Galveston May 29th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor, to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's despatch Marked No 1, of this year's series, apprizing me of the appointment of Mr John Macdougall as provisional British Vice Consul at Galveston, and directing me to convey to that Gentleman a letter containing the offer of that appointment, of which letter Your Lordship has been pleased to transmit a copy to myself.

I beg to enclose a copy of a Communication which I forwarded to Mr Macdougall, with the letter from Your Lordship tendering to him the appointment of provisional Vice Consul, together with a copy of Mr Macdougall's reply to the same.¹⁷ From the tone of

¹⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

¹⁷These letters not transcribed. Macdougall had been recommended by Elliot for the vice-consulship, and appointed by Aberdeen. Kennedy strongly opposed him and accused him of interfering to aid the British slave-traders in Texas, whom Kennedy sought to bring to punishment. Kennedy finally succeeded in preventing Macdougall's acting as vice-consul.

that reply, I must confess my inability to hope from its writer amicable cooperation in the public service.

Had my instructions in reference to the matter, permitted any exercise of discretion on my part, I would have deemed it my duty to have held over the Communication to Mr Macdougall until I had put Your Lordship in possession of facts to which I owe it to the service still to invite attention.

The *Sixth Section* of the General Provisions of the Constitution of Texas contains these words:

“All free White persons who shall emigrate to this Republic, and who shall, after a residence of six Months, make oath before some competent Authority, that they intend to reside permanently in the same, and shall swear to support this Constitution, and that they will bear true allegiance to the Republic of Texas, shall be entitled to all the privileges of Citizenship.”

The *Ninth Section* of the General Provisions contains the following words:

“All persons of Colour who were Slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude—Provided the said Slaves shall be the *bona fide* property of the persons so holding said Slaves as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from bringing their Slaves into the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such Slaves were held in the United States. Nor shall Congress have power to emancipate Slaves: Nor shall any Slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his, or her, Slave, or Slaves, without the Consent of Congress, unless he, or she, shall send his, or her, Slave, or Slaves, without the limits of the Republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the Republic without the Consent of Congress”

By the laws of Texas, a Slave, or free person of Colour, Convicted of maiming a free White person, incurs the penalty of death, and the immigration of free persons of Colour into the Republic is prohibited, under penalties extending to the forfeiture of freedom.

An Act of the Texan Congress sets forth that—

It shall not be lawful for any Master of a Vessel, or owner thereof, nor for any other person, or persons, whomsoever, to bring,

import, induce, or aid and assist in the bringing, importing, or inducing any free person of Colour within the limits of Texas, directly or indirectly.—And any person so offending shall be deemed to be guilty of a Misdemeanour, and, on Conviction, shall be fined in a sum of not less than one thousand, nor more than ten thousand dollars.

The Constitution from which I have extracted the previously cited provisions, and the Laws enacted under that Constitution, Mr John Macdougall has solemnly bound himself to support, by assuming the obligations of Citizenship

Mr Macdougall has voted for public officers, and has served as a Juror at Galveston,—the law declaring that “No person who is not a Citizen of the Republic of Texas, shall be capable to serve on a Jury, for the trial of any Cause, Civil, or Criminal.”—He is liable to be called upon to join in a Verdict in any Slave Case. He may be summoned to assist in the apprehension of runaway Slaves. He may be required to aid in bringing a British Ship-master under the operation of the law prohibiting the introduction of free persons of Colour, within the limits of the Republic.—Burthened with the obligations of his new Allegiance, can Mr Macdougall be free to fulfil the duties of an Agent representing, however remotely and reflectively, the wishes and Convictions of Her Majesty’s Government.

Previous to his acceptance of the Office appointment, I thought it but fair to Mr Macdougall—knowing that he has been in the habit of having domestic Slaves, to apprise him that Her Majesty’s Government (as appears by Slave Trade Correspondence presented to Parliament by Her Majesty’s Command) has pronounced it unfitting for any Officer, with an Appointment under the British Crown, directly, or indirectly, to hold, or be interested in Slave property, or to employ hired Slaves. It was surely more consistent with order and equity to make this Communication to him before, than after, acceptance of the Appointment

I am inclined to think that if Mr Macdougall’s convenient notions of Allegiance were known to the Government of Texas, he would hardly receive the sanction necessary to enable him to act as the Agent of a Foreign power.—

When I was occupied with the Slave trading transactions of

Messrs. Frankland Jones & Co.,¹⁸ Mr. Macdougall was forward in obtruding the opinion that I ought not to report those very flagrant transactions to Her Majesty's Government, intimating, among other reasons of equal weight, that Her Majesty's present advisers were not earnestly determined to use their endeavours for the Suppression of Slavery.

In conclusion, I would beg respectfully to submit to Your Lordship, that since my arrival at Galveston, while I have abstained from all improper interference with the internal affairs of this Country, I have unhesitatingly and openly carried out the instructions which I have received relative to the traffick in Slaves by British Subjects,—that, in pursuing this plain course of duty, I have experienced no obstruction, or annoyance, *except from British Slave-holders, or their abettors among their own Countrymen*,—that I am fully sensible both these classes of persons have done, and are doing, their utmost to injure me, personally and officially,—that their activity was especially manifest on the occasion of my late sickness, and that if, in future, I be not better supported than I have been hitherto by the Countenance of *British Authority upon the Spot*, it seems much less likely that I should put down Slave trading and Slave holding among Her Majesty's Subjects resident here, than that the Slave traders and Slave holders should put down me—at least so far as my power to restrain their illegal practices is concerned.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁹

Private.

Her Britannick Majesty's Consulate

Galveston May 31st. 1844.

My Lord,

In accordance with the direction contained in a letter from Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires to this Republic, dated New Orleans

¹⁸In 1843 Kennedy attempted to take action against a British firm bringing slaves into Texas, but was advised by Elliot (later confirmed by Aberdeen) that no action by him was legally possible. The correspondence and documents are in print in British Sessional Papers, 1844, Commons, Vol. 49: *Slave Trade Correspondence, Class C, Texas*.

¹⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

May 20th, I propose to have the honor to Communicate to Your Lordship, from time to time such matters and occurrences within the circle of my observation as appear to be of public interest, or importance

In a postscript to my letter of 6th instant, addressed to Captain Elliot, of which I took occasion to transmit a Copy to Your Lordship, I noticed the arrival off Galveston, of the United States Frigate "Potomac."

The "Potomac" bore the Flag of Commodore Conner²⁰ the Officer in Command of the American "Home Squadron," which it is understood, is intended to cruize in the Gulf of Mexico, during the Negotiations for Annexing this Country to the United States. After remaining some days, the Potomac left Galveston, it was said for Vera Cruz; and has been succeeded by the Sloop of War "Vincennes." Three more American Men of War are shortly expected off this Port, and a new War Steamer called the "Union."

The "Poinsett" War Steamer left Galveston for Vera Cruz, about the time indicated in my letter to Captain Elliot of 6th May. It was remarked to me that a Mr Thompson, who was on board the "Poinsett" as bearer of propositions from the Government of the United States to the Government of Mexico, had resided in Texas formerly; and, in the course of the Revolutionary War, had been arrested by the Texans, on a charge of treasonable Correspondence with Mexican Authorities. His selection for his present employment was thought to be significant. A ground of suspicions against him, at the period of his arrest, was the rumour that Colonel Almonte, at present Minister from Mexico to the United States, was about to be married to his (Thompson's) daughter.

I was lately favoured with visits of inquiry respecting my health by President Houston, and Judge Terrell, the Attorney General of the Republic, the President seemed desirous to explain the nature of the preliminary arrangements entered into with the Government of the United States. The Statement he volunteered agreed, in the main points, with the information upon the Subject contained in my previously mentioned letter of 6th of May.—

²⁰David Conner, in 1844 in command of the United States squadron on the West Indian Station. He was later a leading naval commander during the Mexican War. (Appleton, Cyclop. of Amer. Biog.)

With the addition, as I understood him, that, in case of the failure of a Treaty of Annexation, the Government of the United States had pledged itself to adopt effective Measures for securing the independence of Texas. He evinced some anxiety to show that the Scheme of Annexation had been prematurely forced upon him, during last Session of Congress, by a factious Majority, against which he was unable to maintain his ground. That a violent legislative opposition, aided and abetted by the Ministry of the United States in this Country, was arrayed against him, and threatened impeachment, is undoubtedly true. The Attorney General separately declared that, had the Foreign (European) Ministers been at the seat of Government, to sustain General Houston by their presence against the coercive operations of party, he (the President) would not have sanctioned the proceedings then adopted by Congress, for Annexing Texas to the United States.—I may observe that the Attorney General, although a Member of the President's Cabinet, is warmly opposed to Annexation

The information from the President would have been more full and explicit had not a sense of duty forbade my putting questions to him on political affairs. Some of his oldest friends now profess to consider him altogether and decidedly in favour of Annexation. It is alleged that, to induce him to promote the project, a powerful party in the United States held out inducements tempting to his political ambition.

The Country is at present perfectly tranquil. In Galveston people seem quietly to await the issue of the Negotiations with the United States, and with abated expectations of their success.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²¹

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate

Galveston June 11th 1841

My Lord,

I had the honor of addressing Your Lordship, in a Communication marked "Private" on the 31st Ultimo. Since which time no event of moment has fallen under my notice.

²¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

The "Poinsette" U. S. War Steamer, entered this Harbour, on the 7th Instant, on her way from Vera Cruz to New Orleans, bearing it was said, the refusal of Mexico to entertain the overtures for "Annexation" made by the United States. She went to Sea again on the following day.

The United States Sloop of War, "Vincennes," mentioned in my last, left her Anchorage in Galveston Roads about the first of this Month, but returned in a few days, and was joined by the "Somers," United States Brig of War, on the 5th Instant. To these was speedily added the new War Steamer called the "Union."—On the 9th Instant, the three vessels put to Sea, with the intention, if rumours might be credited, of appearing before Vera Cruz.

There has been a petty Indian inroad, attended with some loss of life, at Corpus Christi, which is also threatened by Mexican Marauders. The Government of Texas is about to strengthen that frontier position, and I have been informed that an American Vice Consul is to be stationed there, with Authority to display the National Flag.

Corpus Christi is considered of some importance as a Texan trading post, to which Mexican Contrabandists resort for the purpose of Smuggling good[s] across the Rio Grande.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 14.

¹ Her Majesty's Consulate

Galveston. June 14th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a statement of Laws affecting Shipping and commerce, passed during the last Session of the Congress of this Republic, which terminated on the 5th of February in the present year.²

I have also the honor to enclose Copy of a Communication from Captain Elliot,³ Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires to Texas, in

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

²See Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, II, 969, 976, 998, 1017. Kennedy's enclosure summarizing the laws is here omitted.

³Elliot to Kennedy, May 1, 1844, telling the latter to buy copies of Acts of Texas Congress, rather than communicate with the Government of Texas.

answer to mine of the 18th April, of which I deemed it my duty to transmit a Copy to Your Lordship. Captain Elliot's letter, though dated the 1st of May, did not arrive at Galveston until the 3d of the present Month, and it might have been delayed still longer, had not the packet containing it been found at a Steamboat office by my New Orleans Agent.

It would be seen by my Correspondence, that, before the receipt of Captain Elliot's letter dated 1st May, I had proposed to avail myself of a Copy of the Acts of the Texan Congress, as "published for general use," for the purpose of reporting "to the proper quarter all enactments of consequence to our Commercial and Maritime Interests." But, while taking this course, I must respectfully take leave to dissent from Captain Elliot's opinion that it was not necessary to make any application to the Government (of Texas) "upon the subject." On the contrary, the examination of the Acts of Congress, previous to drawing up the enclosed Statement, has impressed me still more with the necessity of obtaining, for official use, a Copy of the Laws the fidelity of which shall have been certified by the Department of State.

I have had long experience of the general inaccuracy of documents printed in the United States. The usual causes of this inaccuracy exist in a still greater degree in Texas, and there is a proportionate Amount of typographical error. Among the published Laws of last Congress, there is, for instance, one entitled "An Act Supplementary to an "Act regulating the Sale of Runaway Slaves," approved *January Fifth 1841.*"—According to the Statutes for 1841, the original law (which, together with the Supplementary Act, I have transmitted in my "Slave Trade" Correspondence) was approved on the 5th of *February*, not January, as recently set forth. I might adduce other instances, but this will suffice to show the unreliable character of the printed Acts.

In reference to the concluding portion of Captain Elliot's reply to my letter of the 18th April, I would beg to observe that—while very far from presuming to question the expediency of any arrangement sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government, it appeared to me that, without any abatement of becoming deference, and in strict accordance with the understood duties of my office, I might respectfully point out whatever public inconvenience arose from a

particular arrangement, in order that due provision should be made against the recurrence of such inconvenience. In enacting new laws, or amending old ones, the Legislature of Texas usually provides that the enactments shall come into operation, "from and after the passage of the Act," or "from and after the first day of April," next ensuing. Now, as the Legislative Session, almost invariably closes in the beginning of February, it is certainly desirable that timely notice should be given of all changes affecting trade and shipping, for the guidance of Merchants and Ship-owners during the current year. For lack of such notice, as I stated in my letter to Captain Elliot, of 18th April, "Shipments may be made from England to Texas, under the faith of one Tariff, and arrive just in time to be taxed inopportunately, under the provisions of another."

It is a fact universally admitted here, and not unfrequently a Subject of Complaint, that the Majority of those chosen to the Congress of Texas are but little skilled in the principles of Commercial legislation, and that Mercantile interests are consequently in peril from rash and ill-digested enactments. It was from knowledge of this fact and apprehension of possible results, that—"with a view to the public advantage,"—I ventured to suggest that—"On occasion of the absence of Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires from this Country, during the Legislative Session, it might be expedient to have a proper person, duly authorized, to watch over the proceedings, and to note whatever Measures promised to prove prejudicial, or otherwise, to British interests."

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁴

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate

Galveston. June 18th. 1844.

My Lord.

Several weeks have elapsed since my attention was called to a Matter of some delicacy, on which I was slow to bestow serious notice, partly from doubts as to the earnestness of alleged Agents, partly from a disposition to repel any overture, or disclosure, that

⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

might in any degree tend to compromise Her Majesty's Government through me, and partly from the apparently unwarrantable introduction of the names of Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires and the Chargé d' Affaires of France to this Country.—Of late, this Matter has been presented to me with such a minuteness of detail and semblance of authority, that, to provide against possible contingencies and to relieve myself of an uneasy sense of responsibility, I hold it best to put Your Lordship in possession of the leading facts.

Since the return of Colonel Hockley and Mr Williams, the Texan Commissioners appointed to treat for an Armistice with Mexico, they have not only been visited by unpopularity consequent upon an abortive Mission but there has been an ostensible alienation between them and the President of the Republic. This alienation has been manifested, on the part of the Commissioners, in complaints that, but for the unseasonable action of the Executive in favour of the Annexation of Texas to the United States, their Mission might have proved successful. Occupying the position of thwarted Negotiators, it was natural that they should signify their dissatisfaction with a Measure which virtually divested them of their delegated functions and nullified their endeavours. As was to be expected then they have taken occasion to pronounce an unfavourable opinion of the project of Annexation, more especially the Military Commissioner, Colonel Hockley, whose late Colleague being engaged in Mercantile pursuits, is, therefore, it has been intimated, reluctant to commit himself openly to what the Mass of the population would probably consider an objectionable course.

From the free avowals attributed, and I have reason to believe with justice, to Colonel Hockley, it would appear that the ex-Commissioners do not intend to limit their opposition to Annexation to the mere expression of opinion. On the presumption that the Treaty of Annexation may receive the approval of the United States' Congress, they have (I am taught to believe) meditated, and are meditating, the organization of a party, to make a stand against that Measure, even (so at least, the language ascribed to Colonel Hockley seemed to indicate) to the point of armed resistance. In support of the general design, Colonel Hockley and one or two of his fellow-Countrymen and friends alleged that they

have the Countenance and Counsel of the now absent representatives of Great Britain and France, from the former of whom Mr Williams, it is asserted, received encouraging Communications by the Steam-boat "New York," which arrived at Galveston, from New Orleans on the 11th Instant. These Communications, together with others superscribed "Private" and addressed to President Houston, were, it is said, recently despatched from Natchez on the Mississippi by Captain Elliot, who—had I not been otherwise instructed by Your Lordship's letter to Mr Macdougall of the 18th April, and Captain Elliot's letter to myself, of the 20th May,—I might be led to infer was still sojourning at, or near to, that locality.

When the Matter under review was first opened to me, in the guise of intelligence, M. de Saligny, Chargé d' Affaires of France, and Colonel Hockley were described as the parties to an arrangement, under which the opponents of Annexation, when properly organized, were to invoke the aid of France, to uphold them in their efforts to sustain the independence of Texas against the United States. With the progress of events, and for the purpose, it may be, of attracting adherents, the Name of Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires was brought forward, as being equally propitious to the design as the representative of France. Finally, it has been stated, that, should the Treaty of Annexation be approved by the Congress of the United States, Colonel Hockley and his Coadjutors will urge forward the prosecution of their plan,—And should the Treaty be rejected, Captain Elliot and M. d' Saligny will expedite their return to Texas, to pursue the Course which circumstances may seem to require—it being understood that President Houston has pleaded their absence from the Seat of Government, during the last Session of Congress, in defence of his yielding to the wishes of the Texan Legislature on the Subject of Annexation.

This is an outline of the Communications, that have been made to me, and which are submitted to Your Lordship as conveyed from Creditable sources, and as affording means of explanation in the event of any complication of affairs arising out of the circumstances detailed

At a period so critical as the present, it may not be inopportune to assure Your Lordship that I have strictly confined myself to

the sphere of an observer, limiting the active exercise of forethought to the Condition of British Residents who, on the faith of it's Independence, have selected Texas as a field of enterprize. I may be permitted to add that, acting solely on my own responsibility, I should certainly be wholly adverse, as a general rule, to any connexion with the operations of local party, particularly at the present juncture.—Nor, without impugning, the respectability and good faith of Colonel Hockley and Mr. Williams, would I be at all inclined to make an exception in favour of their alleged Movement. That Movement may be judicious in itself, becoming in its Authors, patriotic as regards this Country and (what I should apprehend to be problematical) accompanied by a prospect of Success,—but it is not to be forgotten that Mr Williams and Colonel Hockley are of American birth and education, that the former was, at one time, private secretary to General Andrew Jackson, and, not remotely, a Member of General Houston's Administration, that reconciliation and renewed accord with the latter may not be difficult, when it shall seem expedient, that their project and the external sources of reliance are known to other Americans,—that, among a Republican democracy, political secrecy is next to impossible.—And that, if the contemplated design should transpire through the usual means of publicity, it is sure to be dilated into a Scheme of alarming magnitude, calculated to awaken fresh Jealousies in the United States, respecting British interference, and to serve as a pretext for those who wish to precipitate a war. Among the excitable population of the North American Confederacy, a small spark may kindle a great flame.

In a letter marked "Private," which I had the honor to address to Your Lordship on the 31st Ultimo, I mentioned that, to move President Houston to promote the Measure of Annexation, a powerful party in the United States had, it was said, "held out inducements tempting to his Ambition."—Those inducements, I am told, were,—the representation of Texas, as Senator in the United States Congress,—the probable leadership of the American Democratic Party., and the prospect of being started as its Candidate for the Presidency in the year 1848. These propositions would doubtless originate with General Jackson, who, it will be observed, has evinced much dexterity in superseding Mr Van Buren by a

Candidate pledged to support Annexation, in the approaching Contest for the Presidency

So far as I can learn, or perceive, Texas continues quiet. The trial of Commodore Moore, for disobedience of orders, and other weighty offences charged against him, is proceeding at the Seat of Government.—The only American Vessel of War at Galveston, is the Schooner "Flirt," which, with one or two brief intervals of absence, has been lying in the Harbour since October last.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁵

No. 14.⁶

Blue Sulphur Springs,
Virginia June 22d. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to report that I am ready to proceed to my post whenever my presence there may seem to Your Lordship to be desirable; and I would add that I have written privately to Mr Pakenham some days since, to say that I shall be prepared to return to Texas at any moment that He may see reason to recommend that course.

Through the press of this Country I learnt that the treaty of annexation had been rejected by the Senate of the United States, and I also observe that Mr Benton's important legislative measure to the same purpose (however modified, limitarily considered) has been set at rest for the present. But I suppose it may be taken for granted that the subject of annexation will be renewed again in some form, at the next regular Meeting of Congress in the United States, if not at a called Session, and perhaps with more probability of success than has attended the treaty

It is not my place, to comment upon the principles of Mr. Benton's Measure, or on the agitating consequences of the continued discussion of this subject in the United States, particularly with these intentions to exclude Slavery from a portion of the Country which He proposes to designate the South Western territory." The heats and serious difficulties, however, which occurred on the introduction of the State of Missouri into this Confederacy will

⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

⁵Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 13, 1844, was not found.

probably present themselves to Your Lordship's recollection in connexion with this subject, for the questions in several important particulars offer the same reasons for anticipating hardly reconcilable differences of opinion.

The excitement and dangers of the Missouri case were only turned aside by the final prevalence of a spirit of Compromise, for which there is less room, and still less of temper in the present instance, and at this advanced period of public opinion and experience upon the subject of Slavery. But without dwelling on these points, I certainly cannot think that Mr. Benton's proposition will find favor with the Government or people of Texas, either in point of matter or manner.

It is to be hoped that the Government of Mexico will prevent a renewal of this Complication, and all the consequences arising from it by the adoption of a sounder policy than they have hitherto pursued, the time for which appears to be rapidly passing away.

I take the liberty to repeat to Your Lordship that communications to me, addressed to the care of Her Majesty's Consul at Boston, will always reach me within a few days of their arrival at that point.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable,

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁷

No. 15.

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston, July 8th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to receive Your Lordship's despatch, No 3 of this years series, and beg to tender my grateful acknowledgment of your considerate kindness, in granting me the permission it conveys to seek change of air and scene, for the more speedy re-establishment of my health.

Being sufficiently restored to attend to my various duties, I do not (in the absence of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires) propose to avail myself of the leave until the beginning of September next, when European Shipping will have ceased for a time to frequent

this Port; nor, even then, should any exigency render it expedient that I should remain at my post.

I were unworthy of the interest in my welfare indicated by Your Lordship's permission, had it not the effect of quickening my anxiety for the efficient and full discharge of the obligations of my official trust, and of lightening the sense of any personal sacrifice which a conscientious estimate of the weight and extent of those obligations might call upon me to make.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 16.

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston, July 8th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit herewith a Memorial addressed to Your Lordship by British Subjects resident in Texas, having reference to the Measures in agitation for Annexing Texas to the United States.

A considerable proportion of the Memorialists are known to me as persons respectable by position and character. They assign as a reason for the comparatively small number of Signatures, that it was deemed inexpedient, placed as the British residents are amidst a preponderating population from the United States, to hold public Meetings, or to make any open demonstration for the purpose of eliciting the opinions of their fellow-Countrymen

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

RUTHVEN AND OTHERS TO ABERDEEN²

[Enclosure]

To the Right Honble. The Earl of Aberdeen Her Britannick Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Memorial of the undersigned British residents of the Towns of Galveston and Houston in the Republic of Texas Humbly Sheweth:

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

That your Memorialists, the greater part of them are engaged in Commercial pursuits, selected Texas as a field for their industry and enterprize, under the belief that it would remain an Independent State, in which Capacity it has been formally recognized by Her Majesty's Govt. and the Governments of France, The United States and Holland.

That regarding Texas as Politically Independent and looking forward to a pacification between her and Mexico, as not being remote, Your Memorialists, who in Common with the rest of the population have suffered from the unsettled Condition of Public Affairs are perfectly satisfied to remain in the Country Employed in their several pursuits, Not doubting that the future would in the ordinary Course of events bring them a fair return for Capital and Labour.

That, after having been led to entertain hopes of an adjustment between Mexico and Texas being speedily effected, and in a great measure through the friendly Mediation of Her Majesty's Govt acting in accordance with other Powers by whom the Independence of Texas has been recognized, Your Memorialists have learned with Surprise and regret that proceedings have been, and are now in active progress by persons Clothed with Authority for effecting the Annexation of Texas to the United States.

That, Your Memorialists while they cannot but view the projected measure of Annexation as wholly inconsistent with the treaty obligations to which Gt Britain and the Republic of Texas are mutually covenanting and assenting parties, necessarily Contemplate in it the virtual violation of an understood Compact with themselves, as residents in the Country, proposing as the Measure does, to substitute our Govt. for another, and to introduce principles of Commercial legislation at variance with their Mercantile Interests, and as they believe, with the interests of England and all other Manufacturing Countries of Europe.

That being likewise impressed with the Conviction, that the incorporation of Texas with the Federal Union would ultimately give to the United States the power to establish a Monopoly of North American Commerce, and transfer to them a complete ascendancy in the Affairs of this Continent.—Your Memorialists humbly hope that Her Majesty's Govt will adopt such Measures as they, in their Wisdom may deem most expedient to bring about

an early and honourable Settlement of the difficulties existing between Mexico and Texas and to guard against the accomplishments of any project inconsistent with the Political Independence of the Republic and the treaty Stipulations existing between her and Gt. Britain.

A. S. Ruthven	R. B. Hannay
Thos. V. Mortimer	Wm. M. Hudson
Jno. Dickinson	Angus McKenzie
Wm. Thomson	James Denny
James Grant	Henry Bryant
A. P. Thompson	A. Waddington
Wm. Wood	G. B. Scott
John Newland	John Scott
James Smith	Wm. C. Byrne
D. H. McDonald	Saml. Hyatt
W. N. Lyon	David R. Robertson
H. M. Gannell	Charles Daniel
William Purviss	Wm. J. Wright
John Collins, a resident of The County of Houston.	Thos. Cooper
W. G. Dyer	William Bollant
Robertin Hannay	Henry Stephenson
	J. H. Grieve

[Endorsed] In Mr Consul Kennedy's Despatch, dated 8th July.
1844. (No. 16.)

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN³

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston July 8th. 1844.

My Lord,

In a letter marked "Private" which I had the honor to address to Your Lordship on the 18th Ultimo, I observed, that "Among a Republican democracy, political secrecy is next to impossible."—A (printed) correspondence herewith enclosed,⁴ between Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and the Secretary of State of Texas,

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

⁴A cutting from *The Galveston Civilian*, June 8, 1844.

affords evidence that this observation is not ill founded. The correspondence was published in the Texan Newspapers within about two Months from the date of the first of communications which it includes.

The rejection of the Treaty of Annexation, by the Senate of the United States, has disappointed the expectations of many in this country, and has from some elicited signs of irritation. A Galveston paper. (the *Civilian*), of Saturday last remarks—"We have not yet had time to see what effect the rejection of the Treaty and other Measures for the Annexation of Texas by the United States Congress, will have upon the minds of the friends of the Measure, in this Country generally, but, in Galveston, as far as we have heard them express themselves, the prevailing opinion seems to be that the question has been closed forever, and that for Texas to entertain it further would be a degradation not to be endured."—As I mentioned in my letter of the 6th May to Captain Elliot (of which I transmitted a Copy to Your Lordship) "the European residents form a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of this place."

A well informed Correspondent writes to me from New Orleans on the 29th. Ultimo.—"The Subject of Annexation will be taken up again soon, and agitated with redoubled vigour, and not without probability of success; provided Texas cannot, in the meantime, be induced to withdraw her consent." There are Americans, of some influence, at present, on a visit to Galveston, who, while they declare themselves warm supporters of Mr Clay's pretensions to the Presidency, speak of the Annexation of Texas to the United States as an arrangement all but certain. One of these persons, an extensive Merchant of New Orleans, is about to establish a Sugar plantation in this Country, and to remove thither Slaves employed by him on a plantation in Louisiana, on the presumption that Annexation will speedily take place.

I enclose an extract from the Government Journal⁵ published at Washington on the Brazos, announcing the arrival there of Officers bearing communications from General Taylor, now in Command of the American troops on the Texan frontier. I also enclose, and place in juxta-position with the preceding, a published

⁵A cutting from *The National Vindicator*, June 29, 1844.

letter^a from the Legation of the United States in Mexico. The Galveston paper, in which this letter appears, states that General Murphy has promptly communicated this information to his Government; and also that "he has strongly represented to his Government the absolute necessity of checking this hostile Movement of Mexico, evidently made with a view of putting an end to all hope of Annexation, and to take vengeance on Texas for favouring any Negotiation on that subject with the United States." In addition to these indications, I notice that the Texan Administration Journal at Washington intimates—that the late Indian inroads were stimulated and aided by the Mexican Authorities on the Rio Grande. From all the Movements, it would not be unreasonable to infer, that a *case of armed intervention was in progress*.

The departure of General Murphy, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, will, it is announced, take place in a few days, his successor having been appointed.—According to the information derived from the private Secretary of the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. de Saligny, that gentleman is to arrive at Galveston by the next Steamer from New Orleans.

The United States Brig of War "Somers" arrived off Galveston from Vera Cruz, on the evening of the 30th Ultimo, and sailed, it was said for Pensacola, on the 2d Instant—

The Indians have been defeated on the frontier, and the borders are undisturbed at present.—A successor to General Houston in the Presidency of Texas is to be chosen in September, and there are two Candidates in the field.—General Burleson, celebrated as a leader against the Indians, and Mr Anson Jones, who is now in Office as Secretary of State. As yet, the electioneering Campaign proceeds but languidly,—the question of Annexation being paramount in the Minds of the people.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

William Kennedy.

P. S. Persons supposed to be in the confidence of the Texan Government say,—that propositions have been made offering to secure the independence of this Country within Sixty days, provided Mexico be guaranteed against "Annexation," and the Ports of Texas opened to free trade with Great Britain and France.

^aA cutting from *The Galveston News*, July 6, 1844.

The same persons also say that General Henderson, the special Envoy from Texas to the United States, has written to Counsel the people of this Country against taking any precipitate step, as the prospect of accomplishing the Measure of Annexation is still favourable.

W. K.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

White Sulphur Springs
Virginia July 10th. 1844.

My Lord,

In a kind private letter from Mr Clay to me, dated on the 29th Ultimo, reproaching me for not paying him a visit on my way to these Mountains, he observes "My predictions as to the fate of the Texas treaty before the Senate were fully verified, the decision of that body will vindicate the good faith and honor of the U. States"

"The Author of the Negotiations has totally failed in the object which unquestionably moved him to open it" (Mr. Clay means here the disunion of the Whig party and he goes on to say) "It could not secure him even the nomination of the Democratic Convention, nor with the treaty exert any material influence on the existing canvass. I consider the success of the Whig cause is beyond all doubt."

It has occurred to me that Your Lordship would be pleased to hear these views, and I hope, therefore, to be excused for this intrusion. Your Lordship will have observed from my despatches that I did not consider it suitable to avail myself of the permission to return to Europe in the condition of affairs which had come about, by the time that it reached me; neither have I liked to do so till replies to the intelligence of the failure of the treaty shall have reached me, either directly, or through Mr. Pakenham.

¹P. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

²Elliot, though recuperating in Virginia, presumably knew by this time (through Pakenham) of the determination to which Aberdeen had come in May, 1844, of preventing the Annexation of Texas. The "Murphy Memorandum," an outline of a plan by which England, France, and Mexico were to act in concert in prohibiting annexation had been drawn up by Aberdeen and the Mexican minister, Murphy, in London, on May 29, 1844. For text of the memorandum, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 168-169. For paraphrased translation, see Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 389.

In the mean time I am glad to find that Mr. Pakenham agrees with me in thinking there is no need for my return to Texas till we shall be further instructed from England.

Your Lordship is aware that I am ready for any service that may be charged to me.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁹

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston July 29th. 1844.

My Lord,

In reference to a portion of my letter of the 18th Instant, marked "Private," and addressed to Your Lordship, I beg to communicate the following information, recently received from Mr Redmond, an English trader, resident at Corpus Christi.

It has been stated by Mr Redmond, that, in consequence of the unusually formidable character of the late Indian inroads, the residents of Corpus Christi had made urgent application for protection to the Government. The requisite assistance was promised, to enable them to repel any merely Indian incursion, and it was further intimated, by President Houston, to the party deputed to represent their situation, that if they had reason to construe the attempts upon Corpus Christi into a design originating in hostile dispositions on the side of Mexico, arrangements should be made for calling in a protective force from the United States.—Such are the leading points of the Statement furnished by Mr Redmond, who, notwithstanding his anxiety respecting the fate of his property at Corpus Christi, is too much opposed to "Annexation" to desire the presence of American troops within the limits of this Republic.

Captain Galan,¹⁰ a bearer of despatches from the Government of Mexico to the Government of Texas, arrived at Corpus Christi on the 5th Inst. He is still in this Country, the absence of President Houston in Eastern Texas having delayed his return to

⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

¹⁰Mentioned in July, 1843, as a bearer of communications from General Woll to President Houston. Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1114, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

Matamoros.—I have been informed that the Communications of which he has been the bearer contain a formal Notice of the termination of the Armistice between Mexico and Texas.

The French Brig of War “Griffon,” arrived off Galveston on the 17th Instant, some of her officers visited the town.—On the 21st Instant, the Brig went to sea again. The Chargé d’Affaires of France is still absent.

The United States War Schooner “Flirt,” sailed from Galveston on the 22d Instant. The officer in Command alleged that he had delayed her departure for the purpose of ascertaining the object of the “Griffon’s” visit, and watching her movements.

General Murphy, late Chargé d’Affaires from the United States died in Galveston on the night of the 12th Instant, and was buried on the 13th. In compliance with the wishes of the provisional representative of the United States Government in this Republic. I attended the funeral as a pall-bearer. This is the third American Minister who has died in Texas within the last four years.

The project of placing a Consular Officer of the United States at Corpus Christi (mentioned in my “Private” letter to Your Lordship of June 11th) was favoured by General Murphy, and may, perhaps, with his decease, for the present pass away.

On Friday, the 26th Instant, General T. A. Howard, the newly-appointed Chargé d’Affaires from the United States to Texas, arrived here from New Orleans, by the Texan, Merchant brig “Rover.”—I called upon General Howard, and was told that, apprehensive of his health, he had left the town, and had proceeded some Miles down the Island, where he intended to remain for a short time,—until, it is probable, the sickness now prevailing had abated.

The sickness prevalent has been pronounced Yellow Fever by Medical authority. It was—there is no room to doubt—brought to Galveston from Vera Cruz, by the United States War Steamer “Poinsett,” when she entered this Harbour on the 7th of June, as reported in my “private” letter to Your Lordship of the 11th of that Month. Part of her crew were attacked by the disease at Vera Cruz, and some of them still suffering under it, were landed here—there being, as yet, no Quarantine Regulations for this Port. The result has been disastrous—There have been many deaths, and I have heard a Medical estimate that one out of every ten of the

whole population has been stricken by fever. The United States Consul for Galveston,—who—some fourteen days ago attended with me the funeral of the late American Minister, expired at 6 o'clock on yesterday morning, and in the evening of the same day I followed his remains to the grave.

There are three British Merchant Vessels in Harbour, and sickness has pressed severely on their crews. The Master of one, and the carpenter of another have died. Medical attendance is very expensive, and Nurses for the sick are difficult to be procured. For about twelve day's Medical attendance, Medicine, etc., during my illness, in the early part of the year, I had to pay above Sixty five pounds Sterling.—It might be well if Consuls, under such circumstances, were authorized to Contract for attendance on British ships.

With the exception of a female servant, all in my house have hitherto escaped the existing fever. Anxious, as I am, to leave no arrear in my official books, to lay a good foundation for the future conduct of the business of this Consulate, and to note the progress of events, at this seemingly critical period, I have, for the present, relinquished the idea of fixing any specific time for recruiting my strength at a distance from my post. I propose, therefore, to continue this correspondence, until otherwise directed, during the absence of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.

The Steamers that ply annually between Galveston and New Orleans, have withdrawn from the station, for the Season of Southern-Sultriness and inactivity. I cannot in consequence, calculate on possessing the means of transmitting intelligence from this place with equal regularity as heretofore.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. General Howard, the recently arrived Minister from the United States, has sent me a card, in return to mine by the Hanseatic Consul at this Port,—with expressions of regret, at his inability to return my call, in consequence of being obliged to leave Galveston by Steam-boat today for Houston, on his way to the seat of Government.

W. K.

KENNEDY TO BIDWELL¹

No. 19.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston

July 29th. 1844.

Sir,

In accordance with the Instructions issued to Her Majesty's Consuls, I have to report the appearance of a disease at Galveston which Medical Authority has pronounced to be Yellow Fever.

There are as yet no Quarantine Regulations at this Port, and there is every reason to believe that the disease was introduced by the United States War Steamer "Poinsett," when she touched here last month, on her voyage from Vera Cruz homewards.

There are three British Merchant Vessels in Port, which have been visited by the Fever. The Master of one and the Carpenter of another have died, but all the Sick on board these ships, or belonging to them, now—I am happy to say—appear to be in a fair way of recovery.—It is the "Victoria" of Poole, (from Liverpool) that has lost the Master, who exposed himself—most imprudently—to the Sun in an open boat.

William Kennedy.

John Bidwell Esqr.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²*Separate.*

Washington

August 13th 1844.

My Lord,

I would beg to mention to Your Lordship that I have taken the opportunity of my stay in this part of the Country to pay my respects to Mr. Pakenham, and to renew to him the expression of my readiness to set out for my post at any moment that my presence there may be considered desirable.

If however there should be no need for my immediate return, I will request Your Lordship to sanction my continued absence till the beginning of the Month of November.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honorable, The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.²F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN³*Private.*

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston August 14th. 1844.

My Lord,

General Howard, the new American Chargé d'Affaires, has reached the seat of Government, and presented his credentials. It was his intention, when he left Galveston, to remain at Washington on the Brazos, for the transaction of business. It is said that he is directed to apply for an extension of the time for the completion of the arrangements incidental to the Treaty of Annexation. The additional term, mentioned is three Months. In return (it may be supposed) for this Concession, he has, it is alleged, repeated to President Houston the assurance that the land and naval forces of the United States will be ready to assist Texas, in the event of a Mexican invasion.

I have had letters from British Traders in Western Texas, expressing strong apprehensions of the early outbreak of hostilities between Mexico and Texas.—Some have applied for passports, to protect themselves and their property. There is hardly a symptom of preparation here to repel an invasion, should the threats of Mexico assume a practical form. There has been no further inroad at Corpus Christi. The farmers are quietly watching the progress of their Crops which promise to be most abundant.

A Mexican invasion will greatly facilitate the designs of the United States, and will go a good way towards placing the settlement of the affairs of this Country beyond the reach of diplomacy. Now that the Yellow Fever is among us, people cease to anticipate the return of the Ministers of England and France until winter.—The United States will, as heretofore, have the field to themselves, but I shall use my best endeavours to keep Your Lordship apprized of the course of events.—Mr. Pakenham is desirous of information, and to him, also, I shall continue to communicate every fact worth noting that comes to my knowledge.

Captain Galan, the Mexican bearer of despatches, mentioned in my "private" letter to Your Lordship of July 29th has returned home, The Collector of Customs at Galveston gives President Houston's authority for the Statement that he (the President)

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

has received, by Galan, a private letter from General Santa Ana, inviting the reopening of Negotiations for peace.—Whether or not this Statement has been put forward to influence the approaching elections, I am unable to say. That it should be promulgated with that object is probable enough.—Political *finesse* is as well understood and as unscrupulously practised in this unfledged Republic, as in the hoary despotisms of remotest Asia.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. August 16th.

According to recent arrivals from Corpus Christi, there is no appearance of an invading force on the Rio Grande.

W. K.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN*

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston, August 24th 1844.

My Lord,

In a communication marked "Private" and dated 29th Ultimo, I had the honor to inform Your Lordship of the arrival of General Howard, Chargé d'Affaires from the United States to Texas, and of his departure, on that day, for the Seat of Government, where he arrived on the 3d Instant.

On the 13th Instant, General Howard was attacked by fever, and on the 16th he died,—the fourth representative of the United States that has died in Texas, out of five that have been appointed since the recognition of it's independence by the American government.

The deceased gentleman was in the prime of vigorous life, and his appointment appeared to have given great satisfaction to the Texan Government—as he had been long on terms of friendly communication with President Houston, and, as I am told, with General Andrew Jackson.

The acting Consul of the United States at Galveston has employed a small Coasting Vessel to convey to New Orleans the melancholy intelligence of General Howard's death, and I avail myself of the opportunity to transmit this letter, which is accompanied by one of greater detail to Mr Pakenham.

The Yellow Fever has carried off a tenth part of the population of Galveston, and local experience leads to the expectation that there will be a continuance of sickness until November.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN^o

No. 21.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston. September 9th. 1844.

My Lord,

When I entered upon the duties of my office, I had in contemplation to include in my reports to Her Majesty's Government occasional Notices of the emigration to this Country, with especial reference to that portion of it, which might emanate from the United Kingdom. Of Europeans, however, the whole Number introduced into Texas since the beginning of the Year 1843 (owing probably to the unadjusted relations between Mexico and this Republic) has not been so considerable as to afford much Material for suggestion, or remark. It has, at the same time, been large enough to show that persons intending to voyage hither across the Atlantic require to be furnished with some preparatory Counsel.

In years preceding 1843, several vessels fitted up for and conveying British Emigrants arrived at Galveston, but, from the commencement of that year to the present time, no ship containing a dozen of British families has entered this Port. Nearly all the European emigrants within the latter period—which may amount to between six and seven hundred—have been supplied by France and Germany.

Among the European Settlers, the Germans have the reputation of being the most successful. They are generally laborious, persevering and eager to accumulate—orderly for the most part—and they keep well together. They have formed thriving Communities at different points of the interior, and they constitute a considerable proportion of the trading and working population of the towns adjacent to the Coast. In common with the French, they become Market-gardeners. And they divide with the Irish the profits of drayage and cartage, which are pretty large during the business season.

The Irish settlers in Galveston are, with few exceptions, Catholics, and have the benefit of an excellent superintendent and adviser in the Bishop of that faith, M. Odin.—They conduct themselves quietly as a class, and seem healthy, contented and well-doing. Those who are married and residents of two or three years' standing, usually have an independent house and lot—their own horse and dray, and frequently one or more Cows. The wives of the poorer sort assist in washing and housework.

Of the European immigrants, the French evince the least aptitude for the situation in which they are placed. They require to be moved in Companies, and led, directed and superintended, until they feel at home upon the soil.—A Frenchman left to himself in an insulated Settlement, will soon become barbarized.

It is greatly to be wished that all the Europeans who may emigrate to Texas should be instructed, previously to taking the final step, respecting the arrangements proper to be made,—the provision necessary to smooth their way to success—the nature and extent of unavoidable inconveniences, hardships or privations—the amount of present sacrifice and prospective advantage—the road to be pursued and the snares to be avoided. For lack of honest guidance and correct information, persons laudably desirous of improving their condition have been thrown upon these Shores only to encounter disappointment and despondency—to learn, all too late, from sad experience, how little the sufferings of their fellows deter men from practising upon ignorance and credulity for the sake of gain.

I have noted the following causes of disappointment and distress among the European immigrants:

1. Purchase of Spurious land titles from unprincipled adventurers.
2. Emigration at an advanced age and with debilitated Constitutions.
3. Arrival here at an improper season of the Year.
4. Selection of Settlement in unhealthy Situations, and exposure to the Sun.
5. Want of capital.

It is most extraordinary that people can be so foolish as to purchase titles to land in a Country they never saw, from individuals of whom they know nothing, and for whose good faith, they

have no satisfactory guarantee. Such has been the case, however, and British Settlers have repeatedly complained of having been cheated by vendors of Texas land titles in England, which titles they found to be utterly worthless when they came to enter upon possession. On this point it may be generally laid down that insulated families ought to abstain from the purchase of lands until they arrive in Texas. Under no circumstance, should a foreign holder of land titles be treated with, unless he be prepared to shew, by unquestionable British references, that his titles are genuine, and that he is deserving of trust. Even when Emigrants reach this Country it is requisite that they should proceed with caution and circumspection. They ought to husband their means, and after carefully examining in what section of the Republic they are most likely to find the soil best suited to European farming, united to the advantages of a Market for produce and the retention of health, they ought to journey thither, and, after due deliberation, choose their ground, having a vigilant eye to the validity of the title, lest, at the very outset, they fall into the abyss of litigation. The vast extent of unoccupied land precludes the necessity of a precipitate choice.—Immigrants, if they think proper, may remain a year without fixing upon a permanent settlement, as now, and for some time to come, the use of tillage and pasture land may be had, rent free, for that or a still longer period.

It is needless to expatiate on the unfitness of the old and the feeble for distant Colonization. Without adverting to other considerations, the climate of the South, however, genial and salubrious in certain localities, must, from it's very novelty, be more or less trying to weakness and age. The habits of previous life ought, besides, to sit lightly on the immigrant, to enable him to adapt himself to a sphere of action entirely new—demanding altered modes of labour, variations in food and clothing, and precautions for the preservation of health, which are too apt to be regarded by the inexperienced as unnecessary restraints.

Allowing the amplest latitude consistent with prudence, the season of Shipment from Europe, for parties intending to cultivate land in Texas, lies between the first of August and the first of February. Persons who look forward to constructing dwellings and putting in a seasonable Crop, ough[t] not, in justice to themselves, or to the Country, to arrive here later than November.—

The earlier they are on the spot, in that Month the better. From the first of November to the first of June, there is no danger, with ordinary care, of suffering from local diseases, while the "colds," so productive of indisposition during the English winter, are unknown. The interval between November and Summer is calculated to strengthen the fortitude of the stranger, to prepare him for the Season of continuous heat,—to initiate him in the Maxims and usages of the older residents and to make him practically acquainted with the most approved plants of house-keeping and husbandry. The immigrant who lands at Galveston between the first of June and the first of October, perils his health and wastes his resources. The Brig "Weser" from Bremen, entered this port on the 4th of last July, having Ninety-six emigrants on board. The Yellow Fever, introduced from Vera Cruz by the United States' War Steamer "Poinsett," had attacked the inhabitants of the town.—Huddled up wherever they could procure lodging, and destitute of suitable attendance, which local charity was unable to provide, a large proportion of the newly-arrived emigrants died of the disease—an expenditure of human life wholly gratuitous—the result of ignorance and misdirection.

The selection of a healthy Situation for Settlement is a point of primary importance, inattention to which has been followed by calamitous consequences.

Immigrants shrewd enough in worldly Matters, but unacquainted with a Southern soil and climate, and the incidents of Settlement, so well known on this side of the Atlantic, are apt to be tempted by the opportunity of buying, for a comparatively trifling amount of Money, lands lying on, or near, the borders of a Navigable river. Now, these lands may be really cheap,—even in this land-abounding Country—their fertility may not have been exaggerated, their pasturage may be unlimited, the wood unfailing—they may offer a most desirable investment for the planter of sugar and cotton—but, to the unacclimated European, their occupation is always perilous and often fatal. Swollen by the Autumn and Winter rains, they overflow their banks—a large expanse of the exuberant alluvion becomes the bed of their redundant waters, which receive constant accessions of rank and decaying vegetation—exhalations arise from the Marshy surface—"intermittents," by repeated assaults, wear down the frame, or the rapid

march of Congestive fever subdues the powers of life.—These are the dangers—not all unknown in the Northern divisions of this Continent—which beset the European who piles his log-house on the Margin of a forest-girdled and periodically overflowing river of the South. Many a foreign settler, in the United States, as well as in Texas, in choosing such an abiding-place, has doomed himself to an early grave.

Caution is too often given in vain to persons unacquainted with the effects of careless exposure to the Summer Sun. It is a frequent cause of sickness, for which, as for disease induced by intemperance, the sufferer has himself to blame.

Cultivation, drainage, and the clearing of the woods, will doubtless operate favourably on the districts unfriendly to the European Constitution, but this is of no moment to the immigrant, who, leaving these lands to the cultivators of tropical products, can find others far better suited to his native husbandry, in Sections of the Republic of proved salubrity.—With the exception of Galveston Island, and the more open and elevated tracts bordering the Bay of the same name, Europeans, as a general rule, ought not to settle, within one hundred and fifty Miles of the Coast, from the river Sabine to the river Colorado. But, in no part of the Country lying between those two rivers (although not a few of them are already resident there) would I recommend my Countrymen to establish themselves as agriculturists. The West is free from debilitating influences, and they should move Westward as far as a prudent regard to safety from frontier troubles and annoyances will justify. From the river Colorado to the Nueces, the insalubrity of the Coast rapidly decreases, until it disappears altogether at Corpus Christi. The Irish Colony, planted on the Nueces in 1832, was both healthy and prosperous until broken up by the revolutionary War.

Wherever the British immigrants may resolve to abide, they ought to bear in mind that the sword they turn up has not been cultivated before, that the sun in Texas shines with Southern fervour, and that, if they are protected from the effects of their combined influence, they have little to apprehend on the score of health. Every climate has some draw back—the North has its pulmonary complaints and the South its bilious fevers.

Notwithstanding the low price of land, the farmer requires

capital, and he will have much to struggle against unless he has sufficient to enable him to fence, stock and crop his land, and to maintain himself until the soil renders its first return—If frugal and industrious, and seconded by what Americans might call an “available” family, he may venture to start upon two hundred pounds, but double that amount would not be too much for preparatory outlay and incidental wants. A great saving is effected, and an inspiring impulse communicated to the Settler’s endeavours, in consequence of the abundance of open land, fit for tillage, and the free range for stock, which may be enjoyed for years. The expense of clearing the forest is a burden from which the Texas husbandman escapes. By the richness of the thickly-timbered river “bottoms” the *planter* is attracted, and there he lays out this fields for the growth of sugar, and cotton.

Farmers possessing the necessary capital, intelligence and energy are the only *class* to which Texas, as She is, offers the prospect of advantageous settlement. A small annual supply of Mechanics will, for some time, be sufficient for the demand;—the same may be said of Agricultural labourers, unless they [are] attached to farming capitalists. The towns will absorb a limited number of useful domestic servants, at good wages. A mere subsistence can easily be obtained by any person capable of manual labour, and not wholly indisposed to exertion.

In addition to all other considerations, the individual who proposes to emigrate ought not only to examine whether the Country to which he thinks of removing is fitted for him, but whether he is fitted for the Country, and for the condition of a Colonist.—If he is unable to endure what, in older communities, would be deemed privations—if he be wanting in Moral courage—if he cannot look hopefully to the future, under temporary discouragement—he ought not to enter upon the life of a Settler in the wilderness, however fair and fruitful that wilderness may be.

The sufferings to which emigrants from Continental Europe have been needlessly subjected induces me to observe that it would be a worthy and becoming service if their respective Governments would supply their emigrating people with means of precise and accurate information, protect them from fraudulent speculators, and keep them paternally in view until they had made a lodgment on their adopted soil. Blighted expectation, sickness and

bereavement by death are heavy and hard to bear among the friends and associations of home, but their pressure is increased a thousand fold when they are sustained among the unfamiliar faces and unwonted scenes of an alien land.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁶

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston, September 9th 1844.

My Lord,

I had the honor to address a letter marked "Private" to Your Lordship on the 24th Ultimo, conveying intelligence of the death of General Howard, the United States' Chargé d'Affaires in Texas.—This letter I despatched by a small Coasting-vessel, and am obliged to send the present by a conveyance to New Orleans.

I beg leave to enclose, as published in the Government Journal at Washington,⁷ a copy of a Manifesto transmitted by the Mexican General Woll, to President Houston, with a Copy of the President's Reply.

President Houston left the Seat of Government for Eastern Texas, on the 7th Ultimo, and was expected by the 17th to reach Sabine, which is distant some thirty or forty Miles from the encampment of the United States' troops at Fort Jessup.

Public attention is fixed upon the Presidential election, which commenced and terminated on the 2nd Instant. It would appear, by the returns received up to the present date, that the election has gone in favour of Mr Anson Jones, the present Secretary of State.

The Court Martial appointed to try Commodore Moore closed on the 23rd Ultimo, but its decision has not yet been made public.

Persons in the employment of the Texan Government, and generally acquainted with its proceedings allege that the United States will continue to protect Texas from Mexican invasion until the 4th of next March, when President Tyler's present tenure of Office will expire. There is but a trifling difference between this

⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

⁷*The National Vindicator* (date missing).

alleged term of protection and that I mentioned to Your Lordship, in my "Private" letter of August 14th.

According to the last accounts from the South Western frontier, there is no indication either of inroad, or invasion, on the side of Mexico. The Texan Government seems to be quite confident in its means of repulsion, should it be necessary to call them forth.

I had a letter lately from the Attorney General of this Republic, who, under the impression that the state of my health might call me to England this Autumn, expressed a desire to travel with me, having obtained the President's sanction for his proposed absence. He assigns the following, among other reasons, for wishing to accompany me in the event of my returning home.

"You are well aware of the fact that I have, from the beginning, been most decidedly opposed to the Annexation of Texas to the United States. It is my first object to defeat, if possible, the consummation of this most obnoxious Measure, so decidedly hostile, as I conceive it to be, and fraught with such evil consequences to the ultimate prosperity and high destiny of this Country. From Your official connexion with the Ministry, you can render me important assistance in this Matter, and if I am successful in the accomplishment of this great result, I shall deem it the proudest period of my life"

I have always found Mr Terrell (the Attorney General) consistent in regard to Annexation. In my reply to him, I stated that I did not intend leaving Texas during the present year, but that he might command my services for the exposition of his views.

His health, which is much impaired, is the immediate plea for travel.—He enjoins me to be silent as to his communication, in this question—saying—"I do not wish any person beyond the Cabinet to know any thing of my going, and more especially of my business."—He was to be ready for his departure "any time after the 20th of September" (the present Month).—I have heard nothing farther since the transmission of my reply.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹*Private.*

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston, September 23rd. 1844.

My Lord,

In a letter which I had the honor to address to Your Lordship, on the 8th day of May last, I communicated the following information.

"I have heard, and I believe truly, that General Jackson has used all the influence which he possesses with the President of this Republic, as his old political and Military leader, to induce him to aid in accomplishing the Annexation of Texas to the Union."

That I did not err in giving credit to this Statement will be seen by the enclosed printed Copy² of a "Private" letter, addressed, on the 16th of February last, by President Houston to General Andrew Jackson. A small portion of this letter appeared some time ago in the Newspapers of the United States. The whole has been recently published in an Administration Journal of Eastern Texas, for the purpose, I believe, of promoting the election to the Presidency of Mr Anson Jones, by showing that the Government of which he is a Member is in favour of Annexation. Eastern Texas contains a large majority of the population, and the bent of the public mind, in regard to the predominant question of the day may be inferred from the motive assigned for this epistolary development.

A lately published letter of Mr Clay's seems to indicate that he has found it necessary to modify his declared opinions on the subject of Annexation. It is impossible that a people so shrewd, so land-loving and so anticipatory, as are the people of the United States, can fail to perceive the advantages that would accrue to them from the acquisition of Texas. The longer the settlement of Texan affairs is delayed, the more fixed and general will be their conviction of these advantages. Whatever professions may be put forth by American Statesmen of the East, or the West, the North, or the South, it ought not to be forgotten that, for *forty*

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

²A cutting from *The Galveston Civilian*, September 11, 1844. Houston's letter is calendared by Garrison as printed in U. S. Pub. Docs., 444, Doc. 271, p. 110.

years, the heads of each party have laboured in turn to extend the South-Western flank of the Republic towards the Rio Grande. It is a Stake worth playing for, and, in the estimation of General Jackson, even at the cost of War.

Representations of the probability of Mexican invasion have brought to this Port the United States Cutter "Woodbury" previously employed in the revenue department, but, at the present, commissioned for service here. The "Woodbury" arrived in Galveston Harbour on the morning of the 20th Instant, and will, it is said, remain until relieved by another vessel. After reporting the Cutter's arrival, a local Newspaper adds: "We also learn that there are two Schooners, a Steamer, and a Sloop of War lying in the Port of Pensacola, expecting daily to receive orders to sail for the Coast of Texas and Mexico."

It appears by the Texan papers that combinations injurious to the public peace have, under the names of "Regulators" and "Moderators," disturbed some districts on the North-Eastern frontier. It appears, also, that the authorities have, without difficulty, broken up these Combinations, and I only notice the matter because of the comparatively large Militia force (amounting to above Six hundred men) alleged to have been engaged in their suppression. This force was concentrated at a place called "Shelbyville," close to the United States boundary line, and distant about two days' March from Fort Jessup.

Had the project of Annexation been favourable to the interests of the traders resident at Corpus Christi, I have good grounds for apprehending that United States' troops would, before this time, have been camped on the Texan territory. If I have not been misinformed, it was suggested to the traders that, if they would manage to "get up" a pretext for their presence, they would soon be forthcoming.

I have been told that, after the failure of the Treaty of Annexation in the Senate of the United States' Congress, General Henderson, the Special Minister of this Republic at Washington, recommended President Tyler to take Military possession of Texas. This has been conveyed to me from a usually well-informed source. General Henderson is at present in Eastern Texas, where he resides.

On the 20th Instant, Commodore Moore attended a public dinner in Galveston, in full uniform, from which and the current reports, the fact of his acquittal by the Court Martial may be assumed. The sentence will not be made public until the Meeting of Congress.

The death of General Howard has left this Country without a representative of any Foreign Power. A Mr Barton of Louisiana, is mentioned as the probable successor of the late Chargé d' Affaires of the United States. The "*New Orleans Republican*"—(an Administration Journal) recommends the selection of Mr Barton for a Mission "the importance of which cannot be underrated by any Citizen of the United States,"—because, "it is peculiarly fit that the Minister who will be called upon to vindicate the rights of this Section of the Union, by watching and frustrating English Abolitionism, should be one identified with Southern interests."

Although some returns are still wanting from the outlying Counties on Red River, it is admitted on all sides, that Mr Anson Jones has been elected to the Presidency, and by a considerable Majority.—Should the Country again retain its independence, persons supposed to have an early knowledge of these Matters say that General Houston will reappear as a candidate for the Presidential Office, after Mr Jones has served his time. Mr Jones owes his election to Houston's influence, and to the impression, which he has himself countenanced, that he will follow in his (Houston's) footsteps.

The sultry season, which, this year, commenced in May, and of which even the Southern born have complained, as being unusually oppressive, is at an end, and the relaxed European frame derives renewed vigour from the bracing Northern breezes. The earth has been prodigal of its returns to the farmer,—want is a stranger to the resident population, and nothing is required but peace—assured and unshaken peace—to make "the wilderness blossom like the rose."

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

William Kennedy.

P. S. By a letter from Paris. I learn that Mr. Ashbel Smith has announced his intention to return to Texas next Spring.—A Paris paper—"*La Siècle*"—speculates upon Texas being placed

under the "protection" of France, as an arrangement to be desired.—The point has been noticed by a New Orleans paper.

September 26th.

The Steam Schooner for New Orleans, with characteristic regularity still lingers in Port.

About ten days ago, President Houston was on his way from Eastern Texas to the Seat of Government.

At the Public Dinner given in Galveston, a few days ago, to Commodore Moore, the Second Toast from the Chair was.—The Annexation of Texas to the United States.

George Bancroft, the able historian of the United States, and at present a Candidate for the office of Governor of the State *Massachussetts*, has published a letter in advocacy of Annexation, which has been warmly applauded by part of the Galveston Press.

W. K.

KENNEDY TO ADDINGTON³

Separate.

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston, September 24th. 1844.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose a letter addressed to His Royal Highness, Prince Albert,⁴ and sent to me for transmission by M. Bourgeau d' Orvanne,⁵ who accompanied the Prince of Solms,⁶ on his visit to this Country.

M. d' Orvanne, has thought proper to offer explanations with regard to certain engagements to which he is a party, which explanations he appears to consider due to Her Majesty's Government.—I, therefore, take leave to submit herewith a Copy of the Communication addressed to me by that gentleman, merely

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

⁴Not found.

⁵Bourgeois d' Orvanne, a French migration agent, who was largely instrumental in forwarding German emigration to Texas. He appears frequently in Texan correspondence with France, and with the Hanse Towns. Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, in Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1908, II.

⁶An active promoter of German emigration to Texas. He also held the title of Lord of Braunfels, and founded the town of New Braunfels, Texas. He was a stepson of the English Duke of Cumberland who was an uncle of Queen Victoria and in 1844 King of Hanover. Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1549, in Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1908, II.

premising that of his arrangements, or affairs, I know nothing beyond the fact that, two or three years ago, he obtained a Conditional grant of land, for Colonizing from the Government of Texas—I had a similar grant—as you Sir, will doubtless remember—but my subsequent appointment as Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston, led me to doubt the expediency of acting upon it. Well acquainted with the jealous disposition of the North American Republicans, and not ignorant that the best intentions afford no sure protection from interested, or malicious misrepresentation, I decided on relinquishing my interest in the grant, which I did,—retaining no share of its advantages, direct or indirect.

Subsequent observation has satisfied me that this decision was the more convenient one for the public service. Mr Clay, in his letter on the Texan question, dated 17th of April last, has declared that he would regard it as the imperative duty of the Government of the United States to prevent, if necessary by an appeal to arms, the Colonizing of Texas by any European Nation. Without presuming to weigh the intrinsic justice, or practical efficacy of this declaration, I could not but perceive that, by a very slight exercise of perverted ingenuity and bold asseveration, an excitable people might be brought to believe that the private enterprize of a foreign Agent had originated in the "Ambitious designs" of the Country to which he belonged.

The never-ending clamour respecting "British influence" and "interference," which is heard in this part of the world, must be my apology for travelling into personal details

William Kennedy.

Henry U. Addington, Esq.

P. S.

The Prince of Solms has accompanied President Houston to a place appointed for arranging a Treaty with the Comanche Indians.

W. K.

ORVANNE TO KENNEDY⁷

[Enclosure]

San Antonio de Bexar.

Copy.

30th. August 1844.

Dear Sir.

It is painful to inform you of a fact as unexpected as extra-

ordinary. The German Association forgetting the Conditions of the Contract entered into between themselves and me, which bound us together, has violated the Condition of our joint obligation.

I would not give you this notice, if, in soliciting the favour of the English Government, I had not taken on myself the responsibility of all the acts of the Association. Now, I am compelled to decline this same responsibility

“Signed” A. S. Borgeau d’ Orvanne.

P. S.

Be pleased to forward the enclosed letter to His Royal Highness Prince Albert.

[Endorsed.] In Mr Consul Kennedy’s letter to Mr. Under Secretary Addington, marked “Separate” and dated Sept 24th. 1844.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁸

Private.

Her Majesty’s Consulate.

Galveston, September 30th. 1844.

My Lord,

Information has been conveyed, by a private channel, from the Seat of Government, that the Attorney General (Mr Terrell) of whom I wrote to Your Lordship on the 9th Instant, is nominated to succeed Mr Ashbel Smith as Chargé d’ Affaires in England; that Major Reilly,⁹ who represented this Republic in the United States, about two year ago, is to resume his former functions at Washington; and that Mr Ashbel Smith is likely to be elected to fill the Office of Secretary of State, under the newly chosen President, Mr Anson Jones.

Mr Terrell’s nomination is considered by those who mention it adverse to Annexation.—He came to Texas from Tennessee, of which State General Houston was at one period Governor.—His understanding is good, his education he owes mainly to himself, and as a public Man he has the reputation of being straightforward and sincere. I first met him in the beginning of the year 1842; and all that I know of his course of Conduct is creditable to his judgment and public spirit.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

William Kennedy.

⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

⁹James Reilly, Texan chargé d’ affaires at Washington, D. C., from March to August, 1842.

P. S.

By the last accounts from the Seat of Government, it appears that President Houston has proceeded towards the Northern frontier, for the purpose of making a Treaty with the Chiefs of the Comanche Indians, long hostile to Texas.

W. K.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁰

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate.
Galveston, October 2d. 1844.

My Lord,

The continued delay of the Steam Schooner "Republic" enables me to add this to the Communications of previous dates which I have had the honor to address to Your Lordship.

General Duff Green,¹¹ whose name is known in England as an American advocate of free trade views, arrived at this place late in the evening of the 29th Instant. He left the United States in the War Steamer "Union," for the purpose of proceeding, by way of Galveston to Vera Cruz, with despatches from his Government to the American Legation in Mexico. The "Union" having, it is said, sustained some damage in her Machinery, and the weather being stormy, General Green was landed at Velasco, at the Mouth of the river Brazos, whence he reached Galveston. Soon after his arrival, he arranged for proceeding to Vera Cruz, in the United States Cutter "Woodbury," which left this Port, with him on board, yesterday afternoon.

On his return from the City of Mexico, General Green is to enter upon the duties of United States Consul at Galveston, to which office he has been appointed. At the date of his leaving Washington, the United States Government were not apprized of the death of General Howard, their late Chargé d' Affaires in Texas.

Persons professing to speak from authority intimate that the Missives of which General Green is the bearer are by no means of

¹⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

¹¹Duff Green, b. 1780 [approx.] d. 1875. Though educated for the law, he early became a newspaper writer and proprietor, conducting the administration organ (*The United States Telegram*) at Washington during Jackson's first term. He later became a follower and partisan of Calhoun and was a vigorous advocate of the annexation of Texas. (Appleton, *Cyclopedia of American Biography*.)

a conciliatory character towards Mexico. The payment of the portion of the indemnity owing to the United States will, it is said, be strongly urged, nor will the affairs of Texas be forgotten.

General Duff Green has already tasked his skill as a Newspaper writer in sustaining the pretensions of General Burleson to the Presidency of Texas, and I am disposed to think that his ability as a Journalist, and political Manager have weighed as deeply in his appointment to Galveston, as with his desire, or his qualifications, for the Consular office.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ADDINGTON¹²

Separate.

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston., October 24th 1844.

Sir,

In reference to my Despatch marked "Separate," and dated the 24th Ultimo, I have the honor to inform you that the Prince of Solms, arrived in Galveston on the 12th Instant. It appeared that the account of his having accompanied President Houston to the Indian Treaty Ground, was incorrect. It had been his intention to accompany the President, but the unexpectedly sudden departure of the latter prevented him from carrying his intention into effect. The Prince is still in Galveston, and I only regret that the circumstances of the Country do not enable me to render his stay more agreeable

As I was inclined to anticipate, I find, on conversing with the Prince of Solms, that M. Bourgeois d' Orvanne had no just ground of complaint against the German Association. The facts seem to stand thus: The German Association, desirous to aid emigrants of their Country, arranged with M. Bourgeois d' Orvanne to avail themselves, for this purpose, of his grant of land from the government of Texas. This grant, as I mentioned on the 24th Ultimo, was conditional. To avoid forfeiture, it was requisite that a specified number of families should be placed upon the lands within a specified time, or the grant itself renewed. The Contractor (M. B. de O.) having failed to fulfill

¹²F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

either of these conditions, forfeited his grant, and was consequently unable to execute his part of the arrangements between himself and the German Association, who, as the matter presents itself to me, are more "sinned against than sinning"

The Association have arranged to avail themselves of another conditional grant, obtained by a Mr. Fisher, and the Prince of Solms is in expectation of the early arrival of a portion of the German emigrants at Galveston—To plant successfully the *first* body of European Settlers, in the unpeopled region of the West, will be a difficult undertaking—and I fear that the Association have been somewhat slow to perceive the character of the Measures essential to its success. They have, however, an able and active representative in the Prince of Solms, and it is by no means too late to retrieve the effects of past miscalculation. Their object is every way laudable, and it were a pity that they should not succeed.

William Kennedy

Henry U. Addington, Esqr.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹³

Separate.

Philadelphia October 28th 1844

My Lord,

I have the honor to report that I shall set out to my post between the 7th and 10th Proximo, after having passed a few days with Mr Pakenham at Washington, to which place I am about to proceed on the 1st Proximo.

I take this occasion to mention to Your Lordship that I have received a few private lines from Mr Anson Jones, the Secretary of State in Texas, dated on the 24th September, confirming the accounts of his success in the late Presidential election in that Country.

May I request that any despatches to my address may once more be addressed to the care of Her Majesty's Consul at New Orleans.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honorable,
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.,
Downing Street.

¹³F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁴

No 26.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston, October 29th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose two copies of a Return of Charges on British Vessels, at the Port of Galveston, in accordance with the terms of Your Lordship's Circular Despatch, dated June 13th 1844, and received by me on the 21st Instant.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

No. 1¹⁵

A Return Of all the Tolls, Dues, Fees and other Charges imposed by Public Authority on British Shipping, in the Port of Galveston, Republic of Texas.

Custom House Charges

Tonnage Duty. Sixty cents per ton, according to registered Tonnage.

Entrance. For every Ship, or Vessel, of less than One Hundred tons burthen—One dollar and a half—For each Ship or Vessel, of one hundred tons and upwards—Two dollars and a half.

Clearance. The same fees as for entrances.

Post Entries. For each post entry, two dollars.

Permits Permit to land goods—twenty Cents; to load goods for exportation, that may be entitled to debenture, or other official certificate—twenty cents.

Any Bond taken officially Forty Cents.

For every document required by any Merchant, owner, or Shipmaster. not before enumerated—Twenty cents.

Pilotage

The rates of Pilotage at Galveston are regulated by Act of Congress:

On all vessels drawing less than eight feet water, Two dollars

¹⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

Fifty Cents per foot—On all vessels drawing eight feet water and more Three dollars per foot.

Pilots detained waiting on vessels, bound for Sea, or vessels prevented from entering Port, by contrary winds, or otherwise, are entitled to Three dollars a day, for each day's detention, after the first four and twenty hours.

Any Pilot taking charge of a vessel in distress, from the loss of anchors, spars or rudder, will be entitled to such compensation, as the Collector of Customs, under the circumstances of the case, may think proper to award.

Any Pilot speaking a vessel inward bound outside the Bar, or a vessel outward bound inside the Bar, and offering his services, will be entitled to full pilotage, whether his services be accepted or not.

Any Pilot speaking a vessel inward bound inside the Bar, is entitled, if employed to half pilotage:—if not employed he is entitled to no pilotage.

Any Pilot speaking a vessel fifteen miles from Shore, is entitled to twenty-five per Cent, more than the regular rates of off shore pilotage.

Any vessel after waiting outside the Bar for four hours, with a Signal for a Pilot flying, may enter the Port free from pilotage charges.

Charges under the Galveston incorporation Acts and City Ordinances

Passenger Tax. For the purpose of establishing and maintaining a public Hospital, the Mayor and Aldermen of Galveston are empowered to exact from the Master, Owner, or Consignee of any vessel, steam boat, or other craft, arriving from a Foreign Port, the Sum of One dollar for every free White passenger.

Harbour Master. The Harbour Master is entitled to receive one Cent and a half per ton, according to registered tonnage.

Port Wardens. Scale of Port Wardens' Fees: Survey of damaged goods—Five dollars per diem. Survey of hatches—Two dollars. Survey of Stowage—Two dollars. Copying Certificates—One dollar each Copy.

Ten dollars per diem for all services rendered beyond the City limits, with payment of travelling expences.

Vouchers

Vouchers are given for all charges on Shipping at the Port of Galveston.

No 2.

An Account of all the Charges which are levied on British Vessels at Galveston, and which are not levied on Vessels under the Texan Flag, together with a Statement of any Commercial, fiscal, or other advantages, enjoyed by Texan Vessels from which British Vessels are excluded.

Coasting Trade

The privilege of the Coasting Trade, with freedom from Tonnage duties, is, by a recent Act of Congress, granted exclusively to vessels bearing the Texan Flag. This is the only advantage possessed by such Vessels over British Ships.

William Kennedy.

Galveston

October 29th 1844.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁸

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston, October 30th 1844.

My Lord,

In a Communication dated the 2d Inst I had the honor, to inform Your Lordship of the arrival of General Duff Green at Galveston, his appointment as Consul at this Port, and departure for Vera Cruz, in the United States Cutter "Woodbury." General Green has not returned, nor has a Chargé d' Affaires from the United States yet arrived in Texas to fill the vacancy created by the death of General Howard. Mr Donaldson, a relative of General Jackson, is, according to confident rumor, to fill the Office.

The Annexation papers, in this part of the Country, are censuring the appointment of Judge Terrell as Minister to England, although the appointment has not, up to this time, been publicly announced. They complain that he will misrepresent the popular sentiment in regard to their favourite Measure

¹⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

President Houston returned to the Seat of Government on the 15th Instant, from the Waco Village, where he met the heads of the Comanche and other Indian Tribes, for the purpose of forming a treaty.—Captain Boon,¹⁷ of the United States Army, attended as a Commissioner from his Government. The Texan papers say that a satisfactory Treaty has been concluded between Texas, and the Comanches, with “ten other of the wild Indian Tribes.” The President was to leave the Seat of Government on the 21st Instant, to join his family on the river Trinity

The “*Galveston Civilian*”.—the Government paper, which is usually considered an authority for official intelligence, states that Lieut. Stevens, of the United States Army, arrived at Washington (Texas) on the 12th Instant, bearing despatches from Washington in the United States, “represented to be of a character favourable to Texas.”

Some of the Texan prisoners released by the Mexican Government have arrived at Galveston.

According to recent accounts from the West, all is quiet on the Rio Grande.—And a Mexican invasion is no longer to be apprehended. The people of the departments bordering upon Texas, are, it is said, much more desirous of Commercial intercourse than War

Mr Anson Jones had a Majority of about fifteen hundred votes over General Burleson, at the late election for the Presidency Until the result of the Presidential election in the United States is known here, there is likely to be a pause in political agitation.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S.

The Brig “Rover” by which I transmitted a letter marked “Private” and dated the 9th Ultimo, was, I find, thirty two days in reaching New Orleans.

W. K.

¹⁷Captain Boone, United States commissioner to the Indians in 1844. Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 310, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁸*Private.*

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston, November 12th. 1844.

My Lord,

Major Donaldson, whose probable appointment to the Office of Chargé d' Affaires of the United States in Texas, I mentioned in a Communication which I had the honor to address to Your Lordship on the 30th Ultimo, arrived in Galveston on the 10th instant.—In the hurry of his departure for this Country, he has found it necessary to await the transmission of the documents which usually accompany an Officer of his Class.—At this place, I have had an opportunity of conversing with him, and, so far as that opportunity presented grounds for an opinion, he seemed to be a person, well adapted to promote the main object of his Mission among the people of Texas. His solicitude for "Annexation" is, I understand, quite as lively as might be anticipated from a Nephew of General Andrew Jackson.

The only intelligence that has transpired respecting General Duff Green and his movements, since he sailed from Galveston, is in a paragraph of the "Pensacola Gazette," which mentions that—"the United States Brig of War "Lawrence," sailed from Pensacola on the 13th Ultio for Vera Cruz, to await the return of General Duff Green from the City of Mexico, and should he have despatches—to convey him, or them, to any port of the United States which may be designated."

All the Texan prisoners in Mexico have been liberated with the exception of one—of Mexican origin—and the greater part of them arrived at this Port, from New Orleans, on the 10th Instant.

If my memory deceive me not, during an interview with which I was honored by Your Lordship about two years ago, I adverted to the circumstance of Don Manuel Godoy (el Principe de la Paz¹⁹) being resident in Paris, where I understood he sub-

¹⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

¹⁹Godoy, b. at Badajoz, 1764, d. at Paris, 1851. He was a Spanish nobleman of inferior rank, who under Charles IV of Spain, held almost supreme power from 1792 to 1807. A fictitious genealogy fabricated for Godoy when at the height of his power, made him a descendant of Montezuma. After Napoleon I seized Spain, Godoy's part in Spanish affairs

sisted on a small pension, allowed him by His Majesty the King of the French.—It appears by the Spanish Journals, that the exile, in his Seventy Seventh year, has returned to Madrid, and the credit of his restoration is claimed here for M. de Saligny, French Chargé de Affaires in Texas. The matter attracts notice, as it has been alleged that the "Province of Texas," previous to the year 1804, was ceded to Don Manuel by Charles IV.

President Houston will remain with his family on the Trinity until the last of this Month—about which time Mr. Ashbel Smith, who has been offered the appointment of Secretary of State, is expected to arrive from Europe.

It is said that Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires, and the Chargé d' Affaires of France will soon return to their posts. I trust I shall be pardoned for saying that their residence at the Seat of Government, at least during the approaching Legislative Session, will be highly desirable. I am instructed to believe that it had been better, as regards the question of Annexation, if they could have been at Washington, between the close of the Presidential Election and the Meeting of the Texan Congress. Mr Anson Jones, Secretary of State, and President elect, writing to me, on the 2d Instant, observes.—"I am truly sorry your Government have not an accredited Minister here, at this time."

By a letter from a trust-worthy Correspondent, dated, New Orleans, October 24th, I am informed that,—"large quantities of Military Stores, Waggons, etc., were being forwarded, by the Government of the United States, to the Texan frontier on the Red River." The writer surmises these preparations—"to be intended to counteract Mexican movements."

It is a standing assumption of the leading advocates of Annexation that the British Government, in their prudential anxiety for peace, will make no *determined* stand against the Measure.

Mr. Terrell (late Attorney General) whose name, as an opponent of Annexation, I have brought under Your Lordship's Notice, in various Communications,—commencing as early as the 31st of May last,—is at present in Galveston, waiting the departure of the Steamer for New Orleans. He is instructed to proceed as expeditiously as the state of his health will permit, to

ended. He lived in Paris from 1835 until his death. Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*.

Europe, where he is to undertake the duties hitherto executed by Mr Ashbel Smith. To what I have already said of him I think it necessary only to add that possessing, as I believe he does, a becoming sense of self respect, he is a modest and unobtrusive Man, and, in harmony with that character, will, I doubt not, feel all the more acutely the gratefulness of the considerate courtesy which Your Lordship, notwithstanding the anomalies of Texan politics, is sure to extend to him.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁰

Separate.

Philadelphia, November 13th 1844

My Lord,

Previously to my departure to my post I should mention to Your Lordship that I have recently visited Mr. Pakenham; and pending further Commands I shall of course guide myself in the spirit of the Instructions which he has done me the honor to impart to me. I proceed tomorrow, and I have the honor to be.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable,

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²¹

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Galveston, December 5th. 1844.

My Lord,

On the 28th Ultimo, the United States Schooner "Woodbury" arrived at this Port, from Vera Cruz, having on board General Duff Green, with despatches for the United States Chargé d' Affaires to this Country, and his son, Mr. Benjamin E. Green, Secretary of the American Legation at Mexico, also with despatches for his own Government. The latter left Galveston for New Orleans, by the Steam packet of the 30th ultimo,—the former proceeded, on the 3d Instant, to the Seat of Government at Wash-

²⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

²¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

ington on the Brazos, where he still remains,—having appointed a Vice-Consul to transact his official business at this place.

On his arrival at Galveston, General Duff Green communicated to the local Journals an abstract of Mexican news, including, among other Matters, an announcement that it was the purpose of Mexico—"to exterminate the present inhabitants of Texas, without regard to age, sex, or condition"—for the reason that—"Mexico sees in the conduct of the Governments of Presidents Jackson and Tyler, and the Southern people of the United States, cause to apprehend still further encroachments on its territory."²²

I have learned, from competent sources, that it will not be owing to General Green's endeavours as a peace-maker if events do not justify the alleged apprehensions of Mexico.—He has urged more than one Member of the Texan Congress, during his sojourn at Galveston, to declare for the invasion of Mexico—with the view that further territorial aggrandizement,—(even it is said, Southward and Westward of the Rio Grande),—should accompany the Annexation of Texas to the Confederacy of the North.—Before the "espousals" are perfected, it is desired that the bride should bring a still more ample dowry. Nor does it seem likely that the affianced will be backward in supplying needful aid for the accomplishment of this provident object. A Correspondent on whom I can rely thus addresses me from a locality in the United States favourable to apposite observation.

—"Be assured that no child's play operations are at hand. The present moment demands all the devotion and energy of British Servants in this quarter. The accumulation of Military Stores on your frontier still goes on. And Arms, Ammunition, Camp equipage and Ordnance Stores for ten thousand men have already reached Fort Jessup. Mr Calhoun and his party, or section of a party, would prefer war with England to the non-acquisition of Texas, and, to precipitate that calamity upon the United States, or to commit some iniquitous overt act, from which

²²In fact, however, Santa Anna in November, 1844, had announced to Great Britain the conditions upon which he would recognize Texan independence, had asked British aid, and promised that all preparations for attacking Texas should be suspended. F. O., Mexico, 177. Bankhead to Aberdeen, No. 102, November 29, 1844. For text of Santa Anna's proposal, as translated by Bankhead, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 188.

the pride of the people would be unwilling to recede, is, in my opinion the end and aim of the present Administration."

The same Correspondent further remarks—"Texas, it is now sufficiently apparent, is the Key to Mexico, and the fall of the latter and its subjugation by these States are talked of here in a way not to be misunderstood by any but those who are too wise in their own conceit to derive instruction from what is passing around them."

A follower of Mr Calhoun's, General Hamilton, formerly of South Carolina and of some political note, especially as a fervid professor of Free Trade opinions—has published a letter addressed to Mr Webster, in which he sets forth reasons why the New England and Middle States should favour the Annexation of Texas to the Union.—He confines himself to the *argumentum ad crumenam*, which he winds up by a hint that the South might not be indisposed, in return for Northern concurrence, in its Texan views—to adopt an Anti-European Tariff. In his appeal to the Manufacturing heart of Massachusetts, General Hamilton parades with all the emphasis of typography the vulgar metaphor for unreasoning avarice."

"After all, Mr Webster" inquires the General—"What, in the vast advent of ages is the privilege to our Government of *planting its Custom House in Texas, and hoisting on its flagstaff the Close fist of our American System, and excluding Great Britain from all Competition?*"—

The American imagination eagerly anticipates the day, predicted by Humboldt, when the products of European industry should be excluded from this Continent.—It takes at times even a more self-exalting range, and, by means of Settlements on the North Western Shores of the Pacific, dreams of creating a commercial dominion in India and China. I should not be surprised if American Missionaries were to prove as willing instruments of National aggrandizement as the Missionaries of France are apparently expected to be by many of their secular patrons.

A work worthy of the scientific munificence of France, lately published in Paris, seems entitled to particular notice at the present Juncture. The title of the work is "*Exploration du Territoire de L' Orégon, de Californies et de la Mer Vermeille*":—it was executed during the Years 1840, 1841 and 1842, by M.

Duflot de Mofras,²³ an *Attaché* of the Legation of France in Mexico, and has been published by order of the King, under the auspices of the President of the Council, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Were other evidences wanting, it would indicate that the French Government is not indifferent to the destinies of this Continent, although there are well-informed Americans in this quarter quick to allege that His Majesty the King of the French has declared that there will be no interference, *as regards the question of Annexation*, on the Part of the Power of which he is the Executive head. M. de Mofras has been so kind as to transmit to me a copy of his work, and I have observed that the Marquesas and Tahiti seem to be laid down on one of his brilliant Charts not merely as convenient touching-points for Whalers, but a "Stepping-Stones" to China.

It appears to me that the question of Annexation will be graduated in its progress by the relations of parties in the United States. It may, on the one hand, be assumed that Mr. Tyler is anxious to draw from it all the political capital it is capable of bringing to an advocate of the Measure,—and, on the other hand, that the Northern Section of the democratic voters for Mr. Polk will be not less anxious to secure that Capital than their own Man and their own party. As Matters now stand, the strength lies with the latter, and the only opening left to Mr. Tyler, is apparently some audacious and unexpected Move—Such as war with Mexico—that would produce an embarrassment of affairs, and leave warm work and divided laurels for his successor.

The Polk party, or rather the Jackson party, are in the ascendant here, as well as in the United States,—the New President, Mr. Anson Jones, owing his election almost entirely to the support of General Houston. The present United States', *Chargé d' Affaires* in Texas is General Jackson's Nephew, and the particular friend of Mr. Polk.—General Duff Green may be designated the representative of Mr. Tyler—while the latter exhorts the Texans to instant invasion of Mexico, the former probably contents himself with concerting Measures of united action between this and the Northern Republic, to be carried into effect after Mr

²³Duflot de Mofras. His book is that of a traveller and observer, and such ideas of French action as are presented are wholly directed to the expansion of French interests in the Pacific.

Polk's induction to the Presidential Office, on the 4th of March next.

Major Donaldson (United States Chargé d' Affaires to Texas) arrived at the Seat of Government on the 21st ultimo.—On the 29th he delivered his letter of credence to the Secretary of State, and, on the same day, was presented, in his official capacity, to the (then) President—Complimentary speeches were exchanged on each of these occasions, Generals Jackson and Houston were respectively lauded, and Annexation was insinuated in the language of bland allusion. I quote a sentence from the published reply of Mr Anson Jones—which commands notice from the Speaker's position as President Elect. He refers to the assurances given by Major Donaldson of "the Sincere desire of the President of the United States to improve and render stable the good understanding now existing between the two Republics."

"The sameness of the origin and interests of the two Countries by which you have so kindly alluded"—(said Mr Jones)—"has led the people of this, on all occasions, to desire the maintenance of the most friendly relations; and if the hope which they have sometimes indulged, that these considerations might lead to the accomplishment of a common destiny, should be disappointed, I trust they will not be lost in their influences upon either Country, in the preservation of those paramount principles which they hold in common keeping."

The Congress of Texas, called upon by law to assemble on the 2d Instant, was duly organized on the 3d.—The retiring President (Houston) sent in a Message on the 4th, which is chiefly remarkable for the quietude with which it passes by the topic of Annexation. Of this Message I shall have the honor to enclose a copy.

On Monday the 9th Instant Mr Anson Jones is to enter upon the discharge of his duties as President.

Galveston. December 16th.

On the 6th Instant. Her Majesty's Ship "Spartan" Commanded by the Hon. Charles Elliot, appeared off this Port, and on the following day, Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires to this Republic, who was on board the "Spartan" came ashore. He remained at Galveston until the 12th, when he left for Washington on the

Brazos, which he would probably reach about the 20th Instant. In consequence of the return of Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires, this Correspondence, which was commenced by me, under instruction, on the 31st of May last, will terminate with the present letter.

The United States Schooner "Woodbury," remained in the Harbour until the 11th Instant, on which day a vessel, understood to be the United States Sloop of War "Falmouth," appeared off the Bar, and made signal to the "Woodbury" to join her, which she did, and the two vessels put out to Sea in company. The Lieutenant in Command of the "Woodbury," when in port, spoke of Annexation as inevitable, and said that, within two Months, the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa would be occupied by troops of the United States.—I mention this only as an additional indication that President Tyler is for War with Mexico. Mr Tyler's Annual Message has not yet reached Galveston.

On the 14th Instant, a vessel (the second this season) arrived from Bremen, conveying German Emigrants for the Colony which the Prince of Solms is engaged in settling in Western Texas. The emigrants appear to possess the proper requisites for life in the wilds.

Galveston, December 18th

Another vessel, with settlers for the Colony of the German Association, appeared in the Roads on yesterday.

I enclose a copy of the late President's Message, and a copy of the Inaugural Address delivered by President Jones. In neither of these documents is the word "Annexation" to be found.²⁴

There is one aspect of affairs which (if I may presume to offer an opinion) may render Texas too important a point to be lightly regarded in the progress of diplomatic arrangements.—The United States may have gone so far in respect to Annexation as to be unwilling to bear what might be deemed the humiliation of retreat. This possible obstacle to the adoption of more moderate Councils would be removed by the refusal of Texas to negotiate farther for incorporation into the Union.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

William Kennedy.

²⁴Printed copies of Houston's message, December 4, 1844, and Jones' inaugural address, December 9, 1844.

P. S. Galveston Decr. 21st.

I have the honor to enclose a copy of President Houston's Farewell Address,²⁵ which has just come to hand.

A public Meeting in favour of "Annexation" was held in Matagorda County on the 7th Inst. The "opposition" papers urge other Counties to follow example.

Major Donaldson, United States Chargé d' Affaires, arrived here on yesterday from the Seat of Government and leaves today in the Steamer for New Orleans. General Duff Green remains at Washington on the Brazos.

W. K.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²⁶

Private.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston, December 6th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose to Your Lordship a copy of a communication forwarded to me on the 3rd Instant, by the Prince of Solms, at present in this Country, with a copy of my reply to that communication, bearing this day's date.

I have had opportunities of knowing that the Prince of Solms, is an acute observer of passing events, and of recognizing fitness for the arduous enterprize of planting European Settlements in the wastes of Texas.

In despatch No. 21 of this years series, dated 9th September, and addressed to Your Lordship, I bore favourable testimony to the character of German emigration to this Country. Still greater success may be anticipated for that emigration when conducted under the auspices of so respectable and enlightened a body as the German Association represented by the Prince of Solms. Their first company of Colonists, which arrived here lately, from Bremen, in the Ship "John Dethard," is composed of persons that would be a Valuable acquisition to any Country where extensive tracts of unoccupied land solicit the labours of the husbandman. To the introduction of such Colonists, on however large a scale, no sensible friend of independent Texas would, I conceive, offer any obstacle.

²⁵Printed copy of Houston's farewell address, December 9, 1844.

²⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

The lands appropriated for the German Colonization lie towards the West, and are exposed to the troubles of that Frontier. For this reason,—and without looking to the very serious contingency alluded to by the Prince of Solms,—it is desirable that the Settlers should be well armed and equipped. In the absence of due provision against aggression, a single Indian inroad might break up the first establishments, and affect disastrously the entire plan of the Association.

The Prince of Solms is in expectation of the early arrival of three additional vessels, bringing emigrants from Germany.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

PRINCE OF SOLMS TO KENNEDY²⁷

Copy.

On board the Texan Revenue Cutter
"Alert," Galveston Bay, Decr 3d. 1844

Dear and Honoured Sir.

I am hardly on board this vessel and under sail for Matagorda Pass, before I take the pen to express to you the regret I feel that our last conversation, before my hasty departure, could only be so short a one.

The more I think of what General Duff Green, the United States Consul, expressed to me this morning, during the long visit with which he honoured me, the more important I think it, that you, dear Sir, as the only representative of Her Britannick Majesty in this country at the moment, should have every possible knowledge of what at present is going on.

I am too well acquainted with your activity in Her Majesty's Service, to suppose that I can tell you any thing you had not heard and appreciated long before, but I think it always good (in important matters) to hear even the same thing from different people, and in all different ways; you are by that the more able to make some new discovery, or to look at a question on a side you might not have remarked before. Let me then, Dear Sir, give you a report of what General Duff Green was kind enough to communicate to me this morning.

General Green began by praising the enterprize of Colonization

²⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.

which brought me to this country, and even called it a laudable one. This was the first thing that made me infer that the noble General is as true a Yankee as any one living, because I am fully convinced that he wishes me and my good German Emigrants any where else than in this country. He then proceeded with some flattering remarks about my own humble person, which were shot off to make me sure of his good intentions towards me and my native country. The next thing he tried was to get out of me my opinion about "Annexation."—My answer was that I had heard a great deal about Annexation, and that I really could not tell what might be the result; but that I remembered having heard, before I left Europe, that this could be a case of war between the European power and the United States.—On that point, he told me, I was mistaken, because the United States had received notice from France, that this Power would not interfere at all in the question.—The General now began to speak about the existing state of affairs in Mexico, expressing his belief that Santa Anna was strong enough to overpower the recent attempt at Revolution, but that, whichever party proved victorious, Mexico was pledged to invade Texas,—to make it a desert, and to exterminate the inhabitants, men, women, and children; not even sparing the child in the mother's womb!—As the noble General saw me smiling at the eccentric idea, he stopped to enquire what I believed of this matter. Forbidden, of course, by politeness, from replying—"nothing"!—I contented myself by intimating a modest doubt that such a thing could be done in our days—it being what the French call,—"*hors de saison*."—The General, however, assured me that his statements were exactly true, and declared his intention to proceed himself, this day, to Washington on the Brazos, to communicate the same to the gentlemen now assembled in Congress.

General Green next urged me to open a correspondence with the Russian Consul at Matamoros, for the purpose of being always "*au fait*" of the movements of the Mexican army and fleet. The General must have made extraordinary discoveries, as he gave me even the details of the plan of invasion which Santa Anna will follow, for the purpose of "extirpating" the Texan women and children.—One part of the army is to enter by the Rio Grande, steam-boats, with supplies, following the same along the

line of coast; a plan which would leave all the force of this country assembled on their flank. The second part of the Mexican army is to land at Galveston, and proceed, by way of Houston, to the interior. The deduction drawn by General Green from all this is that (the hostile intentions of Mexico being known) Texas ought at once, to take up the game, and carry the war—the sooner the better—into the enemies' Country.

The noble General was now so kind as to ask my opinion on all this. I answered that, under these circumstances, an invasion of Mexico would be a very natural step, but that I did not quite perceive from what source Texas would draw the means to undertake the war. He told me this,—the General said—he was not authorized, but he asked me whether the United States, so closely connected with Texas, would ever permit such a thing as extermination to be carried into effect; if they did permit it; it would throw everlasting shame upon their policy. What (he inquired)—would Germany do in a similar case—would it allow brothers and sons to be exterminated—would I suffer the Emigrants who had come out for me to be treated in this way? The conclusion drawn by General Green was that the war against Mexico ought to begin as early as possible, and that it was his duty to urge the people of this country to it—showing them the prospect that awaited them and their families.

General Green inquired when I should be at Washington on the Brazos,—because he would have further to communicate to me about the defence of Western Texas, as I was going to settle my Emigrants in that part. He was very anxious to get my opinion about the whole of his long talk, which I gave him in the few words that—, in the event of war,—I considered those sums of money which I had already expended, and those which I might expend, up to that time—as utterly lost.

“Well,”—said he—“that is just the impression I wished to take from you, and I beg and request of you to write to your friends in Germany not to be at all alarmed about it, because this war is a necessary crisis—nothing will be lost, and just exactly after the war you will go on the safer.”

—So far the conversation with the noble General, who wanted—
“de me tirer les vers par le nez.”

Now, my dear Sir, take the abundant quantity of nonsense

and humbug off from this conversation, and what does it amount to?—That General Duff Green who, if I am not mistaken, is on an express Mission to this Country, pushes, and urges, the people of Texas to war, promising every aid of money, or troops, from the United States, for the sake of “Annexation”; for if the United States’ troops are once within this territory, they will certainly not leave it voluntarily.—And may not the United States Government deem the present moment of internal difficulties in Mexico favourable for extending the boundaries even beyond the Rio Grande, and securing in this way, the whole trade of the Gulf?—I believe, dear Sir, that with our knowledge of Yankee character and head, we may indeed have reason for apprehension.

I am,—as you, dear Mr Kennedy, know; far from presuming to advise any political measures, but as you also know the especial interest which I feel in the welfare of Her Majesty, Your Most Gracious Queen, and the British Empire, you will excuse me if I ask you to take the following suggestions and observations into particular consideration, and to state, in your next despatches home, what of these you have found worthy of being mentioned.

I believe there is no doubt of the importance of this Country for the trade on the Gulf, and the United States, once in possession of it, will decidedly command the whole commerce upon those waters. The Rio Grande as the frontier between the United States and Mexico, will not long prevent the “go-a-head Yankee nation” from trying to possess the rich Mines of Chichuahua, if, as I before observed, the Government of the United States do not consider the present moment the most favourable for making the attempt. Knowing the character of the Americans, and their contempt of every European Power, one cannot be surprised at any mad, or desperate thing that may come on. Whether the design indicated happen in a few months, or in a few years, can it be indifferent to England,—nay to any European Nation?—And if not, how can it be prevented?

It appears to me that there is a very obvious step to be taken,—and that is to fill this Country, and especially the Western part of it, as soon as possible, with a large number of Europeans. And how can this be easily accomplished?—I am disposed to believe that the Association for Protecting German Emigrants in Texas could be of great use in the matter.

Should the enlightened Government of Her Majesty the Queen approve the idea, it would be easy to make some arrangement with the Direction of the said Association, and send, even by the end of next Spring, some twenty, or thirty, thousand individuals, well armed and equipped, to this Country. This number of men could be got in Germany, which suffers from a redundant population, that causes three times the amount to leave their native shore annually for the United States. English and German ships could carry them to this Country,—able and active young officers, of every arm, would accompany them. English arms—(by the testimony of every English officer, who served in the wars of the Peninsula)—were effective weapons in the hands of the German soldiers of the Legion. They would do as well to stop American encroachment towards the South. In fact, this force once established, I may pledge my word for the safety of the future, on this side.

At the present moment, the German Association has a right to introduce as many Emigrants into Texas as they are able to transport, and so large a number, promptly established, who will dare to drive them out? This is the moment for doing it, might it seem so to you—might Her Majesty's Ministers, if you think these ideas worthy of being transmitted to the other side of the Atlantic; see the real truth, and believe what I state from what we daily hear and see.

And so I send you this long letter, and suggest these thoughts to you, my dear Mr Kennedy.—My intentions, in placing all this before you, is a pure one; it is to serve my native country, as well as Great Britain—that noble Empire, always so nearly and faithfully allied with Germany, and, to show my zeal and solicitude for the service of your Most Gracious Queen, on whom may God bestow his richest blessings!

(Signed) Charles Prince of Solms.

William Kennedy, Esqr.

Her Britannick Majesty's Consul,
Galveston.

[Endorsed]. No. 1. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch marked "Private" of December 6th. 1844.

KENNEDY TO PRINCE OF SOLMS²⁸

[Enclosure.].

Her Majesty's Consulate.

Copy.

Galveston December 6th. 1844.

Dear Prince Charles,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your interesting communication, dated the 3rd Instant.

It will afford me great pleasure to be the medium of submitting the suggestions contained in your letter to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.—As an officer of that Government, I beg to tender my respectful acknowledgments of the friendly sentiments you have expressed towards the British Crown—Germany and England, as you remark, have always been “nearly and faithfully allied,” and who can doubt the permanence of an alliance whose basis has been, not merely a common interest, but harmony of a national character and reciprocal good faith?

Permit me to add that I very sensibly appreciate your obliging expressions with regard to myself.

William Kennedy.

To. H. S. H.

Charles Prince of Solms.

[Endorsed.] No. 2. In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch Marked
---“Private” of December 6th 1844.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁹

No 15.

Galveston December 10th. 1844.

My Lord,

I have the honour to report my arrival at this place on the 7th Instant in Her Majesty's Ship “Spartan” (sailed on the same day to Vera Cruz) and I shall proceed by the first opportunity to Washington.

The new President Mr. Anson Jones, will have been inaugurated yesterday, and I have no reason to think that there will be any material difference between the language of his communications to Congress, having any reference to annexation, and that of General Houston. The temper and turn of events in that Assembly cannot be spoken of, in the same way. Indeed it

²⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 10.²⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

must be superfluous to repeat to Your Lordship that the representations and influence of the Government of the United States will have great weight in that quarter, and there can be little doubt that strenuous efforts will continue to be used, to indispose the people of Texas from agreeing to any settlement recommended by the Governments of Her Majesty, and the King of the French.

So far as I can judge the purpose is less to forward immediate annexation, (or at least there is less hope of effecting that result immediately,) than to break up the prospect of any other arrangement, trusting perhaps to quarrels with Mexico, or future Contingencies, for some convenient opportunity of adjusting the question in the only way that adjustment would be agreeable to that section of the Democratic party now in office in the United States.

I may state that in connexion with that view that General Duff Greene (whose name and agency in the annexation agitation have probably already attracted Your Lordship's notice) has recently arrived here from the City of Mexico, on his return to the United States, and I have it confidentially from a reliable source that he has gone up to Washington with earest recommendations to this Government at once to renew vigorous offensive hostilities against Mexico, with proposals of an extensive nature for the further acquisition of territory and schemes for the raising of men and funds, founded upon those acquisitions.

There can be little or no doubt that the Government of Texas will turn aside from any projects of that kind, neither do I believe that they will be made by the Authority of the Government of the United States. But it is possible that these hints of probable difficulties between the United States and Mexico, arising out of the late discussions³⁰ between Mr. Shannon³¹ and Senor Rejon, and exaggerated statements of the disturbed condition of

³⁰Refers to the Shannon-Rejon correspondence, of 1844, in which both the American minister to Mexico and the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, had used imprudent and irritating language likely to stir enmity between the two nations.

³¹Wilson Shannon, b. 1802 in Ohio, d. 1877 in Kansas. Educated as a lawyer, he became Governor of Ohio, 1838-1840, and again 1842-1844. He was sent to Mexico as Minister in 1844. After two years as Representative in Congress, 1853-1855, he was appointed Territorial Governor of Kansas, 1855-1856. Appleton, *Cyclop. of Am. Biog.*

Mexico, may have a prejudicial effect on the dispositions of Congress here.

Reviewing the whole subject as attentively as I can, and with the limited means of judging comprehensively, open to me, (a circumstance for which I am sure Your Lordship will make full allowance in the case of error or misconception,) I certainly have formed the impression that a very advanced stage of this affair has now been reached. But although the power of effectual interference for the safe and honourable adjustment of this question appears to me to be rapidly passing away from Mexico, I still think that there is yet time and opportunity for decisive and advantageous action from that quarter, and I have availed Myself of the occasion of the "Spartan" to communicate my impressions to Mr Bankhead. If the people of Texas are indeed willing to be annexed to the United States, I see no better mode of meeting that emergency, and none more moderate or more just, than immediate proposals from Mexico adapted to the several contingencies of the safe and durable Independence of Texas, or suitable terms of annexation, or lastly, a secure truce, if this shall not be deemed to be a convenient Moment for permanent arrangement.

If events depended in any considerable degree upon the dispositions of this Government, I should have no serious apprehension of the result; but that is by no means the case, and I believe that Mexico must either shape it's proceedings to meet another state of facts, or resign herself to a combination of a very dangerous character, immediately considered, and probably still more so, in point of ulterior intention.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 17.²

Washington on the Brazos.

21st December 1844.

My Lord,

The Boat in which I left Galveston laid aground on the Bars

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

²F. O. Texas, 9. Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 16, December 20, 1844, has been omitted. It transmitted a printed copy of President Jones' message of December 16, 1844, and a copy of *The Texas National Register*, December 14, 1844.

between that place and Houston for a week, and hence my arrival here has been delayed till yesterday. But I avail myself of the first opportunity which presents itself, to report the tenor of a conversation I have this morning had with President Jones and Mr. Allen, the Attorney General temporarily charged with the State Department. They declared generally their decided opinions that the people of this Country would abandon all thought of annexation to the United States, if they could be formally certified of the recognition of their Independence by Mexico.

I believe that these are the sincere convictions of this Government, and if the Independence of the Country were recognized by Mexico, and it consisted with the power of this administration to direct or controul the subsequent course of the people of Texas, it is no doubt highly probable that the idea of annexation would soon be firmly replaced by wiser and more becoming principles. I am sure, at least, that the efforts of this Government in that sense, would be frankly and heartily made.

In making this admission I took the liberty, however, to remind the President that when General Houston first communicated to me the proposals of the Government of the United States in Ooctober 1843, I had ventured to express my inability to concur with them as to the dispositions of the people of Texas respecting annexation and my belief that they would not have it in their power to resist the popular impulses in that direction. Events had established the soundness of those impressions; and fully admitting their better means of judging of the probable movements of the people of Texas in any supposed contingency, I must confess that I was still unfortunate enough to differ from them on the point they had drawn into question, very materially indeed.

Whilst, therefore, it would be my duty to report the President's judgment to Your Lordship with whom it could not fail to have much more weight than my own, I should be compelled to add that I could not perceive there were any more sure grounds for thinking that the people of Texas were, or would be, less open to influence from the United States than they had hitherto been, and none whatever that that influence would not be actively employed in favour of annexation, or at all events against the accomplishment of settlement upon any other Views.

When, I should see both Houses of Congress joining in Resolutions, voted unanimously or by large majorities, declaring the inexpediency, not to use stronger terms, of ever entertaining further proposals from any quarter, having in view the sacrifice of the separate existence of the Country, I should admit that it was reasonable to depend upon the steadfastness of the people. And speaking for myself, I would add that I should consider such a movement to be conclusive of the whole question, for it had long been clear to me that the fate of the people of Texas was only in other hands, because they were pleased or led to leave it there.

The President knew much better than I did, that in the present temper of the public here, and so long as the annexation agitation existed in the United States it was out of the question to look for a different spirit in this quarter. He admitted that this was the case at present, but wished that Her Majesty's Government would transmit to me the proposals of which Your Lordship had spoken to Mr Ashbell Smith duly prepared for execution, with Instructions to lay them before this Government for completion, at any moment that might be judged propitious for supporting settlement upon that footing, before the people. He could not but think that such a moment would present itself, and he had a confidence that it might at once be taken advantage of for the final and durable accomplishment of a satisfactory settlement.

I had only to repeat with respect to this proposal that I really cannot speak of it's probable success or advantage in terms of confidence. And the single sure mode of preventing some very mischeivous complication for the safety of Mexico, that presents itself to my mind, is in the immediate adoption of a wise policy on the part of that Government.

Her Majesty's Government may feel assured that very earnest efforts are in course of progress in this Country, not perhaps directly addressed to the Government, but certainly to the people and their Representatives, having in view the revival of hostilities in this quarter, so that an opening may be made for the operation of a variety of schemes and devices of the most dangerous character to the security of Mexico.

I have in other places taken occasion to mention to Your Lordship my belief that the present Government of the United States

was practically pledged to support this Government in the event of an invasion from Mexico, and I entertain no doubt upon further and better grounds of consideration that such a belief is well founded. I am disposed to think too that the manner of the pledge was not very different from what I suggested to Mr Pakenham it might have been.

The Government of the United States pledged themselves verbally to the Representatives of this Government before they signed the treaty, and those Gentlemen shewed the Copy of their own despatches, reporting the terms of the obligation, to the Secretary of State at Washington, who authorized them to convey his assent to the accuracy of their communication.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.:

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No 18.

Washington on the Brazos.

December 25th. 1844.

My Lord,

On reperusing my despatch No 17 of this year, forwarded three days since, I observe a mistake, which, with Your Lordship's permission, I will now correct.

I have said in that despatch that the first Communication of the proposals of the Government of the United States made to me by General Houston was in October *last*, instead of October 1843. Your Lordship will probably have understood me to mean October 1843, but I have still to offer my excuse for the error, and I have the honour to be,*

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Downing Street.

*F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

³Elliot was mistaken in thinking his dispatch No. 17 stated the wrong date.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁵

Secret

Washington on the Brazos.

December 28th. 1844.

My Lord,

The President visited me a few Evenings since and spoke to me at length upon the present situation of Affairs here, and, as he wished that his views should be made known to Her Majesty's Government in a confidential way, I have adopted this mode of communication.

Before I fulfil his desire it may be convenient that I should lay before Your Lordship some means of estimating the weight due to his opinions, apart from his public claim to attention.

He came here before the rupture with Mexico in search of professional employment as a Physician, but since that event has always been engaged in public life, either as a Member of the Houses of Legislature, for some time as Minister to the United States, and during the whole of the late Administration as Secretary of State. He is of course of the same politics as General Houston, and I have no doubt that his Administration will be marked by the same abstinence from the recommendation or countenance of any of those vast but visionary schemes of policy, or speculation in point of finance, founded upon an imaginary prospective prosperity, which had gone so far to extinguish the Country before General Houston's return to power in 1841.

Unlike most other public Men in the Southern parts of the American Confederacy or here, Mr Jones is remarkably cautious and reserved, and with a moderate degree of the skill and firmness of his predecessor he will probably be able to controul affairs very materially with much less appearances of direct interposition than General Houston, and with less stormy opposition than General Houston's heats and rather free expression of his antipathies were apt to produce. In his intercourse with the European Governments I believe Mr Jones will be guided by a just appreciation that the only course which can be safe or successful is the direct. So far as I can judge he is not at all likely to make shipwreck of the fair and liberal consideration with which Her Majesty's Government in particular, will regard the

⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 9.

necessities of his position at home, by any unworthiness either in his representations, or his reserve. In private life he is a worthy and friendly man, of a plainness of speech, and simplicity of manner which help the feeling of confidence, and I certainly know no one in Texas, now eligible for the station he fills, of sounder Judgment, more experienced in the Affairs of the Country, or generally better fitted for it.

With this information I believe Your Lordship will be able to form a judgment upon the trustworthiness of his own exposition of his situation and purposes, as well as upon the soundness of his suggestions. He expresses the belief that the Majority of the intelligent portion of this Community is aware that the best settlement for Texas is the preservation of their separate National existence. But they have seen so little reason to think that Mexico would abandon it's disquieting character of Warfare, the recent conditions and language of the Mexican Commissioners at Matamoras have so effectually broken up any hope of the recognition of Independence by Mexico, and they have so little faith in the force of the mere advice of Foreign Powers, to bring about that result that it ought to be no matter of surprise there should be a very general feeling in favour of annexation to the United States.

The result too of the late Election there, has naturally strengthened that feeling and state of expectation; and upon the whole in the present temper of the public here, I must see that this Government can only watch the turn of events, and above all things carefully abstain from any course likely to persuade the people that they are secretly working against annexation. It may be depended upon, however, that they would neither advance one step to meet or encourage it.

The policy of the Government, and he hopes and believes of the present Congress will be to let all further advances and proposals come from the United States, reserving their own right to reject or accept them, according to their complexion. And he might mention to me in connexion with this point, that if the Texian Commissioners at Washington last Spring had obeyed their Instructions they would never have signed that treaty. It's completion upon such terms was a source of great mortification and disappointment to General Houston and himself. In his sincere Judgment, and General Houston's too, the United States

had much better leave them alone to manage their own affairs. He has not much confidence in their ability to settle it in their way in their own Legislature, and for his own part he has a strong inclination to believe that parties there have made as much out of Texas as they intend just now, that they will be quite satisfied to have broken up the late Negotiations and their consciences quite at ease with the thought that there will be no further trouble from Mexico in the way of invasion.

In short foreseeing inevitable delays, and probably enough insuperable difficulties in that quarter and no long endurance of patience in this, he did anxiously hope that her Majesty's Government would use it's immediate and decisive influence with Mexico, to propose the recognition of Texas, simply and unconditionally, leaving all the terms to be matter of arrangement in the treaty of peace.

He does not doubt if it were in the power of this Government to declare to the people of Texas that such a proposal was before them, He and his friends would have strength enough to turn them aside from any further thought of annexation. He also expressed the hope (already signified in my despatches) that Her Majesty's and the French Governments would lose no time in placing their Representatives here, in a situation to conclude definitively at any propitious moment, so that everything may be irrevocably completed before disturbing movements can come back from the United States.

Mr Jones wished me to inform Your Lordship that the most violent adherence to annexation here, came from a rising Sugar growing interest. This party believed that they had tested the capacity of the lower lands of Texas to produce Sugar, at least as well as those of Louisiana, and eagerly desired annexation that they might enjoy the protection afforded to Native grown Sugar under the United States tariff. When the proper time comes, if it come soon, and before this interest had grown to any strength, he had no doubt he should be able to shew those parties that they were no losers by settlement on the footing of Independence.

I told the President that I would immediately communicate his views to Your Lordship; but with no means of forming any decided opinion upon the judgment of Her Majesty's Government, I would venture to state to him as a matter of private impression

that it seemed very unlikely to me they would ever be brought to interfere as decisively as He had suggested till they should be effectually certified that they were really acting in behalf of the Government and people of a durable and bonâ fide Nation of Texas. Mexico would indeed have just right to complain if it should appear in the sequel, that Great Britain had been doing no more than facilitating the quiet transfer of an immense Mexican territory to a third party behind a thin veil, soon to be dropped; which partly the Mexican people consider to be unjust and aggressive.

The President observed to me amongst other things that I knew he was sincerely averse to a renewal of hostilities. Such a state of affairs would be in the highest degree inconvenient to this Country exhausting it of it's Means, and filling it again with a class of persons of a bad description, of whom they had now almost got rid. But still if all other hopes failed, and Mexico continued it's preparations, and threats, and incursionary warfare, he had deliberately made up his mind to retaliate. Looking to the disturbed condition of Mexico, and with General Houston's skill (and it might be depended that the weight of his name would soon collect a large force) he should not despair of soon reducing Mexico to reasonable terms.

I told him that I should be very sorry to see such a state of things for I knew how true it was that every body was strong at home, and I felt quite safe in expressing the opinion that that truth would never be more signally or disastrously manifested than in the case of Texian invasion into Mexico. He cordially hoped that no such Measures would be necessary, and they would certainly never be resorted to by him till all other means and hopes of Settlement were exhausted.

To the Right Honourable.

Charles Elliot

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁶

Secret.

Washington on the Brazos.

My Lord,

December 29th 1844

I have been endeavouring during my visit here to gather some

correct idea of General Duff Green's position at this place; and generally of the nature and scope of his purposes. They are very curious, and by no means unworthy of Your Lordship's notice.

He was some time since named Consul at Galveston, an office almost without duties, but probably only offered and accepted as a convenient means of placing him in this Country. Your Lordship will perhaps have heard that he was sent first to Mexico as Bearer of the Instructions which led to Mr Shannon's Correspondence with Señor Rejon; and coupling General Green's family Connexion with Mr. Calhoun and the fact of his own involvement in the annexation agitation, it may be that Señor Rejon was not much mistaken in the impression that the excitement of a quarrel might be one of the chief objects of that Correspondence, the more so as the tidings of a Misunderstanding would reach Washington just in time to be helpful to Mr Tyler's proposals for immediate Annexation.

The President mentioned to me in confidence that Major Donnelson had reminded this Government when he went to New Orleans a few days since, that General Green had no other public character than that of Consul at Galveston, and requested that all communication with him might be limited by that recollection.

The President thinks the explanation of this mistrust may be that these Gentlemen belong to different Sections of the Democratic party (Major Donnelson to that of General Jackson, and, General Green to that of Mr Calhoun). But it tends to shew that even amongst the parties friendly to the Measure of annexation, there is no cordial understanding, and amongst the larger and most influential part of the party (the Northern) it will certainly have very few friends upon any terms likely to suit the South.

In short circumstances satisfy me that his true position here is that of secret agent to the unshrinking advocates of annexation, in the United States, or I should rather say of extended mischief against Mexico, for it is manifest that their objects are not limited to the annexation of Texas only. There are other purposes and wider plans in contemplation; and it is possible that it may not be the sincere wish of certain parties in the United States to see annexation effected immediately, or till they have shaped suitable devices for the accomplishment of their schemes by the means

of laws passed by this Legislature. General Green's Mission seems to be rather to act upon Congress and the people than on the Government, for I think they are so little trusted by his friends, as he is by them. At all events Your Lordship may be assured that General Green has not the least weight with them. There was on the contrary an old feud between General Houston and himself in the United States, and he is certainly neither liked or trusted by this Government.

The foundation of all his Schemes, is the incorporation of a land Company, (ostensibly I suppose for the Settlement of the ungranted lands in Texas, but aimed particularly at the N. W. and Western Sections, and eventually to extend across the Rio Grande) with the management of their affairs in the hands of a Director appointed by themselves, powers to levy and maintain troops for defence *against Indians*, appoint their own Officers, raise and appropriate funds within the limits of the Company, privilege to collect all the import duties West of the Mouth of the Colorado, and in short with powers not unlike those of the East India Company, but with no definite legal controul left to the Executive Government, and no practical means of carrying it into effect, if the case were otherwise

The Company in consideration of these extensive powers and privileges to undertake the liability of the public debt of Texas, and to provide a certain fixed sum for the payment of the expences of the Government, or what might more properly then be called, the Nominal Government. In point of language and arrangement the Bills will of course be as guarded as may be practicable. But the real object is to transfer almost all the powers of the Constituted Authorities of this Country, with the use of it's flag, for purposes of disturbance and spoliation in Mexico, to a Confederacy of political Speculators and Capitalists in the United States, the last, probably as yet existing only, in the imagination of the parties who have devised these projects; for it is hard to believe that any men of real character and substance have already lent themselves to such proposals, and still less furnished authority to bind them to the contemplated liabilities.

The information I have received of General Green's warlike Counsels is consistent with the scheme, for it is a feature of it that the Conquests beyond the Rio Grande are to be parcelled out,

and sold for the advantage of the Company. As soon therefore as all is ready to go into operation, that is the course they would desire, and in the mean time efforts are probably in contemplation or in progress to forment the disorders and discontent in the Northern Provinces of Mexico. Keeping in view General Green's implication in the Nullification Agitation, and intimate connexion with the leader of that party, the reflection will present itself that there may be in this strange Scheme some speculation of preparing for the disruption of the South from the North in the United States, and ultimately for the Establishment of a great Confederacy extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the possession of the Californias.

But be the secret and ulterior purposes, what they may, and their character ever so chimerical, it is manifest that the animus falls nothing short of a conspiracy against Mexico. And that such a plot should have emanated from an Officer of the Government of the United States, in such near connexion and close confidential Correspondence with a Functionary at the head of the foreign affairs of that Country cannot fail to fix the very attentive consideration of Her Majesty's Government. Carefully perusing the late report of the Secretary of War in the United States for presentation to Congress I incline to think that this report may be connected with his proposal to establish posts towards the Mouth of the Columbia.

I know too that one of General Green's Schemes, contemplates the removal of some of the Indian Nations now within the United States to the regions between their Western border and the Rio Grande, probably with the intention of dispossessing the tribes in actual occupation, and pressing upon Mexico in that way.

I shall of course endeavour to furnish Your Lordship with an accurate synopsis of these schemes as soon as possible. But they are very carefully kept out of sight at present; and if those earliest put forward should fail in the House of Legislature where they are presented I conclude that the more important will be set aside and kept concealed

The President tells me that he hears of a test attempt in the Senate, but has no idea that it will pass, and leans to the belief that failure there will discourage further Movement.

To The Right Honourable.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT⁷

Draft.

Foreign Office.

Captain Elliot.

Decr. 31. 1844.

No. 13.⁸

Sir,

As you will by this time have returned to your Post, I transmit to you a Copy of a Despatch which, during your absence from Texas, I have received from Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico, as well as a Copy of my reply to that Despatch, on the subject of the position of Mexico with reference to Texas, and of the urgent expediency of the recognition of the Independence of Texas by the Mexican Government.

I transmit to you also Copies of four Despatches with reference to the projected Annexation of Texas to the United States, as well as to the policy proper to be pursued by Her Majesty's Government both in Mexico and the United States, with respect to that delicate question, which have been received by Her Majesty's Government from Her Majesty's Envoy in the United States, together with Copies of a Correspondence between me and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris upon the same subject. I add to these Papers the Copy of a Despatch which I address this day to Mr. Bankhead.⁹

⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 9. The letter is unsigned. The enclosures cover the more important diplomatic communications passing between Aberdeen and British representatives in the United States, France, and Mexico, relative to the plan of preventing annexation. These despatches explain the reasons for the giving up of that plan, and for the adoption of the passive policy here outlined to Elliot. For detailed statement and quotations from despatches, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, ch. VIII; Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, p. 404.

⁸Aberdeen's despatches to Elliot after No. 5, January 31, to No. 13, December 31, 1844, were all on routine business and have been omitted. They are in F. O., Texas, 9, and by number and date were:

No. 6, February 3, 1844, acknowledging receipt of despatches.

No. 7, April 3, 1844, acknowledging receipt of bills satisfying the "Eliza Russell" claims.

No. 8, April 3, 1844, acknowledging receipt of despatches.

No. 9, April 18, 1844, acknowledging receipt of despatches.

No. 10, April 18, 1844, granting Elliot leave of absence.

No. 11, November 4, 1844, transmitting claims of Mr. S. Merana upon Mexican government, and documents relating thereto.

No. 12, Addington to Elliot, November 4, 1844, relating to the "Little Penn" claims, with copies of correspondence with Lizardi and Co.

⁹The enclosures here listed are all to be found in F. O., Texas, 20, being copies transmitted to Elliot, and preserved by him in his archives. Taken in the order named by Aberdeen, they are as follows:

These Papers will put you in possession of the line of conduct which Her Majesty's Government have pursued and intend to pursue both with regard to Mexico and to the United States, with reference to Texas. That line of conduct may be summed up in a few words. It is to urge Mexico by every available argument, and in every practicable Manner, to recognize without delay the Independence of Texas, as the only rational course to be taken for securing the real interests of Mexico, to which Country, the Annexation of Texas to the United States would be ruinous, while, on the other hand, we have carefully abstained from any ostensible Act which could influence the wild and dangerous spirit which, partly from National, but more from party purposes, has been roused and sustained by demagogues in the United States, in favour of the Annexation of Texas, and which wanted but the evidence of active interference on the part of Great Britain to be kindled at once into a flame.

This policy we propose still to pursue, because, under present Circumstances, and until we can see our way more clearly with reference to the intentions of Mexico, as well as to those of the United States, under the altered circumstances which the Election of a new President may exhibit, we think a passive course, or rather a course of observation, the most prudent, and the least likely to involve us in difficulties with Mexico, or with the United States

Our feelings, however, are in no way changed with regard to the Independence of Texas. We consider that Independence of the highest importance for Mexico, for Texas herself, and even eventually for the United States, to which Country, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the possession of Texas, although it might at the present Moment satisfy the peculiar interests of the South, and gratify the National vanity of all the States, would

Bankhead to Aberdeen, No. 54, July 31, 1844.

Aberdeen to Bankhead, No. 30, September 30, 1844.

Pakenham to Aberdeen, No. 74, June 27, 1844.

Pakenham to Aberdeen, No. 76, June 27, 1844.

Pakenham to Aberdeen, No. 123, November 13, 1844.

Pakenham to Aberdeen, No. 127, November 28, 1844.

Aberdeen to Cowley, No. 202, July 18, 1844.

Cowley to Aberdeen, No. No. 371, July 22, 1844.

Cowley to Aberdeen (Confid.), No. 568, December 2, 1844.

Aberdeen to Bankhead, No. 49, December 31, 1844.

scarcely fail, in no long time, to become a serious source of Contention between the Northern and the Southern States, and, at the same time, expose the whole Confederation to great hazard.

Her Majesty's Government desire, therefore, that you should observe the greatest Caution in all your dealings and Conversations with the Authorities of Texas, and that you should in no way Commit your Government to any line of active policy with regard to that Country.

We have undoubtedly every reason to hope and believe that the present ruling Authorities in Texas will be found favourable to the Independence of their Country. Mr Anson Jones has the reputation of a Man of worth, judgment, and high minded feelings; and Mr. Ashbel Smith, who seems to be designated for the post of Secretary of State, is, to our personal knowledge, a man of excellent capacity, calm reflection, and holding sound opinions respecting the position and interests of his Country. In these two Gentlemen, therefore we could place entire confidence. But we must always remember that the tide of public opinion may be too strong for them to withstand, especially if the pressure from without be, as it is not unlikely to be, applied with great force and craft.

However decided, therefore, the opinions of the President of Texas and his Secretary of State may be in favour of non-annexation, they may be overborne especially if the folly or obstinacy of Mexico should still come in aid of the United States, and may be compelled, however unwillingly to give way to irresistible Circumstances

Under this view of the case whatever might be our prepossession in favour of actively supporting the Independence of Texas, good policy seems to point out the course I have described, at least for the present, as the only one which we can prudently pursue.

You will not fail to observe, with the utmost vigilance, the progress of events, and the changes which may take place in public opinion in Texas, and to keep Her Majesty's Government correctly informed on these points.

I have no objection to Your verbally communicating the substance of this Despatch, but not of it's Inclosures, to the President and to Mr. Ashbel Smith, in whose steadiness, circumspection, and good faith I have much confidence. But you will on no ac-

count allow any Copy of it to be taken, nor will you speak of its contents to any person except to the President and Mr Smith

At the same time that you make such Communication, you will add the assurance that, although we feel confident that the threats of Invasion by Mexico are mere words, we do not the less appreciate all the injury which results to Texas from those threats, idle as they are, and shall not relax, but rather increase our efforts to induce Mexico to desist from so irrational and so prejudicial a line of Conduct

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹⁰

Draft.

Captain Elliot.

F. O. Decr. 31st. 1844.

No. 14.

Sir,

I transmit to you herewith, for your information, Copies of two Despatches¹¹ which I have received from H. M. Minister at Frankfort respecting a body of Germans who have gone to Texas with a view to settle in that Country.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN*

No. 2.¹²

Washington on the Brazos.

January 2nd. 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that Mr Allen the Attorney General and Secretary of State ad interim, informed me yesterday that the President had revoked the "Exequatur" issued to General Green as Consul to the United States for Galveston, owing to circumstances known to His Excellency which rendered that step necessary for the "interests, honour, and safety of the Republic."¹³

¹⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 9. The letter is unsigned.

¹¹Not transcribed.

*F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

¹²F. O., Texas, 13, Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 1, is missing from the archives.

¹³The President's objection to Duff Green was largely due to the latter's public accusation that the Texan government's policy was being moulded by Elliot. The matter was smoothed over after Green had written a letter of disclaimer and apology. For details and correspondence,

The President himself observed to me in allusion to this event, that no act of his public life had been so difficult for him, or occasioned him so much pain; But he had maturely considered his position and obligations, and was reluctantly carried to the conclusion that he could not have adopted any less stringent Measure without a dereliction of duty.

It was a source of concern to me, both from a knowledge of the regret that the circumstance would occasion him, and other considerations, that he did not feel himself at liberty to wait the answers of the Government of the United States. But in making this observation I would by no means be supposed to cast doubt upon the necessity or propriety of any conduct which this Government may have seen fit to adopt in such a grave emergency as the tenour of the Proclamation has furnished room to suppose.

Indeed I think I should be in some sense wanting to the Government of this Country, young in it's relations with the rest of the world, if I omitted on an occasion of this kind to express my opinion, that their official intercourse whether personal or by correspondence cannot be conducted on terms of more care, or safety, or considerateness towards the proper Officers in communication with them; or at the same time in a manner more honourably mindful of that dignity and character which it is their duty to uphold.

Charles Elliot.

P. S.

Galveston, January 15th. 1845.

Since the above despatch was written General Green has published two letters in the Newspapers which I have cut out for Your Lordship's perusal. In that of the 2nd Instant he seems to be under an impression that I had some part in the President's proceeding towards him. That is a mistake.

I ventured on the contrary (founding the liberty on my long intercourse with this Government) to suggest to the President whether it might not be possible and preferable to pause for answers from the Government of the United States before he

see Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 332-337, 346-351, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II. Also Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 183, note 44.

took any steps against this Gentleman. For beyond other considerations I will not deny that I was sorry any Circumstance should occur likely to indispose General Green from the development of the Measures which appear to have formed the Subject of his private and confidential communications with the President. They probably deserved publicity and attention, but the late events have apparently shut them up.

These events however disclose one or two circumstances of some interest:—First, that he is at Washington in the confidential employment of His Government, for otherwise he could not speak as he does of expecting “to encounter the combined influence of the British Minister and the President of Texas acting in concert for the purpose of defeating the wishes of a majority of the people of Texas and the United States.” And again, “I am aware of the fearful odd against me, but I am not dismayed.” In the second letter he speaks of what I have heard now for the first time since I have been in the Country, that is the existence of any British influence on “*Our* Western and North Western frontier.” It appears, by the use of the word “our” that General Green considers the Country to be part of the United States, or that he is already a Texian Citizen.

The intention “to get possession of the Country between the Nuecas and the Rio Grande for the purpose etc. etc. etc.”, is also certainly new to me, and so far as I know to every other person in this Country. But the most important feature that I observe in these letters is the care to contradict the rumour that He is to bring into Texas a large body of Indians. “So far from this, “one of the Measures which I proposed was to remove beyond “*our limits* the Indians that were now in Texas”. The mode of that removal is not disclosed, neither does he drop where they are to go, or who are to come in their places.

Perhaps the report of the Secretary of War in the United States may furnish some means of divining what is proposed on these points. General Green probably considers that the Cherokees, Seminoles, etc. etc. are semi-Civilized (in short they are not Indians in the Savage sense of the word) and I am very far from thinking that they would be the worst Citizens that could come into Texas, but it is not so plain that the driving back of

the Comanche and Apache tribes upon Mexico would be equally advantageous to that Republic.

This Indian project is particularly remarkable, coupled with the authority of the Government of the United States to their diplomatic Agent here to move United States troops into any part of Texas that he sees fit.

In the absence of General Green's explanation of his own Measures, privately and confidentially communicated to this Government, and with the glimpses of them that he affords, it must be admitted that they are a subject of curiosity and interest

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁴

Private.

Galveston, January 15th. 1845.

My Lord,

A service of many years in the West Indies both in my own profession and in a Civil station connected with the Slave population, independently of my position here, have perhaps given me some qualification to form an opinion on a few of the points Mr Calhoun has noticed in the papers lately laid before Congress respecting the Annexation of Texas.

The accompanying notes were written for a private purpose that I sometimes hope to be able to accomplish; but it has occurred to me that Your Lordship may be willing to take the trouble of perusing them at the present conjuncture; and if that should be so, and it is thought they can in any way be useful to the public Service, I need not say that they are entirely at Your Lordship's disposal.

If they are of no interest or use to Her Majesty's Government, I will take the liberty, (with my excuses for the trouble to which I have exposed Your Lordship) to ask that they may be forwarded to my Sister Lady Hislop, living at No 37 Wilton Crescent Belgrave Square.

Charles Elliot

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

¹⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

[Enclosure]¹⁵

Since I have been here I have carefully perused Mr Calhoun's late Instructions to Mr Shannon¹⁶ in Mexico, as well as his despatch to Mr. King¹⁷ at Paris dated the 12th of August.

The character of those to Mr Shannon has been stripped so bare by Señor Rejon and the press in Mr Calhoun's own Country, that they may very justly be cast out of further notice—I will make one observation about them, however, which I have not remarked elsewhere, and that is, that if they were not intended to create a misunderstanding, the tidings of which should reach Washington just in time to help forward the President's proposals for immediate Annexation, their motive is inscrutable to me. Assuredly there was no practical need to require Mexico at the *end of the Month of October* not to make a descent upon Texas, which Mr Shannon must have known could not be done before next Spring, on account of the State of the Country in the Winter Season, setting aside all consideration of the prospect of intestine troubles, hourly looked for at the date of Mr Shannon's Notes.

The whole Series of these papers must I think, convince every impartial person that the absorption of this Country has always been deliberately intended by certain parties in the United States, and that the acknowledgment of the Republic of Texas (so far as those parties were concerned) was only a device for the quieting of the question till they should be able to perpetrate an Act of Spoliation on Mexico, chiefly with the purpose to extend the Market for their own internal Slave Trade.

I am sensible that it would be the height of injustice to suppose that the present Scheme of Annexation will be easily carried through the Legislature of the United States. But the attempt has been earnestly made and will be strenuously prosecuted, and there is no reason to think that it will fail from any particular scrupulousness either in point of representation or means, on the part of the present Government.

Mr. Calhoun pronounces that the Measure of Emancipation in

¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

¹⁶In U. S. Docs. Ser. No. 449, Doc. 1, correspondence accompanying Tyler's Message of December 3, 1844.

¹⁷In *Ibid.*, 39.

the British possessions has been a total failure, and in support of that conclusion dwells at much length in the despatch to Mr King on the diminution of the supply of Sugar, which he considers to be entirely attributable to the change from forced to free labour.

In setting out it is to be observed that it is more compendious, than a complete or accurate mode of estimating the Situation, happiness and prospects of Countries, to cipher out the sum of Sugar produced at different periods of time. The Averdupois Weight of Sugar is not decisive of such a question as Mr Calhoun has raised.

Without undervaluing that consideration it is not to be denied that more things than Sugar should have been thrown into the balances before the pronouncement of this solemn sentence, for the warning of the King of the French, that a great measure of justice had utterly failed, and that the British Government are conspiring to ruin every body else with whom they have friendly and profitable Commercial relations to redress the effects of what Mr. Calhoun seems to think was an Act of mixed folly and mischief.

Passing on from these reflections, however, I would wish to observe that it is natural Mr Calhoun should be incompletely informed as to the real Situation of those Countries, either now or formerly—But if he had not of late abated the disposition to cause men to marvel at any course that may next suggest itself to his mind, it would have occasioned great surprize that he should have chosen a subject for the better instruction of the King of the French through Mr King of Alabama,¹⁸ on which it would be his best and certainly his manifest excuse to admit at once, that he is entirely wrong and mistaken; and it is to be hoped, heartily sorry and ashamed for what he has said and done.

The position is that the West Indies and other British possessions where Slavery existed are in a ruinous condition, that state of things being mainly deduced, to his satisfaction, from the diminished supply of Sugar. But if those possessions are in an incomparably sounder and happier condition than they were, he

¹⁸William Rufus King. Member of Congress from North Carolina, 1810-1816. United States Senator from Alabama. Minister to France, 1844. Elected Vice-President of United States in 1852. Died, 1853. (Appleton, *Encyclopedia of Amer. Biog.*)

will of course agree that the measure has not failed, though the supply of Sugar has fallen short.

Concerning Mr Calhoun's *Summum bonum*, however, he may learn by applying to proper sources of information that the British Sugar growing possessions have very varying powers of production—And it will by no means surprize him to hear that the effect of a high protecting Duty on Sugar had been to fasten the whole energies of the proprietary almost exclusively to that product, thus inducing a destructive internal competition between Soils of extremely various capacities, at the total disregard of the plain rule that it is good to secure the means of living comfortably before men embark all their Capital in a Speculation in which there are many Competitors with equal or more advantages—He will learn that long before there was any idea of early emancipation, the proprietary in the Old and exhausted Colonies, and even in Jamacia, had been severely distressed, and many of them utterly beggared, owing to the acquisition of new and rich Countries peopled at the close of the trade in too great a degree with adult Males, that planters in the British possessions as in other parts of the World are not usually provident, and had been mistaking there, as elsewhere, profits and high prices on Capital in a fluctuating business, for steady revenue; that the peace,¹⁹ with the consequent increased supply from other quarters, had added to the pressure upon them, that in most of the Old Colonies the Soil had become so poor from the excess of this exhausting culture as to demand heavy expense to sustain it with a diminishing return and reduced prices; that they did not feed their inhabitants, that the race of labourers in some of the rich were in a very unsound condition in point of division of the sexes, age of the Male population, force of growing children so as to leave room for disquieting reflections respecting the future condition of the Countries; that, finally, it is strictly true, that at the period of the measure of emancipation, accompanied by a noble act of justice and generosity, it had only come in good time to save the great body of the Mortgagees from following the great body of the proprietary in the road to ruin, and restoring to some of the richest Colonies in the West Indies the hope of saving their population from extinction.

¹⁹That is, the peace of 1815 after the Napoleonic wars.

This was the state of circumstances at the period of emancipation, even in that Sugar point of view which has satisfied Mr Calhoun's judgment. But the British Government felt that there were other considerations which it consisted with their duty and honour to estimate more preciously than pounds weight of Sugar, or of gold and silver. The wrongfulness of the Institution in the sight of God and Man, its debasing effects on Master as well as Slave, the temper of the Nation in respect to it, the claim of that population to the rights of British Law, and to all the reparation of which the nature of circumstances would admit for the wrongs that they and their ancestry had suffered.

Is it possible that an American Statesman, of mark, can indeed suppose that the British Government and Nation consider the measure of emancipation to be an error, and that the question now with them is how it shall be counteracted? that the feeling there is "That what has been done cannot be undone". Is this then the state of information and belief of one of the leading Statesmen of the United States of America as to the temper of the British Government and people respecting the measure of emancipation?

What incredible ignorance; what a deplorable exposure is here!

Can a person of such training, and in such a Station, doubt the existence of the real motives which dictated this measure? Is he so ignorant of their force?—The last state of that man is worse than the first!

Mr Calhoun may learn by consulting the papers that the failure of produce was fully expected.—How little soever he may understand that any considerations should prevail over the sordid, it is nevertheless true that Great Britain was prepared to incur that loss with the other heavy burden which this measure entailed upon Her.

And wisely too, for the price, great as it was, was none too much, that purchased lasting honour for Great Britain, and mighty benefits not only for Great Britain, and the race of men that Great Britain redeemed from Slavery, but for all the Nations of the Earth still suffering from this terrific moral disease, and for the generations of men that it will save from that curse, and raise up to the Stature of human beings.

It can hardly be that Mr Calhoun, in his wiser mood, does not

perceive that the example of Great Britain will, sooner or later, be followed by every Christian people in the World, not by intrigue, and indirect means, and the miserable machinery that he has imagined, so unworthily of his character and station, but by, the irresistible force of right principles, and a sense of honest shame. Cavils and strictures, and poor conceptions on such a matter from any quarter are less than naught, and will be forgotten with Mr Calhoun, and all the passing things of the hour. But history will record this measure of emancipation with its sacrifices, and the blessings which it purchased, as the worthiest deed in the most glorious career that any family of human race has yet run, the mightiest victory that any people ever achieved over their selfishness and cupidity, for the sake of justice, and the cause of the helpless and oppressed, to the end of time.

It was from the state of circumstances (briefly sketched above) respecting the state of property and the population, long before and at the period of the emancipation that, and with a large consideration of all those higher motives, and a comprehensive recollection of the vast nature of the change, and the slow but sure consequences that such a change has always produced on the human race: these were the considerations with which a just and informed person would bring to the examination of the present situation and prospects of those Countries; and the World will determine how nearly Mr Calhoun approaches to a fit condition of mind for sitting in judgment on such a case as this.

Adverting to the condition of the population, Mr. Calhoun might gather in his researches that it had not consisted with the sense of right of the English Legislature to set up a great internal Slave Trade amongst their possessions when they abolished the African, and to recruit the rich Soils and unhealthy Climates where men decay under hard toil impelled by the Whip, at the sacrifice of the population in the exhausted and comparatively speaking the healthy, where men increase, though Sugar fails. He will discover in the prosecution of his task and at no advanced stage of it, that the real state of the fact in the British possessions where Sugar is produced, is not so much that there has been any unaccountable or desperate failure of the supply since the Emancipation but that a great deal too much was wrung from the soil and people under the old system, particu-

larly towards its close when the means of manufacturing by improvements in machinery and the use of Steam every where exceeded the amount of the fruits of the Earth that could be brought to the Mills. It is well known (and the cause is well understood) that there is a vast difference where Slavery exists, between the advance of improvement in agricultural processes, which are the work of the Slave, and the mechanical, which are the invention of free men; and hence a pressure upon the people and the soil, not at all consistent with the well understood interests of the Countries, or indeed with their durable cultivation for any steadily profitable purpose.

Mr Calhoun will deduce another conclusion from an investigation of this subject, which will be interesting to him, for it is in accordance with his principles of fiscal policy, namely; that one of the sure ways to help Countries to ruin is to blight them with high protecting duties upon particular portions of their produce

He will remark, and that too should be another pleasing discovery to him, so far as his political economy is in question that if those British possessions send much less revenue, or what might more properly be called tribute to an absentee proprietary in Europe, they take and consume a great deal more of their own produce, and of all other things both from England, and other parts of the World, his own Country inclusive.

He will find too, and that discovery will be grateful to him both as a philosopher and a Philanthropist (but perhaps I should ask his pardon for calling him a Philanthropist for I observe that he has rather repudiated that word, but nevertheless there are such people)—He will find, however, philanthropist or not, that population is rapidly increasing, that education is common amongst the children, that the vices which Slavery begets, both in the Enslaver, and in the Enslaved, are in course of slow, but sure, eradication, and lastly, that no inconsiderable number of that hue of men, who we learn, upon his authority, are to perish if they are made free in America, flourish and do credit to high station under the British Crown in the West Indies.

It will be no light stroke to Mr Calhoun if some one of them should see fit to correct his headlessness and animadvert on his less pardonable spirit. For it would not be in human nature

that the lesson should be administered without stern severity; and the doctrine and matter into which he has been betrayed in his later exertations, for the guidance of Kings and Ministers, would be roughly handled by Men of Colour in the West Indies, to the full his equals in capacity, and instruction, and character, and be it observed, that it is no disparagement to him to say so, for I speak only of very able and honourable persons.

Mr Calhoun's Mistakes and lack of information, on this subject, not only reach beyond the seas. He does not appear to have any clear conceptions of the possible, and the probable, near his own Gates.

Some of the most intelligent and experienced persons with whom I am acquainted in Louisiana and Mississippi, have assured me that they make no doubt those Countries would produce, certainly more Cotton, and probably more Sugar, (Mr Calhoun's test of the practicability of any Scheme that is to leave the Black Man the Master of his own body, and the wages of his own toil) within ten years after Slavery had quietly disappeared, at much less cost of production, and an immensely increased consumption of other merchandize and supplies

With regard to Sugar there may be less ease in the transition from slavery to free labour because of the continuous nature of the toil, and the want of sufficient labour in the market as yet to secure it at sufficiently moderate rates of wages, to leave the present rates of profit on the produce, and because too of the expensive nature of present processes, and the great proportion of Capital involved in the fixed form of costly buildings, and superfluous Machinery

But Mr Calhoun will remember that Sugar is entirely a forced production in the United States, under the effect of a high protecting duty, and if that duty were removed, as he will certainly think it should be, there will very soon be no other Sugar produced in the United States than is made on small farms, by economical processes; and at no more than average rates of profit. In that way, however, and under circumstances in which it would be out of the question to work large gangs of Slaves, or Slave labour at all at any profit, I firmly believe that more Sugar will soon come to be produced in the United States than is the case under the present system. But to revert to Cotton for a

moment, which is the great staple of Slave labour in America, prices have fallen so low that the time has very nearly arrived when it can only be produced to profit, in the United States, on small farms in an inexpensive way, and by free labour, always cheaper, because better than Slave labour. That it may be produced in that way, I suppose even Mr Calhoun will not deny. At all events it is certain that a considerable amount of the Cotton brought to market in Texas is the produce of the labour of the free man, either in part or entirely. If Mr Calhoun has recently visited the great Cities of the South, he can hardly fail to have been struck at every hour of the day with some remarkable proof of the rapid pace with which free labour is displacing that of the Slave; and if he really imagines that Her Majesty's Government suppose that the peaceful and gradual emancipation of Slavery in the United States would be attended with disastrous consequences to the wealth and happiness, and strength of the Country, it is good proof that his mistakes are very deeply rooted, but nothing more. Her Majesty's Government, I am very sure, can have no share in such extremely fallacious opinions, and if they entertained those evil designs against the prosperity of the United States which Mr Calhoun has imputed to them, they can desire nothing better than his Councils and their consequences should prevail.

They who strive for the illimitable continuance, and extension of the field of Slavery in the United States are no sound friends of the strength, happiness, and integrity of that Confederacy.

Mr Calhoun has resorted largely in his advice to the King of the French, to a very excellent and able Magazine published in England, and though it has not been his safe "letter writer" on this occasion, for reasons which it would not be hard to explain, he might, nevertheless, apply himself attentively and with advantage to a good deal of the doctrine expounded in those pages.

In reference, for example, to this particular subject, it would have reminded him in an hundred eloquent and instructive passages (better worthy of being drawn under the notice of the King of the French by Mr King than the Bill of parcels which Mr Calhoun collected, for His Majesty's attention) that civil and religious freedom, and instruction made Mr Calhoun and his An-

cestors, and his Country what they are, not in the half Century; the yesterday which has succeeded the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, but in the slow growth of the Centuries which preceded it; and that the one thing which contributes most to the ruin of all the Great Empires of the past, was Slavery. Does Mr Calhoun indeed wish to consider this subject of British emancipation largely and attentively? Let him carry his thoughts forward two hundred years, and then let him suppose, if he will, that these wise and generous efforts of himself and his friends have saved this cherished institution for their Country so long.

What does he think would be the condition of his Country of South Carolina, and its races of Slave holder and Slave, and the race of the free black Man in the West Indies at the end of that time. It is hard to say what change the Colour of their faces might have undergone, but in every other respect their condition would be worse than reversed. For freedom and religious instruction will raise the hardy Slave labourer to a higher station in no long lapse of time; But all experience has proved that it takes ages of oppression and of the gradual growth of resistance which oppression induces, to harden the fibre and unlift the character of an effeminate and subjected Master Class; and it has been the lot of all Master Classes of Slaves to become feeble and enslaved. It would be painful indeed to pursue such an enquiry, and unnecessary, for there is no rational ground to believe that such a curse is reserved for any of the people of our blood and race as the protraction of Slavery, let Mr Calhoun, and the rash and heedless Advocates of the System say and do what they may.

Mr King, it is apprehended, found it hard to persuade the King of the French (notwithstanding the date of the despatch, and the state of circumstances existing at that time) that because Sugar had fallen off in the West Indies, and because Mr Calhoun cannot divest himself of the imagination that the British Nation desire to ruin their Neighbors, (and I suppose to consume all their Manufactures themselves) and to come to the point, because the Annexation of Texas had been made an issue in the pending Presidential Election, that His Majesty should approve of an Act of Spoliation on Mexico, with all its certain and dangerous consequences.

His Majesty is a Gracious Prince. But Mr King must have

certainly subjected the Royal Countenance to a hard trial when he had frankly entered upon the task of persuading the King that it was for the safety of Mexico to render the United States continuous with that Country, by the advance of the U. S. line several hundred miles nearer to the Pacific!

It is not for me to speculate upon the thoughts or words of the King of the French on the occasion of this dashing attempt at a surprize by the American Minister at Paris. But it is at least certain that the very last thing His Majesty would do, would be to countenance an Act of rapine on a weak Nation, from motives of groundless hatred to a powerful one, and the intention to extend the market for the internal Slave trade of the United States.

But leaving the thoughts of Princes, Mr Calhoun must know that there are enough of Plain men in his own Country, and elsewhere, who will exercise their right to speak to this point (for he cannot enslave them and send them to Texas to be sold) and they will tell him something to the following effect

This Scheme of Annexation is founded on mixed feelings of ill will and envy against Great Britain, and a rapacious spirit against Mexico, and it may be, a dangerous purpose against the integrity of the present Union, and, assuredly, in no trifling degree, by sordid motives, and impulses of personal ambition, on the part of many of its most ardent supporters.

The Fathers of the United States when they imagined, and shaped the Scheme of society under which that people live, and might live so flourishing and respected, knew that it could only subsist by the maintenance and improvement of the great and good qualities of the race from which they sprung.

There was no hatred, no malice, or uncharitableness in their hearts towards Great Britain, or any Country. They desired that their descendants should emulate what was right, and avoid what was wrong, in England, and everywhere. They might have had too little regard to some considerations, and hoped too sanguinely on other points, but it is their just praise, and it will remain to them, let the fate of the United States be what it may, that their Scheme was based on the generous principle that men can be so just, and so honest, and so true to themselves, and

to all the World, as to be trusted with the unchecked direction of their own affairs.

They knew well, indeed, what would follow from the prevalence of envy, and aggression, and cupidity, and dishonest fulfilment of engagements, and political intrigue, and the vulgar devices of Electioneering knavery, and the postponement of the claims of the great and the good to the clamour of demagogues. They knew that if there should come to be a substitution of the things glaring, and fulsome, for the things, just, and sound, in the Counsels of the Government to the Legislature, in the press, in the oratory of the political Arena, and the public meetings of the people; they knew, and predicted, and warned the people that, when that virtue and simplicity, and sound practice in the business of self government, which the bye gone system had trained them in, should decay or degenerate, into the tyranny of an uncontrolled democracy, and when all those other evils should grow up in the stead of regulated freedom, and plain words, and pure morals, and just purposes, they would be worm and moth in their Charter, and reduce it to dust, before the wax, with which it was sealed had melted away.

Watchful observers in the United States and elsewhere, must remark with anxiety that the race of their great Statesman is rapidly passing away, that their influence is almost gone, that men of incomparably meaner dimensions are taking their places, and that there are other painful evidences of the grave truth that whilst the elements of durable power and happiness are of slow growth in Nations, as in Individuals, the decay of lights, and virtue, and the spirit of compromise is fearfully rapid.

But solicitously as these things are regarded in England (as they are too in the United States) Mr Calhoun manifests very erroneous and poor conceptions of the feeling of the British Government and Nation towards the North American Confederacy.

They desire nothing but happiness, peace, honour and prosperity, for the United States abroad and at home, for they well know that any convulsion in that System, or any great misfortune or shame arising out of it would be, in the words of a living English Statesman on another point, "a heavy blow and a great discouragement," to the cause of human freedom and rights.

For my own part, and a varied experience of men and affairs

may give me some claim to offer an opinion, I will not deny that I see more reason to hope for the improvement and safe keeping of the principles of true freedom, and real liberality certainly in Prussia, or even in Australia, or Russia, than in the United States of America. I mean that freedom which is largely regardful of the rights of others, be they ever so weak, and that liberality which considers and respects the opinions of the minority, be they ever so few. The course of those Countries is one of improvement in the way of public right, at a various rate of progress indeed, but still of sure improvement. The course of the United States is not one of improvement in the things essential to the maintenance of their scheme of society, and it is well known that the wisest and best Men in that Country are casting their thoughts upon the past with regret, for it is hard to recede, and upon the future with anxiety, for it is impossible to stand fast.

Desperate public Men in the United States have ceased to address themselves to the reason of their fellow Citizens, their attack is upon their passions. What the consequences may be, or how soon, no man can tell.

Mr Calhoun's strong prejudices and political eagerness have blinded his judgment, not only as to the feelings of Great Britain, towards the United States, generally, but with regard to Slavery, particularly—If he had been contented to take his stand on the position, that great as the evil of Slavery is, and much as it is to be desired it should be removed, no fair comparison can be instituted between the situation of Great Britain, in this particular, and that of the United States, every reasonable man would admit that Statement. But what is to be said of a high functionary of a great Republic, founded on an Instrument bristling with declarations of equal rights, who frights the world from its propriety (*mero motu* too, for there was no need to touch the subject) with the astounding doctrine that freedom is not a good thing *per se*, for the laboring people of the darker hue, and that it has been found to be particularly injurious to the eyes and limbs, and understandings of the enfranchised black people!

What can be adequately said of such a course by such a man, and in such a station, and in the division of feeling that exists

upon the subject in this Country, but that like the desperate Malay he is "running amuck", stabbing at friend and foe, and probably ending his wild race, a self mangled victim.

If freedom produces this mischief on black people, it must in some degree do so, upon white. That has not been ascertained to be the fact, and I am inclined to believe that Mr Calhoun has collected his (black) statement from some very inaccurate statistics. At all events it is no satisfactory thing to have remarked that there are fewer deformed or helpless coloured people in a state of slavery than in a condition of freedom. The inference is painful

Let it not be supposed that I am one of these persons who cast general blame on the Slave holding proprietary of the United States. Nothing can be farther from my feeling and purposes. I am well acquainted with many of these gentlemen, and I know that their people are humanely treated, and lightly worked, and well clad, and lodged and fed: And much more than all this, that the responsibility of their training for better things is deeply felt, and most honourably discharged at large pecuniary sacrifice, and in the beginning at no trifling amount of suspicion and ill will on the part of their neighbours; giving way now (as all such feelings will, before right motives and firm conduct) to the sounder spirit of assent, and laudable emulation. The whole Country is their Debtor. But the manifest error of these worthy persons is that they judge of the system from their own practice, forgetting that it constitutes the exception to the rule.

I will freely admit, however, that the Slave population of the United States of America appears to me to be better cared for, and in an incomparably more advanced condition in point of intelligence than any other that I have ever seen (and I have had a long and extensive experience on this subject). But this observation only convinces me more firmly that there is no ground for the arguments of the persons who resist further change and improvements, and who would continue to subject a people to the purchase and sale conditions of Cattle, arrived long since at the condition of an intelligent peasantry.

I remember to have read a Speech of Mr McDuffie's²⁰ deliv-

²⁰George McDuffie. Member of Congress from South Carolina, 1821-1834. Governor of South Carolina, 1834-1836. United States Senator, 1842-1846. (Appleton, *Cyclop. of Amer. Biog.*)

ered some years since in the Senate) connected with this subject, which seemed to me to be pregnant with truth and soundness up to a certain point; but thenceforward falling lamentably short of any just practical advice.

He dwelt with perfect truth, and beaming pride on the progress that this race had made on this Continent, he contrasts their situation with the state of the race on the Coast of Guiana; he compared it with that of several of the peasantries of Europe. In due succession it might have been supposed that he would have concluded with an assertion of their rights, as well as fitness, and with earnest advice to adopt at once some safe principles for their gradual emancipation from a state of things, totally incompatible with their present stature in the scale of humanity, at utter variance with the fundamental principles of the society in which they live, and full of danger to the well being of the Country.

Mr McDuffie, however, did not appear to see that length, and for any thing I could observe to the contrary in his very remarkable speech, he would have the system stand where it was, till time, and the course of circumstances had obliterated all vestige of the black race, and the fields were full of Slaves of the same Colour as their Masters.

The imputation to which the Slave States are justly liable is, not that they do not at once emancipate the Slaves, for that cannot be done with safety, but that they make no preparation to do so by prohibiting the future exportation of such persons as merchandize, and by the establishment of schools for the Children, and by all the means of preparation which did so much to pave the way in the British Colonies, and, above all, by the establishment of liberal principles for the gradual introduction of the people of Colour (under proper guarantees of good conduct, and steady employment, and perhaps a property qualification) to the full privileges of Citizenship. Till this is done the United States have no just pretension to be called a land of freemen.

The great stain, however, of the Old Slave States, and it is a terrible one (and to the honour be it said, of a great portion of the Inhabitants, terribly felt) is the internal Slave Trade. Moderate men do not reproach them that they have Slaves: That is their misfortune, and it is not to be denied that Great

Britain shared deeply in the original sin. But the heavy charge against them is that they desire to get rid of them by foreign traffic, and that some of their Statesmen are striving, heart and soul, to extend the market for this deeply wicked traffic.

For my own part, who have had the unhappiness to see many of these unfortunate people, *traveling in chains* to the Southern Market through the land of Washington and the greatest spirits that America ever produced, I could not but reflect how extensively that race had contributed to the happiness and strength of these Countries, and thus directly to the fostering of the very men who achieved Independence; and here was their reward!

I have not the least hesitation in declaring my own feeling that such a Slave trade is incomparably more indefensible than the African. In the one, men are selling the people and the descendants of people like Cattle, who have lived with their Fathers, or been born and brought up by the side of their Children, who have rejoiced with them, and sorrowed with them, and toiled for them, and whose final lot is the swamp, and the burning sun of the Banks of the Mississippi, where they too often languish and die in the very year of their arrival, under a new and hard task, in a climate as strange to them as to the Whites, with whom they were reared.

In the other, men at least are not adding the sin of ungratefulness, to the meanness of cupidity. The African is nothing to him, or he to the African, but the recollection of the gangs of people, who I have seen travelling through Virginia *in Chains*, will never pass away from me. It happened to me to be then perusing Mr Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, and I could not but feel the force of his eloquent lines upon the subject of Slavery very strongly. When he thought of it he trembled for his Country! Nothing that ever fell from his pen does more honour to Mr Jefferson than that striking page, and I greatly fear that there are rash Councils in operation in the United States, which may render it little short of prophetic.

Mr Calhoun remarks for the instruction of the King of the French, that to form a correct conception of what would be the result of freedom to the Blacks in the United States, (brought about by the influence of Great Britain,) we must cast our looks not to Jamaica, but to Saint Domingo. This influence of Great

Britain, of which Mr Calhoun speaks so often may be very good matter to help the polls in the United States, but it is not exactly calculated for the Royal Cabinet of the Tuileries. It must be perfectly understood in that quarter to be no more than a creation for certain political objects in the United States. The King and all the rest of the World know that Great Britain has used no other influence, than the influence of example, and that to be sure is forcible enough. It will do its work in time, and peacefully, not to the injury, but to the incalculable advantage of the United States. But it may be asked, if real efficacy should be given in the United States to the principles which prevailed in Jamaica, (duly modified according to the circumstances) why the King of the French should not be suffered to cast his eyes towards Jamaica, rather than Saint Domingo, in forming a judgment upon the probable result?

If there are none of the antecedents of the dismal story of Saint Domingo, in the measure of emancipation in the United States, it is reasonable to think that there will be none of the events. Let us hope there may be none of those antecedents, for that tale is full of warning, and may be summed up in a few words.

Saint Domingo was lost to France by the madness of the people. It was saved to her, or might have been saved (but for an Act of perfidy and cupidity of which the world has seen few worse examples) by the wisdom and conduct of a Black Man, and it was cast again into utter desolation from which it has never recovered by the rashness of Napoleon, at the cost of the flower of the French Army.

St Domingo is not a desert because Black Men are free, or idle, or because of any of Mr Calhoun's prejudices against the rights of that race. The history of that Country will prove that those people are as susceptible of improvement, by freedom and Christian Instruction, as any other in the world.—It will shew that great Men can have black faces, and unhappily that white Men can have black hearts; that the virtues of generosity, and constancy, and courage were as freely displayed by blacks as whites in that memorable struggle, and lastly, that the true curse of St Domingo has been pronounced of old, and came to pass by the neglect of the sacred warning, that the sins of the Fathers shall

be visited on the Children to the third and fourth generation. The great Calamity of St Domingo is the hatred and jealousy between the mixed and black races, springing originally from the vices of the Whites, formented afterwards by their dark policy, and now reckoned against them by men of that Colour who have occasioned almost the whole burden of misery and wretchedness which has fallen upon that land. Let Mr. Calhoun assure himself that the fairest race of men in this planet, exposed to analogous disasters, and outrages, and calamities of all kinds, would have fallen as low as these unfortunate people; and still more should he bring himself to acknowledge that the single sound treatment for such a state of things is to help them with counsels to cherish their freedom ardently, and to regulate it wisely, and to heal their differences, and, above all things, to instruct their Youth in the fear of God.

He would agree that it was only by such means that a fallen White people could be raised, and where is the wisdom, or justice, of this finger of scorn against an unhappy race of Black Men. Victims of desperate crimes and calamities, not of their creation?

St Domingo was no pleasing subject to draw under the notice of the King of the French, neither, I must say, is it at all to be detected that Mr Calhoun was better able to instruct His Majesty therein, than on any of those other points which Mr. King was desired to expound.

His Majesty's course with respect to the Slave Colonies of France, and His remedies for the disastrous state of things in St Domingo, would probably be of a totally different character from any that He would collect from Mr Calhoun. It is indeed to be believed that He would rather cast his looks Jamaica-wards, in any contemplated changes on this point, than to any direction that Mr Calhoun would indicate.

It may be observed in conclusion, that Mr Calhoun has rushed into an extremely unfortunate situation, on this whole subject.

He has unjustly attacked Great Britain; failed in an attempt to create coldness between France and that Power, in a moment of some crises; most unnecessarily aggravated the distrust and dislike with which he has long been regarded by a large part of the people of the United States, and, at the same time, contrived

by his late Councils and correspondence, to do more injury to the cause which it was his purpose to sustain, than the whole host of Abolitionists in the United States could have effected in years of agitation. I certainly am one of those persons who regret the vexation and chagrin he has brought upon himself, for I have the honour of some slight acquaintance with him, and I cordially respect his high private character, and distinguished abilities.

Charles Elliot.

Galveston, January 14th. 1845.

[Endorsed] In private letter from Capn Elliot of Jan. 15/45.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹

No. 1.

Foreign Office.
January 23. 1845.

Sir,

Your Despatches to No. 15 have been received and laid before the Queen.

Since the date of my last Despatches, the course which events have taken, both in the United States and in Mexico, has been such as, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, to call for a fresh and more explicit declaration of the views entertained by Great Britain of the relations between Texas and those Republics.

The Annual Message of the President of the United States,² as well as the Resolutions which have been proposed to Congress with the intention of engaging a vote of the Legislature in favour of the Annexation of Texas to the Union will have been received at Galveston long before this Despatch reaches you. You will also have learnt the communication by President Tyler of a further Message directed exclusively to that object.

What may be the result in the United States of these redoubled exertions on the part of the Advocates of Annexation, it is impossible with certainty to foresee. Her Majesty's Government hope that the honesty and good sense of a large and influential portion of the Publick in that Country will resist

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

²President Tyler's message, December 3, 1844. (In U. S. Docs., Ser. No. 449, Doc. I.)

the impolicy and danger of committing the conduct of the State, in a matter of such delicacy, to the direction of Men so violent and unscrupulous as those who have come forward as the leaders in this cause. Yet it cannot be denied that, under the present state of excitement, the Legislature might be pledged by a rash vote, and thereby force the Executive Government, and perhaps not altogether against their will, into a course of action from which the National Pride, if once engaged in it, would not easily allow of a retreat.

The external relations too of the Country, is illustrated by the Papers lately laid before Congress, and so far as they bear upon the question of Annexation, are not without danger.

The Correspondence which has passed between Mr Calhoun and the American Envoy at Paris³ sufficiently shows the jealousy with which the partizans of Annexation are ready to take up any sign of interference, or even of interest expressed by a Foreign State against the cause in which they are engaged; and, should any incident appear to confirm that jealousy, there can be no doubt of the use which would be made to precipitate active measures in the United States whilst the abrupt termination of friendly relations between the American Representative and the Government of Mexico, stopping as it did little short of an open rupture, might but too easily lead to hostilities of which Texas would not be suffered to remain a neutral Spectator; and from which, whatever might be the result to the principal parties concerned, She could not hope to escape with her Independence.

This is a state of things, which to those who feel an interest in that Independence cannot be otherwise than alarming, and which calls upon them to furnish every aid they can honourably and safely offer for its support.

The Government of Texas are already aware of the light in which Great Britain views the question of Annexation as it affects the interest of Texas. Her Majesty's Government are firmly convinced that the dignity and prosperity of that Country are more secure in its own keeping than under the institutions of any other Government, however powerful, and it would not be difficult to show that, under a Government composed as that of

³Calhoun's despatch to King, August 14, 1844. (In U. S. Docs., Ser. No. 499, Doc. I, pp. 39-47.)

the United States, and having so many and such opposite interests to serve, it must be long before a newly settled and comparatively thinly peopled Country would command the attention and the weight which would make up for an abandonment of the privilege of self-government,—if indeed such a result should ever be attainable. Again, as affecting other States, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the continuance of Texas as an Independent Power, under its own Laws and institutions, must conduce to a more even, and therefore a more permanent, balance of interests in the North American Continent, and that its interposition between the United States and Mexico offers the best chance of a preservation of friendly relations between those two Governments.

That there are other inducements, in which British feelings and interests are more directly concerned, for wishing to see Texas securely established as an Independent State, Her Majesty's Government do not deny, but these are all strictly compatible with a sincere desire to promote the dignity, welfare, and prosperity of Texas.

Apart from all selfish or exclusive considerations, Her Majesty's Government would wish to urge upon the Government of Texas and to exhort them to abstain from any act on their own part, or from encouraging any measure on the part of the Congress of Texas, which might be construed into a desire to surrender the Independence of their Country into the hands of a Foreign Power.

Whilst circumstances which I have already detailed to you seem to Her Majesty's Government to call for a renewal of this representation, an event has recently taken place in another quarter, which I trust will induce the Government of Texas to pause before they reject the counsel which, in perfect sincerity, and with a firm conviction of its being most in accordance with the interests of Texas herself, Her Majesty's Government have again offered to them.

A few days ago I received from Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico a Despatch dated the 29th of November last of which I send you a Copy.

You will see by that Despatch and its inclosure that the views of the President of Mexico on the subject of Texas have under-

gone a remarkable change, that he has now, for the first time, deliberately entertained the question of Texian Independence, and, in short, has made a step toward its recognition. This result of the exertions which you are aware Her Majesty's Government have not ceased to use with Mexico, is most satisfactory. The conditions which General Santa Anna would annex to the recognition are certainly, in some respects, such as Her Majesty's Government could neither support on their own part nor recommend for the acceptance of Texas. Still, a first step of this nature, implying as it does a willingness to enter upon a temperate consideration of the subject with a view to its amicable settlement, is one of great importance and value at the present moment.

That the Government of Texas, to whom you will communicate verbally the substance of Mr Bankhead's Despatch and of its Inclosure, will so consider it, Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt, or that they will hesitate to avail themselves of the good offices of Great Britain and France with a view of the modification of the terms now offered by General Santa Anna and to rendering them such as Texas can honourably and advantageously accept.

General Houston in his last Annual Message, a Copy of which I have just received from you, is entirely justified in stating to Congress that the late agitation of international questions between Texas and the United States has not in any degree abated the desire of the Governments of Great Britain and France for the continued prosperity and independence of his Country, or caused them to relax their good offices to bring about the speedy and honourable adjustment of its difficulties with Mexico. And he does those Governments no more than justice in expressing his confidence that they will never require of Texas any sacrifice of honour or interest.

If these are indeed the sentiments of the Texican Government, it may be confidently expected that they will act upon the advice which Her Majesty's Government now offer them upon this subject, and accept the united good offices of England and France with the Government of Mexico.

As to the modifications which Her Majesty's Government would require in the terms proposed by Mexico, it is unnecessary to

enter into details on that point until Texas shall have signified her readiness to accept such friendly intervention. At the same time it is right that you should at once declare that Her Majesty's Government would not consent to propose to Texas any condition so unreasonable as the acceptance of the Colorado River as the Boundary of the State. You may also add that, although Her Majesty's Government would not be disposed to undertake their share of the responsibility, which, for the security of the possessions of Mexico, General Santa Anna would impose upon England and France, yet, that, under certain circumstances, those Powers would not refuse to take part in an arrangement by which Texas and Mexico should be bound each to respect the Territory of the other.

You will gather from what I have now stated, that, although, in alluding before to the correspondence which has appeared between Mr Calhoun and the United States Envoy in Paris, I did not think it necessary to notice it, that the difference of opinion which that Correspondence affects to establish between the Governments of England and France on the subject of Texas has no existence;—and such in truth is the fact; whether as relating to the Annexation of Texas to the United States, or to the general position and other interests of that Country. The best and most practical proof of this which can be given to the Texian Government will be the cordiality with which you and your Colleague will join in pressing the same views and arguments upon their consideration.

Upon the receipt of this Despatch therefore you will immediately confer unreservedly with the French Chargé d' Affaires (who will by the same opportunity be furnished with Instructions to a similar purpose); and you will lose no time in bringing the subject jointly before the Texian Government.

You will read this Despatch to the Texian Minister, and you will state that it will be necessary that you should receive from him a full and frank explanation of the views of his Government as regards the Annexation of Texas to the United States.

When that shall have been given, you will inform Her Majesty's Government of the result with the least possible delay.

I should add that both in your Communications with the Texian Government, and in your general conversation, you will do well

to avoid all unnecessary mention of the Government of the United States, and all comment upon their Policy

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

BANKHEAD TO ABERDEEN⁴

[Enclosure.].

Copy.

Confidential

Mexico.

No. 102.

Novr. 29. 1844.

My Lord,

Genl. Santa Anna passed a few days lately in the immediate Neighbourhood of Mexico, on his way to join the division of the Army destined to act against Genl Paredes.⁵

I was desirous for many reasons to see him during his Sojourn, and I accordingly went to Guadalupe, and was most courteously received by His Excellency.

In another despatch I have informed Your Lordship that I was anxious to understand what the President intended to do, with respect to the different pecuniary arrangements existing between this Republic and British Subjects, at this particular Crisis.

I afterwards entered into a long discussion with Genl Santa Anna upon the state of Texas, and I was enabled to place the views of H. M's Govt upon that Subject before the President more distinctly by recapitulating the Contents of Your Lordship's Despatch No 30 of the 30th of Sepr last,⁶ which I had

⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

⁵Mariano Paredes, b. 1790, d. 1849. He was for a long time a prominent figure in Mexican politics, and in the army. At first a supporter of Santa Anna, he went over to Herrera in 1844, aiding the latter to the presidency. Later he overthrew Herrera's government, using the cry that the government was about to sacrifice Mexican interests to the United States. Paredes became president in June, 1845. (Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*.)

⁶F. O., Texas, 20. Copy sent to Elliot. This instruction to Bankhead in effect indicated a reversal of Aberdeen's plan for joint action between France, England, and Mexico to prevent annexation. Mexico was here warned that since she was not ready to yield to British advice and recognize Texas, and was in fact planning an invasion of Texas, she must not expect any British sympathy or support in case she got into difficulties. For further analysis and partial quotation, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 185-187. For criticism of this view, see Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 403, note.

the same morning communicated to the Minr for Foreign Affairs, as I knew that the latter would submit what I said to the President.

Genl Santa Anna desired me in the most earnest manner to assure Your Lordship of his unalterable wish to preserve the existing relations between Mexico and Gt Britain, and of his readiness to receive any Counsel which Yr Lordship might think fit to offer for the benefit of this Country.

H. E. then entered at considerable length into the difficulties of his present position, both with reference to the recent communications from the U. States respecting Texas, and the necessity there was at the same time of putting down the Insurrection which has broken out in Guadalajara. This I knew as well as he did; I was therefore prepared for a declaration he made to me that, out of deference to the British Govt., he would forego any intention he might have previously entertained of invading Texas, and he desired me to state that to Your Lordship.

We now come to that part of the Question which relates to the Recognition of the Independence of Texas by Mexico, I have already had the honour of mentioning to your Lordship, that I have lately observed several indications of a desire to settle this point, without compromising the *Amour propre* of Mexico

I can now present to Your Lordship the Consent of Genl Santa Anna to the Measure in question.

While discussing this point the Minr of Finance came in and took part in the conversation. The President mentioned to him the substance of what he intended to submit for Your Lordship's consideration, and accordingly Señor Haro, drew up, from H. E's dictation, in Mr Doyle's and my presence, the conditions upon which Mexico would consent to acknowledge the Independence of Texas. I have the honour to transmit a Copy and translation of this Paper.

With respect to the 1st point—The Boundary of Texas has never, I believe, been accurately described. The Texans Claim to the Rio Bravo, while the Mexicans consider that the proper Boundary would be the Rio Colorado. The Town of Matamoros is situated immediately on the Mexican side of the former River, which, no doubt, is one of the reasons which induces this Govt to place the frontier at a distance. As to the question of com-

pensation, I think on a former occasion an offer was made by the Govt of Texas, through Genl. Hamilton, to purchase the good will of Mexico by making over to the holders of Mexican Bonds in England the Sum which the People of Texas were willing to pay to Mexico for the Recognition of their Independence. This Offer was reported to the Foreign Office in Mr Pakenham's Despatches Nos 97 of Decr 12—1839, and No 2 of Jany. 3. 1841

With reference to the Guarantee of Gt Britain and France that Texas ([if she] be acknowledged) shall not be allowed to pass whatever Boundary may be agreed upon between Her and Mexico, and that the Californias, New Mexico, and other parts of the Northern Frontier shall equally be guaranteed to Mexico [these], are, of course, entirely for Your Lordship and H. M's Govt. to deliberate upon, as also that part of the Second proposition which relates to the Assistance of the two Great Powers, in case the U. States should endeavor to carry into effect the Scheme of Annexation.

The 3d Point relates to the promise of the President to suspend all operations against Texas.

With respect to the 4th proposition, I think it agrees in some measure with the intentions of H. M's Govt. and was probably suggested to the President by some observations in the Memorandum given by Your Lordship in my last to Mr Murphy.⁷

In receiving these proposals from Genl Santa Anna, I assured H. E. that I would lose no time in forwarding them to Your Lordship, but did not, in the most remote manner, compromise H. M's Govt. by any observation with reference to them. I merely took them ad referendum.

Some of the Conditions may appear to Your Lordship difficult of execution, and rather at variance with the acknowledged weakness of this Govt., but with due allowance for their usual Self confidence, I think we may receive them as yielding at first as much as we could expect, and I doubt not that Modifications may be afterwards obtained.

I ventured to press upon the President the absolute necessity of keeping this preliminary arrangement secret. H. E. promised fully to accede to my request, and I have not heard of its being

⁷See THE QUARTERLY, XIX, 96. note 8.

divulged to any of the Persons who unfortunately surround him, and who have no other interest in proffering advice, than their own base and sordid personal advantage.

Charles Bankhead.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

[Endorsed.] Copy. 1844. *Mexico, Novr. 29.* Mr. Bankhead. No. 102. *Confidential 1 Inclo. Recd. Jany. 6.* Interview with President Sta Anna respecting Acknowledgt of Independence of Texas.

[Enclosure to Aberdeen's No 1 of Jan 23, 1845. Translation.]^s Copy.

Points on the Settlement of which the Mexican Govt might agree to grant the Independence of Texas, in compliance with the wish indicated by H. M's Govt.

1st. Mexico would yield the Territory which is now occupied by the so-called Republic of Texas, that is from the Rio Colorado to the Sabina, and would at the same time mark out the Boundaries of the Interior part of the Country.

2d. Mexico by way of Compensation demands an Indemnity for the Territory so yielded.—The Guarantee of England and France united, that under no pretext whatever shall the Texans ever pass the Boundaries marked out. The same Nations shall also guarantee to Mexico the Californias, New Mexico, and the other points of the Northern Frontier bordering on the U. States, according to a Treaty to be drawn up for that purpose. If the U. States carry into effect the Annexation of Texas to the N. American Union, England and France will assist Mexico in the Contest which may be thereby brought on, always under the supposition that Mexico shall have carried into effect the recognition mentioned in Article 1.

3d. Until an answer shall be received from England, which is requested may be sent with the least possible delay, Mexico will suspend all hostilities against Texas.

4th. The English Cabinet can either give her Minister here, or send a Commissioner charged with full Powers to treat upon the above Points, and conclude the Negotiation.

[Endorsed] Copy. Translation

In Mr. Bankhead's No 102 "*Confidl*" of 1844

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT⁹

No. 2.

Confidential

Foreign Office

February 3d. 1845

Sir,

With reference to my Despatch No 1, of the 23d Ultimo, I transmit to You herewith, for your Information a copy of the Instruction therein referred to, which the French Government have addressed to M. Dubois de Saligny,¹⁰ and which the Count de St Aulaire has communicated to me confidentially, by direction of his Government.

I take this opportunity to direct you to communicate with Mr Bankhead, Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico, upon any matter arising out of my Instructions of the 23d Ultimo, on which you may judge it necessary that Mr Bankhead should be informed. Mr Bankhead has, in like manner, been directed to communicate to you any matters of importance which may arise in Mexico affecting the position of Affairs in Texas.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹¹

No 3

Foreign Office.

February 3d 1845.

Sir,

My Despatches to you, of this day's date will be forwarded by the West India Mail to Jamaica, whence they will be carried to Galveston under cover to Mr Consul Kennedy, by one of Her Majesty's Steamers, or by some other Ship of War. The Commander of such Ship will be instructed to wait at Galveston until Mr Kennedy shall have transmitted those Despatches to you at the Seat of Government, and received your answer, and to wait still further at Galveston, if you should express a wish to that effect; and he will eventually take back to Jamaica any De-

⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

¹⁰Guizot's instructions to Saligny, dated January 17, 1845, were similar to those sent by Aberdeen to Elliot on January 23. For wording of essential clauses, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 199.

¹¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

spatches for Her Majesty's Government, with which he may be entrusted by you or by Mr Consul Kennedy.

It is presumed that the detention of the Ship at Galveston for ten days, or at most a fortnight, will be sufficient to give you time to communicate with the Texian Government, and enable you to give to Her Majesty's Government, some idea of the probable course which events may take in Texas with reference to the matters treated of in my Despatches. Nevertheless, if you should deem it essential for the publick Service to detain the Ship still longer, you will consider yourself authorized to so do, but you will of course, in any case, not keep her longer than may be really necessary.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹²

No. 4.¹³

Galveston.

February 8th. 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that Congress in this Country adjourned on the 3d Instant till their next regular Session in December of this year.

A Bill to reduce the tariff to a uniform rate of 10 per Cent ad valorem has failed, but from frequent conversation with the President on the subject, and in view of the improving finance of the Country I believe there is every prospect of a modification to that extent during the next Session of Congress It should be mentioned in connexion with this point that the increased amount of revenue has enabled Congress to repeal the Act authorising the issue of Exchequer paper, and all the payments of the Government are now practically made in specie.

I believe that nothing direct has been done in Congress respecting Annexation, but incidentally there has been evidence of the continued prevalence of feeling in support of the Measure from different parts of the Country, and still more decisively by

¹²F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

¹³F. O., Texas, 13, Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 3, January 25, 1845, has been omitted. It related to the claims of Mr. S. Merana upon the Mexican government.

the fate of certain resolutions *against it*, presented in the House of Representatives on the 15th Ultimo. The resolutions and a brief sketch of the debate upon the occasion of their presentation is herewith transmitted for Your Lordship's perusal, from which it will be observed that their reception was rejected by a Vote of 19 to 18.

By another extract¹⁴ from the Galveston Civilian of the 5th Instant, and that paper is one of the best conducted and most influential in the Country, Your Lordship will remark that these proceedings have given general satisfaction. Upon the whole I incline to the opinion that there is a growing disposition here to believe that Annexation will be very difficult in the United States; a state of feeling which of course encourages the party in favour of Independence, and if the present effort in the United States is defeated, it is possible that there will be a considerable manifestation in Texas against any further entertainment of the subject.

Several leading men in the Country are only waiting for an opportunity, and will probably declare themselves against it decisively and energetically as soon as they think they can do so without mischief to their popularity.

Another indication of the spirit of Congress is the rejection by the Senate of Mr. Terrell and Colonel Riley as their representatives in Great Britain and the United States, and I also learn that no appropriation has been made for the support of any persons in those Stations. The pretext for these proceedings is economy, but the improved state of the finance is the sufficient answer to that plea and their real motive no doubt, is the dislike of those Gentlemen to the Annexation project, with perhaps some feeling that this Government would avail itself of the presence of a representative in Europe to facilitate combinations adverse to Annexation.

Without under valuing any inference deducible from these proceedings of Congress, I would take the liberty to remind Your Lordship that the House of Representatives is elected annually by the way of universal suffrage, and it would be unsound and unjust to consider that the decisions of such a Body afford

¹⁴All enclosures in this letter are newspaper cuttings from the *Galveston Civilian*, but are without date.

a fair average method of estimating the feeling of the respectable prudent and intelligent portions of the public. Generally speaking in these Countries the persons best suited in point of character and ability to the office of representatives do not offer themselves as Candidates, or would certainly be defeated if they did, and so far as I can observe it is almost a rule that the least eligible of those who do present themselves will be chosen.

This condition of things has the unfortunate result of constantly lowering the standard of the Legislative Bodies to the level of the masses of the Electors, who in their turn are as constantly tending downwards politically considered, both from the large immigration of ignorant persons, and still more so from the want of motive to fit and improve themselves as safe depositaries of political power, a deficiency chiefly attributable to the absence of some required qualifications, however moderate, in point of capacity, pursuit, character, or property.

Judging from a near point of view I venture to say that universal suffrage seems to me to be mere accidental privilege in respect of origin, with none of the securities, and guarantees, and advantages by which that kind of power is accompanied under other modifications of it. For the most part they who have nothing to win or to lose neither preconsider nor reflect, but exercise their political right in the spirit of the very hour, be it what it may, ignorant or heedless of the lessons of the past, and probably incited rather than deterred, as respects consequences, by the warnings of the wise and the just.

The course of Congress in Texas affords evidence no doubt of the actual state of popular impression at any given moment, but Your Lordship will readily conceive how suddenly that may be fashioned into any other shape by hands and voices accustomed to that task; and if it will not always be quite accurate to estimate the feeling of the more prudent part of the public from the proceedings in Congress, by an inverse process, it only remains to observe that those proceedings afford no means of judging at all of the opinions or wishes of thoughtful persons, any more than of the constancy of the prevailing popular humour.

Such is the state of the case as respects the conclusions to be drawn from the late Measures of Congress in Texas, and I believe that the view I have in other places had the honour to

submit to Your Lordship is sound, that is, that the course of the people of Texas will depend in a great degree upon the proceedings in the United States,

If they are disappointed of their hopes in that quarter during the present Session of Congress in the United States, there may come a moment of dissatisfaction and excitement in which it would be practicable to arrange definitely upon a sounder basis

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S.

Galveston Feby.—. 8th. 1845.

Since the above was written, an account of the latest proceedings in Congress before it's adjournment has reached us, from which I find that the Senate had succeeded in carrying an amendment of the Appropriation Bill, to some extent, respecting the support of Diplomatic Agents: A sum of \$9,000 was voted for the service of the year under that head, which would enable the Government to sustain two representatives, probably, one in the United States and one in Europe. I also learn from a Member that a Bill reducing the tariff by a gradual process, to a uniform rate of 15 per Cent ad valorem had passed, but I have reason to think that it will not be approved by the President, who is unwilling to touch the Duties till the experience of another year has enabled them to judge how far that can be done with security to the necessities of the Government, on a specie basis.

Charles Elliot

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁵

No. 5.

Galveston.

February 8th. 1845.

My Lord,

Herewith I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship the Copy of certain resolutions¹⁶ reported by the Committee on the State of the Republic in the House of Representatives on the 29th Ultimo. The report of the Committee was accepted, but

¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

¹⁶Unidentified newspaper cuttings giving a resolution of the House of Representatives declaring that if annexation failed, the government should seek treaties with foreign powers, beneficial to Texan products.

the resolutions were rejected by a considerable Majority, in the feeling, as I am told, that they seemed to be drawn up in some disposition to constrain the action of Congress in the United States.

I also avail myself of the opportunity to forward a letter written by the Representatives of this County in Congress, and published in a newspaper here,¹⁷ upon the subject of the late difficulty between the President and General Green which I think Your Lordship will wish to peruse.

Like everything else that has transpired upon that subject, it is deserving of attention.

I should mention that General Green has some time since taken the Oaths as a Citizen of Texas, and has I believe gone down to Corpus Christi on business connexion with a Gentleman of the name of Kinney, engaged in trade with the Mexicans across the frontier

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁸

Separate.

Galveston

February 8th 1845.

My Lord,

Congress having now separated in Texas till December 1845, and Congress in the United States being about to do so on the 4th. Proximo, I take the liberty of requesting Your Lordship's attention to some considerations connected with my own position in this Country

It appears to me that in the present unsettled state of the question of Annexation there is not merely no use in my constant presence in Texas during the recess of those Bodies, but on the contrary, certain and inexpedient exposure to a continuance of those rumours of undue influence on the part of Her Majesty's Government, got up for purposes of mischievous excitement here and in the United States, of which one remarkable instance has recently been reported to Your Lordship. This

¹⁷Unidentified newspaper cutting.

¹⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

Government is still only temporarily situated at Washington, where there is neither lodging nor convenience of any kind, nor steady communication with the Coast, and from whence the President and most of the Members of his Cabinet are absent as much as possible during the recess.

Beyond these considerations it should be mentioned that it is one of the most unhealthy situations of which I have any knowledge in my 30 years experience of the bad climates of the World, and therefore till this Government is permanently fixed somewhere it is not to be expected that any of the foreign Agents accredited to it, should establish themselves at such a point.

They have none of them done so, merely going there when they had any business with the Government. By a law passed in the late Session of Congress it has been determined that the situation of a permanent seat for the Government should be settled by a Majority of the Votes of the people in the Elections of 1847. And in the present state of all the circumstances of the case I would submit to Your Lordship that I should be allowed to reside in the United States during the recess of Congress in Texas, (unless I may at any time have business with the Government requiring my presence here) of course at some point where I should be in the line of my correspondence with Your Lordship, and with Her Majesty's Ministers at Washington and Mexico.

If this arrangement is sanctioned I shall proceed to join my family in Philadelphia as soon as I have had the honour to receive Your Lordship's reply and remain to the Northward till the Autumn, unless I should receive any Instructions in the interval requiring me to return here before that time, which I could do almost as soon as any Despatch could reach me in Texas; And indeed during the Summer Months owing to the frequent interruptions of the Mail communications between New Orleans and Galveston, probably sooner, unless the Despatches were forwarded by Special Messenger authorized to charter a vessel from New Orleans. On my return to New Orleans in the Autumn I should fix my family there or in the neighbourhood and come on myself to Texas for the meeting of Congress.

Perhaps Your Lordship will give me leave to mention that I

have returned to my post this year in a sense of duty at risk and considerable private distress, for my health is not good, and owing to the severe sickness of my child I have been compelled to leave my family amongst strangers in a hotel at Philadelphia.

But I felt that this was not the moment to suffer myself to be influenced by personal considerations, and I hope I am not mistaken in the confidence that Your Lordship will deem it safe to the public interests to confide the point of my residence in, or absence from Texas, to my own sense of the necessity. I may remark that my American Colleague has the authority of his Government to go to the United States, whenever he considers that he can absent himself, and the French Chargé d' Affaires tells me that he thinks himself at liberty in the present unsettled state of this Government, only to come here when he has business or during the meeting of Congress. In fact whether we are at Galveston or New Orleans is a matter of indifference, with some advantage in point of easy receipt of intelligence in favour of the latter place.

Till the affairs of this Country are settled; too, the immigration of persons of respectability is out of the question, and constituted as Society is at present, I can neither consent to expose my family to the total unsuitableness of a residence here, or afford to keep them part in England, part in the United States, and myself in Texas.

I am aware that Your Lordship is not called upon to weigh such considerations, but I permit myself to state them for they must of course influence my own proceedings.

Your Lordship will scarcely need to be informed that if the half of my salary is to be stopped whilst I am in the United States, I cannot avail myself of the sanction to reside there, for I have no private fortune, and my actual allowances barely enable me to maintain my family. Indeed I will frankly state that I have only been prevented from applying for a higher rate of allowance in a post where the expences are regulated by the scale of prices at New Orleans (the dearest place in the United States) and let me add, in a post where the duties, and risks, and indeed the painfulness of employment are probably equal to those of any similar station in the Service of the Crown, by a feeling of extreme repugnance to ask for any thing for myself.

Neither have I been without the hope that Your Lordship may be disposed to remove me to some better position whenever that can be done with convenience to the public interest.

Till then it must be unnecessary to say that my services are at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government here or any where else that Your Lordship may see fit to leave me, or to send me.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Downing Street.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁹

No. 6.

Galveston

February 15th. 1845.

My Lord,

Since I last had the honour of addressing Your Lordship the Annexation resolutions adopted by the House of Representatives in the United States have been received here.²⁰

I certainly have no belief that they will pass through the Senate; But if they should, such is the humour here that it is probable even these hard conditions would be accepted by a Majority of the people of Texas. At the same time it is certain that the tenour of the resolutions, is much below the expectations of the friends of the Measure, and occasioning considerable disappointment in that quarter, they have naturally had the effect of encouraging the hopes of the party, favourable to Independence, small as yet in point of numbers, but I think upon the whole gaining strength and confidence.

It is beginning to be insisted both in the press, and amongst the people with more of openness than I have hitherto remarked, that it is more manifest than [that] Annexation cannot be achieved on any terms that this Country ought to accept; that

¹⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

²⁰The "Brown" resolutions passed the United States House of Representatives on January 25, offering to admit Texas as a state, without further negotiation of an annexation treaty. Benton in the Senate introduced a bill providing instead for a new negotiation. This was amended to permit the President to select either mode he preferred, and as amended, passed the Senate on February 27, and the House on February 28. (Text of the resolutions as joined, and approved by Tyler, in U. S. Docs., Ser. No. 470, Doc. 1, p. 34.)

the conditions of these resolutions are entirely one sided as to advantage, and little short of insulting to Texas in point of language; that the charge of a State Government would be as heavy to this people as their present Establishments, that brought under the more burdensome fiscal system of the United States, and with the amount of the duties going to the Treasury of the United States, they would be at once living more chargeably, and trading less advantageously, and therefore even less able than they are now to meet their expenditure by direct taxation; that if they are to sacrifice all their present means of defraying their expence, and to be left with no other fund for the discharge of their debts than the proceeds of land sales, it was at least just that the Government of the United States should have guaranteed to them the peaceful and full possession of the territory which they claim to be Texas, that the United States can no doubt very well afford to be liberal to Mexico in respect of limits, being perfectly free of liabilities for the debts of Texas, that they are by no means satisfied with the vague expression that Congress is to take over the territory properly "included within, and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas"; and that they hold it to be out of the question under the circumstances of being left with the burden of their debts and expences, to concede to the United States the right of negotiating away their territory, or ever to enter into any Annexation arrangement with that Country unless the integrity of their present limits is effectually guaranteed.

Great dislike is expressed to the admission of any conditions respecting the Institution of Slavery within the limits of Texas; and beyond these and a variety of other considerations, it is insisted that it is impossible in any fair construction of the Constitution of Texas to take the sense of the people upon this momentous subject, and to have adopted a new Constitution as a State of the American Union for presentation to Congress in the United States, on or before the 1st January 1846, the period allowed for that purpose by the Resolutions of the House of Representatives. I enclose for Your Lordship's perusal the provisions of the Constitution in that particular,²¹ from which it

²¹Elliot enclosed a copy of that part of the Texan constitution entitled "General Provisions," Section II (on amendments). As in Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, II, 1761-1762.

would certainly appear to be scarcely practicable to accomplish this object within the specified time.

The first necessary step would be a call of the present Congress (in existence till the first Monday in next September) by a majority of which the proposed change must be agreed to, and referred by them to the Congress next to be chosen, which could not assemble again at the very earliest before the middle of October.

If that Congress should pass the proposed measure it would have to be submitted again to the people and making every allowance for the readiness with which they would enter into schemes to accelerate this matter, I think it could hardly come back to Congress, and have been adopted in time to reach Washington in the United States by the 1st January 1846.

My own impression is that although these resolutions may fail in the Senate, it is probable enough that some Measure will pass that body, intended to maintain a state of expectation in this Government and people; perhaps proposals to renew the Negotiations for settlement by treaty, and in that case I should consider it fortunate rather than otherwise that these resolutions have passed the House, for they will indicate to the people of Texas the kind of terms which can be carried through the Legislature of the United States; and the more these terms are examined the less acceptable must they be in this quarter. If the affair should take the turn of Negotiation again, there is reason to think that accommodation will be more difficult than it would have been before the appearance and passage of these Resolutions; though after all Her Majesty's Government must be sensible that objections in Texas must always be liable to give way before the representations and management of the Government of the United States.

Your Lordship will I believe hear with satisfaction that Mr Ashbell Smith has been appointed Secretary of State, and I am expecting to have the pleasure of seeing him here in the course of a few days.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²²*Secret.*Galveston,
February 17th 1845

My Lord,

Herewith I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship the Copy of an Act entitled, "An Act to incorporate the Texas Trading Mining and Emigrating Company,"²³ passed on the 30th January 1841. which has laid a dead letter in the Statute Book till the last Session, during which I observe that an Act supplementary to it has been passed. I have not seen that Act but I believe it is merely to authorize the opening of Books for the sale of Stocks etc. etc. I think it right however to forward the fundamental Act without loss of time because I perceive that certain parties forming part of the Body Corporate are resident in London (Messrs. Jonathan and Arthur Ikin). I learn from good authority that General Duff Green has constituted himself President of the Board of Resident Directors, and I have reason to think it is intended to raise money in London as well as the United States in furtherance of the project.

Believing that nothing but loss and serious mischief can accrue from such speculations under such management I take the liberty to suggest to Your Lordship that it may be desirable to cause some prudent and experienced persons in the City of London to be confidentially advertised of the possibility of the attempt to raise funds on these pretences, and of the very high probability that the result will be a dead loss. Her Majesty's Government too, will I am aware, be wishful to do whatever may be in their power to prevent the involvement of British Subjects and Capital in that web of political and Commercial speculation against Mexico which there is reason to think has not wanted some countenance from persons in high stations in the United States.

General Green does not appear to have carried any of his devices through the Legislature during it's last Session owing to circumstances known to Your Lordship; but in that disappointment this Act seems to have presented itself to his attention,

²²F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.²³Not transcribed.

and in truth it is very capable of being turned to account by persons versed in the art of managing such baits upon public credulity.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁴

No 8.²⁵

Galveston

February 22d. 1845

My Lord,

Thinking it probable that Your Lordship may desire to see something of the opinions of the press in this Country at the present Crisis, leaning against Annexation, I have taken the liberty to cut out the accompanying articles from one or two leading papers,²⁶ in preference to forwarding the Journals themselves, not otherwise worth the heavy charge of postage through the United States.

The articles from the "Texas National Register" are probably inserted with the knowledge and approbation of the Government

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁷

No 9.

Galveston.

February 24th. 1845

My Lord,

I have had the honour to receive Your Lordship's despatches to No 14 inclusive, of last year, and it is gratifying to me to reflect that I have been acting in such close accordance with the

²⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

²⁵There appears to be no despatch No. 7 from Elliot to Aberdeen in 1845. Presumably, Elliot made an error in numbering.

²⁶Newspaper cuttings of three editorials from the *Galveston Civilian*, February 12, 19, and 22, 1845, and of two editorials from the *Texas National Register*, February 8 and 15, 1845.

²⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

Instructions and policy of Her Majesty's Government since my return here.

Mr Ashbell Smith arrived at Galveston last Evening and I shall take an early opportunity of reporting the substance of my communications with him, but so far as I can judge from what he has yet said to me Your Lordship has nothing further to learn respecting the policy and wishes of this Government.

I shall avail myself of some early and safe occasion to press upon Mr Bankhead the readiness of this Government to enter into Negotiation with Mexico, and the importance of inducing them to respond to those dispositions as soon after the separation of Congress in the United States as possible

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²⁸

No. 4.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston February 25th 1845

My Lord.

Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires to this Republic would doubtless have apprized Your Lordship, by the Mail from Boston on the 1st of next Month, that, a short time previous to the adjournment of the Texan Congress on the 3rd Instant the Senate rejected the nomination of Mr Terrell, as the accredited representative of the Government to Great Britain and France.

It was generally understood at the period when the rejection took place, that this Measure was prompted by Mr Terrell's avowed hostility to the project of Annexation. From all that has since transpired, it is manifest that it was attributable to no other cause. In whatever quarter the Matter has been discussed, not a Syllable has been uttered, depreciatory of Mr Terrell's character, or capacity.

In a communication marked "Private," and dated "Washington, February 13th, (but not posted until the 20th), which President Jones has addressed to me, he adverts to Mr Terrell's rejection, and states that—"he will return home so soon as let-

²⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

ters can reach him.”—I take leave to copy for Your Lordship’s perusal, the observations of the President in relation to the recall of Mr Terrell, and Colonel Dangerfield, the Chargé d’ Affaires of the Republic in Holland.

“Colonel Dangerfield will also return early in the Spring. It is probable that I will send over some one in their place, but as yet have not fixed upon the individual. In the meantime, I feel anxious that any important Negotiations we may have with England and France should be conducted in Texas, and that their representatives here should be fully empowered for that purpose. In this way we can act much more efficiently and promptly as circumstances may arise, than if these Negotiations were to be carried on in London, as Lord Aberdeen has heretofore desired.”

I may remark that the late Congress of Texas refused to receive the petition of certain Citizens deprecating the Annexation of this Country to the United States, but received, and with especial notice, similar documents containing opinions and declarations favourable to that Measure.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²⁹

No 5

Her Majesty’s Consulate
Galveston, Febraury 26th 1845.

My Lord,

On the 17th of December last, a paragraph appeared in a Newspaper published in Charleston, South Carolina, stating that the British Consul in that City had intimated by Circular, that Sugar produced in the United States would thereafter pay in “the British Dominions” (United Kingdom) a duty of £1-14-0 per Cwt.

Towards the close of last Month, this pragraph was brought under my notice in a Communication from the Treasury Department of the Texan Government, and I was requested, for the information of a Congressional Committee on the State of the Republic to signify whether the allegation in the Newspaper para-

²⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

graph was correct, and whether "there were" a discriminating duty of £3-3-0 per Cwt on the Sugars of Cuba and Brazil, when imported into the United Kingdom, and also what amount of duty was at present paid on Colonial Sugars there introduced.—The Communication referred to closed with these words:

"If the aforesaid discrimination really exist, the Sugars of Texas being entitled by Treaty to equality in Great Britain with those of the most favoured Nation, ought to become a profitable product of this Country for the British Market.

Immediately on receipt of this Communication, I forwarded, for the information of the Congressional Committee, copies of a London daily Newspaper, containing ample reports of the Parliamentary debate on the Sugar Duties Bill, of last year. In a letter of reply dated 25th January, I stated that I had "no official knowledge of any steps taken by Her Majesty's Consul at Charleston, in relation to the Law lately passed, regulating the import of Sugars into the United Kingdom."—I then adverted to the Act itself (7 and 8 Victoria, cap. 28) and proceeded to copy, for the consideration of the Committee, those of its provisions that were apposite to the Matters of inquiry, intimating that I had but recently received my official copy of the Act, which had, not been accompanied by any Instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

From my knowledge of the Soil and Climate of Texas, and the evidence afforded by specimens of Sugar grown in the Country, I feel fully warranted in expressing the opinion that Sugar, as well as Cotton, will form an important article of export from the Republic, when its political independence has ceased to be a Matter of uncertainty,—provided a profitable Market can be found.—I have reason to believe that the expectation of finding such a Market in the United States has been one inducement to the Texan planters to desire incorporation into the Union. At present, they do not hope, under the burthen of a discriminating duty, to compete advantageously with the Sugar-growers of Louisiana, although they enjoy a superiority of climate, if not of Soil.—Persons of experience think that Sugar as the surer crop, is destined to supersede Cotton on the rich alluvion of the low lying lands of Middle Texas. It is anticipated that the capital requisite for its cultivation would soon be

forthcoming, were Annexation to the United States consummated; A market for the product would then be found at home, while lands now waste, or subjected to a very imperfect tillage, would, command a price calculated to raise the owners from the condition of a barren proprietorship to a state of comparative opulence

The Committee of Congress on the state of the Republic, when instituting their inquiries respecting the British Sugar Market, were doubtless desirous to ascertain whether, in the event of Texas retaining her independence, an equivalent for the advantages secured to the home grown under the American System of protection, might be found elsewhere.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³⁰

No 10.

Galveston

March 6th. 1845.

My Lord,

I have recently had several communications with Mr Ashbell Smith respecting the policy and dispositions of this Government. He believes, with the President, that the temper of this people is changing, and that if terms of Independence are speedily offered by Mexico they will be very generally acceptable and steadfastly maintained.

But he dwells a good deal (as the President had done,) on the increasing strength of a rising Sugar growing interest in Texas, as the party most favorable to Annexation, and expresses much hope that Her Majesty's Government will be willing to make some proposals in that respect calculated to weaken these dispositions.

I observed that he could have hardly failed to remark during his late residence in England firstly that the principle of discriminating duties was not favourably regarded there, and secondly with respect to the sugar duties, that owing to a variety of causes and the union of a great body of political opinion, otherwise of various shades, upon one consideration connected with that branch, of the public revenue; it might be very diffi-

³⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

cult for Her Majesty's Government to propose any discrimination in favour of the sugar produced in Texas, under its present circumstance.³¹ At the same time I would say, speaking without authority and entirely as a matter of private opinion that it seemed to me that the rate of duty to be charged upon Texas sugar (considered apart from the general bearing of any relaxation in that respect) was a matter of no consequence:

For I had a conviction that Texas grown Sugar could never come into consumption in any large way in that Market, even supposing for a moment that it was admitted at a mere nominal higher rate than our own Colonial produce.

Mr Smith must be aware that it could never be laid down in England at such a price as would enable it to compete with the Sugar of Countries better suited to that kind of production under any amount of differential duty that there was the least reason to suppose could ever exist between the Sugar even of our own Colonies, and of those Countries. I had had a long experience in Sugar producing Countries in all parts of the World, and it was plain to me that if there should ever be any attempt to grow Sugar on an extensive scale in Texas, the result would be disastrous to the parties concerned, and extremely unfortunate for the well understood interests of the Republic.

He admitted that this might be the case, but still he had no doubt that any evidence of the favourable disposition of Her Majesty's Government in that particular would be attended with excellent effects here at the present moment, and he sincerely hoped that something would be done in that sense.

I said I certainly believed Your Lordship would be well disposed to recommend a general and liberal relaxation in favour of the produce of Texas if the Legislature of this Republic; by the modification of their own tariff would afford some proper grounds for sustaining such a policy in Parliament. The fact

³¹In the British free trade agitation of 1844-1845, there was much discussion of the duties discriminating in favor of colonial as against foreign sugars. The first break in the protective idea in relation to colonial sugars, came in a proposal (1844) to give an advantage to foreign sugars produced by countries not maintaining slavery. Elliot's answer to Smith here indicates, therefore, the difficulty he sees in getting any advantages for Texas, a slave state.

that the tariffs of the United States and Mexico were both very burdensome to British Commerce would naturally place a different policy on the part of Texas in a strong and favourable light, and speaking for myself, I did hope and believe that it would be in the power of Her Majesty's Government, as I am sure it would be at all events their wish, to meet such arrangements on the part of Texas, in the most friendly and liberal spirit. Mr. Smith had fully collected that impression from Your Lordship's Conversations with him, and the President reposed implicit Confidence in the just and kind feelings of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr Smith made a brief summary of the points which he wished to be drawn under Your Lordship's particular attention as best conducive in his mind, to a safe and final adjustment of this question, due regard being had to the certain renewal of the subject in the United States by the Administration of Mr Polk, the temper of the people of Texas, and the situation of this Government.

1st That Mexico should at once propose the acknowledgment of the complete Independence of Texas.

2nd That Texas upon her part would in that case stipulate in the treaty never to annex herself, or to become subject to any country whatever.

3rd. That the question of limits, and indemnity for any portion of the territory should be the subject of Negotiation, and if disputes or difficulties should arise in the Negotiations Mr Smith thinks that there would be no objection on the part of Texas to adjustment by the arbitration of umpires. He remarked with regard to indemnity for any portion of the territory that he certainly believed the people of Texas would consent to pay it, but it was only just to admit that he saw no means of making the payment within any period of time, that it would be safe to indicate now. The liability, however, would remain, and the Country would discharge it, as soon as they could.

He pressed upon the point of limits that the people of Texas would certainly strongly insist upon going, at least Coast wise, as far as the Mouth of the Rio Grande; and he urged that it was for the safety and convenience of Mexico to consent to that,

for even if the people could be brought to take the line of the "Nueces" for the present, he thought there was reason to apprehend further troubles at no remote period arising out of these claims to the line of the Rio Grande which they had so long been accustomed to consider was their frontier.

I told Mr Smith I would of course communicate his views to Your Lordship by the earliest opportunity, but whilst I was without the means of forming any opinion upon the willingness of Her Majesty's Government to press these territorial pretensions upon Mexico, for the subject never had been adverted to in any Communication of Your Lordship to me, I could not but state my own impression that there was very little reason to suppose that they would ever be admitted by Mexico.

I may take the liberty however, in this place to state my own opinion to Your Lordship that whilst it would certainly be for the safety of Mexico to adhere to the line of the Nueces as the Western frontier of Texas, by reason of the desert nature of the Country between that river and the Rio Grande, it would no doubt be a matter of general and considerable convenience to the foreign trade with Texas, to endeavor to secure from Mexico the cession of the Keys or Islands facing the Coast, as far down as the Harbour of Brassos. Santiago, at the Mouth of the Rio Grande. This despatch affords me a convenient occasion to mention to Your Lordship that recent communications have taken place between General Arista Commanding in the North of Mexico, and by them no doubt made known to this Government.

I am disposed to think from what I have learnt of that Officer's character and opinions, and the general temper of the Provinces contiguous to Texas, as well as from other Circumstances in Your Lordship's knowledge, that it is quite probable there may be some reports of considerable importance in contemplation, the further development of which may depend in a great degree upon the course of the new Governments in Mexico and the United States.

It seems to me forming my opinion partly from information and partly from reflection that General Arista's schemes propose the junction of Texas with the Provinces contiguous to this Country for the purpose of securing from the Central Gov-

ernment some such relaxation as was recently wrung from Santa Anna at Yucatan, and it may be that failing in that object there may be some renewed attempt to form what Your Lordship will remember to have heard of as the "Republic of Rio Grande." Her Majesty's Government will probably have better information upon these points from Mexico than I can furnish from here, but I make no doubt that some project of the kind, is in contemplation, though it may be that circumstances will conspire to defeat it for the present. It should be mentioned in connexion with this subject that the trade between Texas and Mexico has been steadily improving since the Armistice of June 1843, and if nothing should occur to interrupt it (which is less likely, since the mended finance of this Country has enabled the Government to Station a small force on the frontier for the maintainence of order, and the protection of the traders) I believe it will soon be of considerable political importance, as well as Commercial.

Mr Smith observed, to me in the course of conversation a day or two since, that if Mexico should require guarantees for the faithful execution of the treaty respecting the abandonment of any further Annexation projects, he thought it was possible that the Governments of Her Majesty and The King of the French might not be averse to offer them. I said I was without any information upon that subject, and could form no opinion upon it. But I venture here to state to Your Lordship my own belief that the best guarantee for Mexico in that particular would be in the suitableness of the Scheme itself to the interests of this people, and the certainty that the Country upon an independent footing would rapidly fill up with a population not at all disposed to connect themselves in that way with the United States.

I think that it might be pressed with force, and I am sure with great truth upon Mexico, that nothing could tend more to keep alive the feeling of hostile eagerness in the United States or here, in favour of Annexation, than the knowledge of the existence of any guarantees against it by the European Governments. The sounder policy in my humble judgment would be that all parties should be left free to act according to circum-

stances in the event of any breach of this condition upon the part of Texas.

With no confidence expressed in this respect by the European Governments, either in the United States or in Texas, it would probably be conjectured in both those quarters, that not much was felt, and that consideration would have its weight without furnishing those overt means of exciting the population of these two Countries, that the formal stipulation of guarantees would certainly do.

Observation and reflection have satisfied me (let the Scheme of Annexation to the United States upon its present intention and footing be pushed to extremities when it may, either before or after the acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas by Mexico,) that Mexico has much more efficacious means of confounding the project, and responding formidably to the aggression, than seems to be generally contemplated either in the United States or here.

I beg to mention to Your Lordship that I have taken the liberty to shew my French Colleague Monsieur de Saligny the communications which had passed between Her Majesty's and His own Government forwarded to me in Your Lordship's Despatch No 13 of 1844, as he informed me that his own Instructions did not come down to so late a date as mine.

I need hardly say that I have always felt it particularly incumbent on myself, in the suspicion, or the pretended suspicion, respecting the undue exercise of British influence here, to cultivate the best understanding with the Representative of the French Government, and I add with pleasure that both He and his predecessor have constantly extended to me similar proofs of confidence and friendly feeling.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. I shall forward a Copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁸²

No. 11.

Galveston

March 7th. 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honour to enclose an Article extracted from the "Texas National Register"⁸³ understood to be the organ of the Government upon the Scheme of Annexation proposed in the Resolutions passed by the House of Representatives in the United States

If the Government were in a situation to sustain this tone by evidence that immediate settlement upon the basis of the Independence of the Country (or at all events a state of peace and security) was beyond a doubt, I think these Resolutions would find little favour in this Country. But Her Majesty's Government will conceive that in the absence of definite and satisfactory assurances of a steady settlement as respects Mexico, it will always be easy for the Government of the United States to maintain a state of expectation in this Country.

Entertaining little doubt that some measure calculated to produce that effect will pass through the Legislature of the United States, probably powerfully supported by a strong tone on the part of the new President in his inaugural address, I certainly see reason to question the readiness of this people at once generally and cordially to sustain the Government in the sense of this Article

If however any overtures should be made by Mexico or from their quarters of a conclusive nature, the people would no doubt be more induced to abandon all further thought of Annexation than they would have been if these resolutions had been less hard and injurious than they certainly are.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. March 9—1845

Since the above was written another Article has appeared in the "Texas National Register" of the 1st. Inst., adverse to the

⁸²F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.⁸³For February 22, 1845.

principles of Mr. Benton's proposed Bill for the renewal of Annexation Negotiations.

Charles Elliot.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁸⁴

No. 14.⁸⁵

Galveston.

March 22d. 1845.

My Lord,

The intelligence of the success of the Annexation Measures in the United States arrived here two days since, and with the language of the new President in his inaugural address have certainly given some encouragement to the party favourable to the Scheme; But upon the whole it seems to me that less satisfaction and confidence are entertained by the more sagacious and watchful of that way of thinking than they profess to feel.

Owing to some mischance either at New Orleans, or on the Voyage, I have not yet received my despatches by the 4th February Mail, or any of a latter date than I have already had the honour to acknowledge, (No 14 of 1844); but I have fortunately received one private letter from Mr. Pakenham dated 24th Ultimo, informing me of the favourable dispositions of the Mexican Government, and I have lost no time in privately communicating that intelligence to Mr Ashbell Smith; for Your Lordship will conceive how important it is, particularly at the present moment that this Government should have the certainty, that settlement upon the basis of Independence is within their reach.

It is to be regretted that these tidings did not reach this Country before the late news from the United States, but still if the Mexican Government will adhere firmly to the determination only to conclude upon the condition that Texas is to remain an Independent Country, and stipulate for a prompt and

⁸⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

⁸⁵F. O., Texas, 13, Elliot to Aberdeen, Nos. 12, March 9, and 13, March 13, 1845, have been omitted. No. 12 referred to a Texan proclamation revoking letters of marque. No. 13 related to the "Little Penn" claims and transmitted copies of Elliot to Allen, January 8, 1845, Smith to Elliot, February 22, 1845, and Elliot to Smith, March 10, 1845. The first and second of these letters are calendared in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 47, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II. The third apparently has not been printed, but is here omitted since none of the "Little Penn" correspondence has been included in this publication.

decisive answer from this quarter to that condition; I should see little reason to doubt that this question might be speedily and securely adjusted. Rapidity of action and liberality in point of terms from Mexico, have now become of indispensable necessity.

But acting at once in that spirit with regard to Texas, it may I think be depended upon that they have the power of effectually averting the dangers by which they are menaced.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³⁶

No. 15.

Galveston,

March 24th 1845.

My Lord,

The accompanying Newspaper³⁷ contains the report of the Committee on the State of the Republic in the House of Representatives transmitted in my despatch No 5 of this year.

The debate upon the subject too is reported in this paper, and I think the whole is worthy of Your Lordships attention at the present moment.

I would also claim Your Lordship's notice to the Editorial Articles in this paper, known to be the Government organ

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

JONES TO ABERDEEN³⁸

Washington on the Brazos.

31st March. 1845.

My Lord,

Having received certain information of a willingness on the part of Mexico to treat with Texas on the basis of independence, it has been thought best in order to take advantage of

³⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

³⁷The *Texas National Register*, March 15, 1845.

³⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 14. This letter is calendared by Garrison as printed in Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence*, 475-476, but is here reprinted as of special interest in understanding Elliot's activities.

this favorable disposition on the part of the government of that Country, that Capt Elliot should proceed without delay to the City of Mexico to press this Matter to a conclusion with that government.

Capt. Elliot has expressed the desire, that, as his proposed visit to Mexico when communicated to me, seemed in my opinion highly advisable and necessary I would communicate this opinion of mine to Your Lordship directly.

I beg you will excuse the trouble I give you at this time, and accept the assurance of the esteem and very high consideration with which I have the honor to remain.

Anson Jones.

To, The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁸⁹

Secret.

Galveston.

April 2d. 1845

My Lord,

I had the honour to receive Your Lordship's despatches to No 3 inclusive of this year by Her Majesty's Ship "Electra" on the 24th Ultimo, and proceeded next morning with my Colleague M. de Saligny to Washington where we arrived on the 27th.

Our chief desire was to reach that place with our instructions before the official account from the United States announcing the passage of the proposed Measure of Annexation through that Congress (one Copy said to be coming by the way of the Red river) for we are perfectly sensible that the difficulties of our task would have been greatly increased, or it may be entirely insuperable, if the representations and other means of action of that Government upon this people, and through them upon this Government had preceded our own arrival at Washington. We were also aware that Major Donnelson the American Chargé d' Affaires might be expected every hour in the Steam Boat looked for at Galveston when we left.

There could therefore be but little time for the hopeful dispatch of our own business before he would appear upon the

⁸⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

scene with all the means he could naturally have for engaging this Government in an opposite direction, or at all events of effectually preventing them from engaging themselves in any way for the support of the independence of the Country.

We had the good fortune to arrive at Washington before any official tidings from the United States, and we hope that the Measure we were able to complete before disturbing circumstances presented themselves will be satisfactory to our Governments; a brief space, for Major Donnalson was actually within 20 Miles of Washington when the Memorandum of Conference was signed, as Your Lordship will learn in the sequel of this report

In a careful examination of the Situation of our circumstances during our voyage to Washington we could not fail to perceive that if the Scheme adopted in the United States should be that known as Mr Brown's resolutions the great immediate danger was in the success of the strenuous efforts to induce the President forthwith to call a Session of Congress. The present Congress, in existence till the first Monday in September next, particularly the House of Representatives, is by far the least respectable or trustworthy that I have seen since my residence in this Country, and, has already so deeply committed itself to the Cause of Annexation that we felt every hope for the honourable and safe adjustment of this grave question must be relinquished unless the Assembly of that Body could be obviated. If the portion of the plan selected by the Governt of the United States should be Mr. Benton's resolution,⁴⁰ the danger indeed was of another kind, but certainly not at all less serious. Such a Commission from the United States sitting in Texas, as that Gentleman's project contemplates, founded upon an appropriation of \$100,000, would at once over whelm the whole power and influence of the Constituted Authorities of the land. In the one case the Nationality of the Country would be helped to destruction by the Assembly of their own Congress; In the other by the Assembly of the Commissioners from the United States.

Fully concurring in these opinions, and in view of the advanced state of affairs we agreed that it was incumbent upon us to use every effort consistent with the object of our instructions to

⁴⁰See p. 445, note 20.

induce this Government neither to assemble Congress, nor to entertain any Negotiation for Annexation, at all events for such a length of time as might enable our Governments to determine the Government of Mexico to acknowledge the independence of this Country, or failing in those efforts to provide for the emergency in any equally effectual manner by diplomatic Act in Europe with the representatives of this Republic.

The President was not at Washington on the Evening of our arrival, but we had the advantage of full and frank communication with Mr Ashbel Smith, and next morning with His Excellency himself. We read to him our Instructions, and urged every argument that presented itself to us, whether founded upon the honour and advantage of the Country, or upon the ruinous consequences of Annexation, and the ambiguity and doubtful nature of the resolutions. They told us so far as they were personally concerned it was unnecessary to insist upon these views. The President, speaking for himself, was sincerely desirous of maintaining the independence of the Country, but we were perfectly aware that the Government in this Scheme of things was but the agent of the people.

He thought therefore we must be prepared to hear that unless he should be very speedily enabled to offer for the decision of the Country a Measure founded upon the acknowledgment of the Republic by Mexico, unaccompanied by any other than the condition to maintain their independence, He should feel that it was in vain to resist the tide, and that it was his duty to carry out the wish of the people whatever it may be. He was sensible however, of the risks and inconveniences of assembling the present Congress, or of the Meeting in Texas of the Commission of Negotiation from the United States, and was certainly prepared to incur every proper responsibility to avoid either of these alternatives. But it was not till the President had consulted his Cabinet twice in the course of the 28th., and requested us to meet them once, and urge our own views, that we were enabled to dispose him to agree to the arrangement which Your Lordship will find detailed in the Memorandum of Conference herewith transmitted.

With the hope of facilitating that conclusion I offered after consultation with my Colleague, to proceed myself with the ut-

most despatch and secrecy to Mexico in order to make a fresh explanation to the Ministers of our Courts there of the extreme difficulty of the President's situation, and the urgency of immediate promptitude, and exact conformity to the preliminary arrangement here submitted. On that condition the President consented, but he exacted from us a personal assurance that the Memorandum of Conference, should only be confided to our Courts, and to the Ministers at Washington and Mexico.

It must be admitted that His Excellency has not exaggerated the serious responsibility he has incurred. But we confidently hope that He may depend upon the early successful intervention of the two Courts at Mexico, and that Confidence was fortified by my own private information from Mr Pakenham, and subsequently by a private letter from Mr Bankhead dated March 1st., also reporting the favourable dispositions of the new Government.

With these dispositions in that quarter we feel that it has been a point of great moment to prevent any sudden action here in an opposite direction and Your Lordship will judge how little time was left to us when I mention that we met Major Donnelson within 10 Miles of Washington scarcely six hours from the time that we had concluded, with eager requests to know if Congress was already convoked, and speaking of that Measure as one of course, and necessarily decisive of the whole matter.

We told him that we supposed the Government were waiting the tidings, and that nothing had transpired of their purposes. But in spite of the earnest efforts of Major Donnelson and the friends of Annexation, it is our opinion that the steadfastness of the President to the present arrangement may be confidentially depended upon and we are equally satisfied that he will keep his promise not to reassemble the present Congress.

We cannot but express the hope that within the period of 90 days our Governments will have either succeeded in disposing Mexico to acknowledge the independence of Texas, or have forwarded to this Country such a formal declaration of their purpose to sustain it, and prevent further disturbance and complication from Mexico as will enable the friends of independence to defeat their opponents at the next election. The party on

the side of the first is naturally cautious, and unwilling to declare itself openly against the connexion with the United States whilst so much doubt exists. But it comprises a considerable portion of the intelligence and respectability of the Country, and I believe there is ground for the opinion that it is stronger than it appears to be, and that its friends will rally round it with courage and confidence as soon as they know authentically that it is within their reach. Major Donnelson's anxiety to learn where General Houston was (which we could not tell him exactly) was another significant hint of the direction in which he proposes to operate, and coming immediately from General Jackson for whom General Houston has so much friendship, it is not to be denied that his influence may be very powerful on that quarter. General Houston however has other friends in this Country who will endeavour to keep him in the way of his abiding honour and duty and we have certainly heard nothing which leads us to dismiss the hope of their success

In conformity with Your Lordship's directions I only communicated the substance of Mr Bankhead's despatch with its inclosure, and indeed I must state that it would have been hopeless to induce the President to pause if he had been officially certified of the nature of some of the proposals made by Mexico. Nothing that is so much mixed with securities and guarantees upon the part of the European Powers, Great Britain in particular, can be offered to this people, with the least hope of success, and the knowledge of these proposals of Mexico at the present moment would be decisive against the possibility of maintaining the Independence of the Country. They would light up a flame from one end of the North American Confederacy to the other.

Pressed by the advanced state of the circumstances and the necessity of immediately meeting the danger of an Assembly of Congress, or opening of Negotiation with the United States, it has been out of our power with any regard to the objects of our instructions to confine ourselves to a report of the dispositions of the Government. Good as those dispositions are, the report we should have been compelled to make would virtually have involved an account of the sacrifice of the independence of the Country. But we have had the less hesitation in adopting

the proposals made by Mr Smith as the basis of our proceedings, perceiving that they accord with the wish of our Governments that Mexico should merely acknowledge the independence of Texas under a Stipulation that it should be maintained, leaving all other terms and conditions to be matter of Negotiation.

I called the attention of the President and Mr Smith to the absence of any stipulation respecting indemnity, which Mr Smith had declared their willingness to pay in the conversation reported in my despatch No 10. They said that they faithfully adhered to that offer, but they had avoided it's direct acknowledgment in the condition because they desired they should go before the people here on their return from Mexico in such a shape as would secure support, and they forcibly felt that they could not be altered in point of language without imminent danger to the prospect of success, already sufficiently critical.

We availed ourselves of our late visit at Washington to press upon the President the unsuitableness of leaving our Courts without a representative of this Country at the present moment, and we said that we both felt it would be taken to be a striking proof of the good dispositions of this Government at this Crisis, if His Excellency would send back his present Secretary of State. He was known and highly appreciated both in London and in Paris, and he would be able to afford such a complete explanation of the situation of circumstances here as would be very desirable at this time.

We therefore trusted he would be reappointed, and desired to proceed to his post with the utmost despatch with full powers to conclude any engagement which might seem to the Governments and himself to be necessary for the safety of the Country. What was done there might be sent out here to us, and acted upon or not according to the result from Mexico. The President with his usual friendly confidence in us acceded to our request, and Mr Smith will probably reach England by the Middle of May.

I would wish to say to Your Lordship privately, that it was a point of importance with us in making this request that Mr Smith would probably be succeeded by Mr Allen the present Attorney General, a man of excellent sense, high character, and the best dispositions in this matter; and we have satisfaction in

saying that such is to be the case. Whilst Mr Smith will be of the highest use in Europe, it may be depended that Mr Allen will adequately and safely replace him here. Mr Smith told us that there had been great difficulty in inducing some of the Cabinet to consent to refrain from any movement in the direction of the United States Negotiation, for so long a time, not from any good will to the resolutions, but because they conscientiously felt that it would be almost impossible to keep the people patient for such a considerable period, and we cannot but admit that it will require the utmost degree of caution, firmness, and address upon the part of this Government to manage these affairs with success.

I do not offer Your Lordship any excuse for the determination to proceed to Mexico, for I hope that none can be necessary. Personally considered, if I may venture to intrude a personal consideration, it is distressing to me on several grounds; but the President attached so much importance to it, and my Colleague advocated it so strongly that I have thought it my duty to go. I shall of course take every practicable precaution to keep my visit there strictly secret and shall not remain one day longer than may be necessary for purpose of full explanation. With the intention of concealment I shall cause it to be understood that the Electra has gone to Bermuda with despatches to meet the homeward Mail, and that She will drop me at Charlestown, to which place I have for some time been expecting that Mrs Elliot would pay a visit.

I shall also ask the Commander not to anchor at Vera Cruz, but to send me in to any English or French Man of War lying there, as an officer charged with despatches for Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico, and the ship will go away, and be reported by another name. It is also my purpose not to return to this place or New Orleans from Mexico, but if possible to land somewhere in the United States where I am not known, and to return to New Orleans in some unobserved manner. I hope to be there by the 1st May in time to receive my despatches by the April Mail.

The Ministers of the two Powers in Mexico will be best able to judge of the mode of operating upon Mexico but I need hardly say that it does not form part of our plan that these preliminary

conditions should be placed before the Mexican Government at once, which they might perhaps offend, as having an appearance of dictation, but only that they should be a sufficient Warrant to the Ministers to answer for Texas to that extent. It will also of course be necessary to take care that the Mexican Government does not know the length of time during which Texas is bound to abstain from any Negotiations with the United States. We have also thought that if there should be any French Man of War lying at Sacrificios and Monsieur Alleye de Cyprey will have the goodness to send back the answer of the Mexican Government by her (supposing it to be favourable) that such a circumstance would have a good effect here. The President wished that it should be done in that way.

I must not close this despatch without expressing to Your Lordship my cordial obligations to my Colleague Monsieur de Saligny for his friendly, zealous and able co-operation in these affairs. Weighty as the representations of His Government have no doubt been with the President, I should be wanting indeed if I omitted to say that Monsieur de Saligny's long acquaintance with this Government, and their well founded confidence in his good wishes and Judgment have contributed much to the turn we have been able to give to this question at the present critical moment.

These despatches will be conveyed to Washington by M. Saint Martin an Attache of his Legation.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable. '

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

Galveston April 3d. 1845.

P. S.

Since the above was written H. M. S. Eurydice has arrived here from Vera Cruz bringing me a despatch and private letter from Mr Bankhead dated 20th and 22d March⁴¹ with the intelligence that the new Mexican Government was in the same favourable disposition towards an amicable settlement with this Country as General Santa Anna.

It has appeared to me to be so important that what has passed

⁴¹In F. O., Mexico, 184, copies sent by Bankhead to Aberdeen, March 31, 1845.

here upon the same subject should be known to Her Majesty's Government as soon as possible that I have requested Captain Elliot to direct the Commander of the "Electra" to proceed with the duplicate of my despatches to Bermuda without loss of time in the hope that She may catch the homeward Mail leaving that Island on the 21st. Instant, and if She has sailed I trust that the Commander in Chief will forward them to England by a Ship of War.

Charles Elliot.

[Enclosure].⁴²

Memorandum of a Conference held at the State Department at Washington on the Brazos on the 29th. March 1845. between the Honourable Ashbel Smith Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas and the Chargés d' Affaires of Their Majesties. The Queen of Great Britain and The King of the French. Captain Charles Elliot and M. de Saligny.

(Seal.)

After the communication to Mr. Ashbel Smith of the instructions of their respective Governments dated 17th and 23d January last the representatives of the two Powers invited the Government of Texas to accept the good offices of England and France for an early and honourable settlement of their difficulties with Mexico upon the basis of the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas by that Republic.

The Secretary of State was instructed by the President to accept the invitation of the two Powers; But in view of the much more advanced condition of circumstances connected with the affairs of Texas, now existing, than could be known in London and Paris at the dates of those despatches, and adverting to the difficulties and risks to which this Government is exposed from causes upon which he need not dwell, The Secretary of State was desired by the President to press the urgent necessity that this Government should be as speedily as possible enabled to present to the people of this Country for their consideration and action decisive proofs that Mexico was at once ready

⁴²F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

to acknowledge the independence of this Republic without other condition than the Stipulation to maintain the same.

The Government of Texas therefore with a sincere desire to avail themselves of the proffered interposition of the Powers have now authorized the Secretary of State to propose to their representatives the following arrangement

1st. The Signature and seal of the Secretary of State or any other Minister of the Republic of Mexico duly authorized by the Government thereof to be procured to the preliminary conditions now submitted to the Representatives of the two Powers, and the Government of Texas pledges itself forthwith after the same shall be placed in the hands of the President to issue a Proclamation announcing the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace with the Republic of Mexico.

2nd. Texas for a period of ninety days from the date of this Memorandum agrees not to accept any proposals, nor to enter into any Negotiations to annex Herself to any other Country.

The Representatives of the two Powers sensible of the peculiar situation of the Government of Texas, to which the Secretary of State has called their attention were ready on the part of their respective Governments to accede to the proposals he had now made, and pledged themselves forthwith to pursue their accomplishment.

(L. S.)	Ashbel Smith.
(L. S.)	C. de Saligny.
(L. S.)	Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.].

Inclosure No 1 in Capt Elliot's Secret despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. April. 2d 1845

[Enclosure.].⁴³

Conditions preliminary to a treaty of peace between Mexico and Texas.⁴⁴

I. Mexico consents to acknowledge the Independence of Texas.

⁴³F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

⁴⁴This document is in U. S. Docs., Ser. No. 480, Doc. 2, p. 71, but is here reprinted to make clear the results of the efforts of Elliot and Saligny.

II. Texas engages that She will Stipulate in the treaty not to annex herself or become subject to any Country whatever.

III. Limits and other conditions to be matter of arrangement in the final treaty.

IV. Texas will be willing to remit disputed points respecting territory and other matters to the arbitration of umpires.

Done at Washington on the Brazos. on the 29th of March. 1845.

Signed Ashbel Smith
Secretary of State

Seal of the Department of State.

(Copy).

Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed]

Inclosure No 2. in Capt. Elliot's Secret despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. April 2d 1845.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT⁴⁵

Separate.

Foreign Office.

April. 3d. 1845

Sir,

I have received Your Despatch, marked *Separate*, of the 8th of February in which you describe your position, and express your wishes with reference to your residence in Texas, stating under the present political and social circumstances of that Country, a fixed residence in it, and especially at the Seat of Government, does not appear to you to be necessary, and that it would be attended with serious risk to your health, and great personal inconvenience and discomfort in every respect

You accordingly desire permission to reside in the United States during the recess of the Texian Congress, alleging that your Colleagues, the *Chargés d' Affaires* of France and of the United States always adopt this plan when the Congress is not sitting

As a general principle, I must observe that the proper residence of a Consular or Diplomatic Agent is in the Country in which he is accredited; and that such Agent, having voluntarily accepted his Appointment with all the risks and inconveniences,

⁴⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

as well as all the advantages attached to it, is bound to fix his residence in such Country, nor can he properly assign personal discomfort, or even risk, as a sufficient ground for absenting himself, or desiring to absent himself, from his Post. There may, however, be exceptions to this general rule, and considering the rude and unsettled state of Texas, and the entire absence as yet of those ordinary comforts and conveniences which are considered necessary in civilized life, as well as the positive unhealthiness of the Country in its present uncultivated state, I think that Texas may fairly be classed as coming within those exceptions. It appears also that other Governments allow their Agents in Texas to view the matter in this light, and to reside during a part of the year in the United States.

This being the case, I have no objection to your quitting Texas this year during the hot and unhealthy Months, and establishing your Residence in the United States, with the benefit of your full Salary as if you were at your Post. But you must clearly understand that you will be expected, while in the United States, to reside at some sea-port between which and Texas there is frequent Communication, and that, while thus absent from your Post, you will keep your attention constantly alive to all that is passing both in Texas, and in the United States with reference to Texas, and that whenever your presence in Texas may be required, you will at once proceed thither to resume the Duties of your Station

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

No 7.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston,
April. 3d. 1845.

My Lord,

On the 22d ultimo, I had the honor to address a communication to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, in the United States, mentioning, in the following terms, a report which had reached me.

¹F. O., Texas, oVI. 14.

"——— I have heard—and on what I am entitled to call good authority—that preparations are in progress in the United States for raising a force of ten thousand men, with a view to the invasion of the Mexican Provinces south of the Rio Grande. I have reason to believe that secret communications have for some time been carried on, between certain of the Federal leaders in those Provinces, and parties resident in Texas, who, at present,— I am told—are in the United States, urging forward the Military preparations reported to be in progress."

The force to be raised, and the object for which it was to be organized, were lately announced in Galveston, by Doctor Branch T. Archer,² formerly Secretary of War in Texas, and (I am informed) cousin to a gentleman of the same name, who is a Senator of the United States' Congress, and who, during its last Session, acted as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

From the subjoined Note, addressed by the Acting Secretary of State of Texas to the Chargé d' Affaires of the United States, *on the 13th of December last*, it would seem that the only course now open to the Texan Executive, in regard to the question of Annexation, is to submit it to the decision of the people

ALLEN TO DONELSON

Department of State
Washington 13th Dec. 1844

To The Hon. A. J. Donaldson.³

Chargé d' Affaires of the
United States.

Sir,

The Undersigned, Attorney General of the Republic of Texas, charged, *ad interim*, with the direction of the Department of State, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Note that

²A leader in the Texan revolution. B. 1790, d. 1856. Archer was a physician in Pennsylvania, until 1831, when he went to Texas. After independence, he was for a time speaker of the House of Representatives. He also filled the position of secretary of war, but retired from active political life in 1842, because of ill health. (Appleton, *Cyclop. of Amer. Biography*.)

³This letter is here printed, though calendared by Garrison as printed in Senate Journal, 9th Texas Cong., 195-197.

Mr. Donaldson, Chargé d' Affaires, etc., did him the honor to address to him, under date of the 10th Instant, communicating information as to the Measures adopted by the President of the United States to guard the interests of Texas against injuries likely to result from the renewal of the war upon Texas by Mexico, on account of the acceptance of the proposition for Annexation made by the United States, and the avowed mode of conducting that war, as detailed in the orders of General Woll, and, the previous decree of the Provisional President; also communicating the Views and suggestions of Mr Donaldson on the important question of Annexation; and expressing the desire and expectation of the Executive of his Government that Texas will continue to—"Maintain her connection with the cause of Annexation, so far, at least, as not to consider it lost, or abandoned, on account of the late action of the Senate of the United States upon it."

"The Undersigned is directed, by the President to assure Mr Donaldson, in reply, that the existing relations between the United States and Texas, so far as the subject of Annexation is concerned, will not be affected by any opposing or unfavourable action on the part of the Executive of the latter. But, in receiving this assurance, Mr Donaldson cannot but perceive that the result, in relation to Annexation, may depend upon causes over which the President can exert little or no control. Although the popular wish and feeling of Texas have heretofore been frankly and warmly expressed by her Citizens, in favour of the Measure, yet Mr Donaldson cannot have failed to perceive that the strength and ardour of that wish have been necessarily, in some degree, diminished by the delay and apparent defeat of the Measure, by the rejection of the late Treaty, by the Senate of the United States. Still, as the Measure, in the opinion of Mr Donaldson, is not lost, but destined to a speedy consummation, so far as the action of the United States can affect it, the Undersigned trusts that the doubts and disappointments experienced by the people of Texas, necessarily occasioned by the circumstances alluded to, will not have ripened into a general and insurmountable opposition to the Measure, before the consummation so confidently anticipated by Mr Donaldson.

The undersigned is instructed by the President to express his

unqualified admiration of the elevated spirit of philanthropy pervading the communication of Mr Donaldson; and of the active friendship manifested by the President of the United States towards this Government, in his solemn protest and measures of opposition against the barbarous mode in which Mexico has avowed her intention to prosecute the war upon Texas.

The Undersigned avails himself, etc. etc. etc.

Signed Ebenr Allen.

The preceding Note.—important in respect both to its date and its substance, forms part of the Correspondence between the Secretary of State of Texas and Major Donaldson United States' Chargé d' Affaires, published by the Executive, in compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of the Congress of Texas, dated 20th January 1845.

I have been informed that Major Donaldson has been empowered to arrange a Treaty of Annexation with the Texan Government, on terms more favourable to this Country than the conditions proposed by the Congress of the United States.—Care has been taken to identify the interests of leading men in Texas with the success of Annexation, and active agents, are employed in ascertaining and increasing the numerical strength of its partisans, for the day of final appeal.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

April 4th.

P. S. H. M. S. Electra, which bears this Despatch, waits to convey H. M's Chargé d' Affaires to Charleston. U. S.

H. M. S. Eurydice arrived in Galveston roads on Yesterday, from Vera Cruz. W. K.

BANKHEAD TO ELLIOTT⁴

Mexico.

8 April 1845

My Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure yesterday of receiving your letter of the 10th. Ultimo, enclosing two Despatches which you had a few days previously addressed to Lord Aberdeen.⁵

⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 23.

⁵Not found, but the despatches enclosed are presumably Elliot to Aberdeen, Nos. 10 and 11, March 6 and 7, 1845. See *ante* p. 453 *seq.*

These Despatches appeared to me so important at the present juncture, when we are all busy, in trying to persuade this Government to come forward, that I communicated their contents generally to my French Colleague, and we agreed at once to call upon the Secretary of State and talk the matter over with him—for without divulging to the latter a word more than was absolutely necessary for our purpose, I felt there was enough contained in what you sent me to enable us to push matters a little faster with these folks than they might otherwise be desirous of going.—The fact is that the Ultra federal Party are pushing them hard at this moment upon the necessity of War—and they are not resolute enough to combat the attack, but seek by all sorts of palliatives to ward off the blow. To inspire them with resolution has been our object and your letters have strengthened our hands vastly.

Mr Smith's Conversations with you prove that there is a growing desire in Texas to come to some amicable Arrangement with this Country—I told Mr Cuevas so, but I took care at the same time to add, that I came to that opinion in consequence of what *you* thought and wrote, founded, of course, upon what you heard at Galveston—but I did not like to compromise Mr Smith or the President by quoting them *directly*

This Government is quite ready to receive proposals from Your quarter, upon the basis of absolute Independence;—and the admission made to you by Mr. Smith, for Lord Aberdeen's Consideration, that Texas would consent to bind herself to *remain* an independent State, would tend much to facilitate matters.—As to limits—that must be an after thought—the one thing needful appears to me to be the Acknowledgment of the Independence of Texas by Mexico—how far Great Britain and France will afterwards consent to guarantee the boundaries or other collateral points, it is for those Governments to say.—*We* can do nothing without Authority.—For I well remember when Santa Anna gave me the Memorandum in November last as a basis of Negotiation, I distinctly stated that I merely took it ad referendum, and declined anticipating in any way the intentions of my Government thereupon.

It now only remains, until we hear from home, to get the two Neighbours into some state of good feeling with one an-

other. I am quite sure any thing you might offer from Texas would be received here, always allowing these valientes to *talk* a little about derechos and patriotismo.

I am equally sure that the Congress would support Ministers in any *fair plan* for the Acknowledgment of Independence—and I hope with your influence and name, aided by Your French Colleague, you will be able to induce your friends in Texas directly or through you and Saligny, to make us an offer.

I have been unwell, and tomorrow I go for some change to the Real del Monte—but I shall be back on the 15th, when I hope to hear from you by the Eurydice—I thought it right, however, to trouble you with these few lines before I started, that you may know how we are going on, and how much we depend upon your kind and active assistance.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

Charles Bankhead.

ADDINGTON TO KENNEDY⁶

Dft.

Consul Kennedy.

Galveston

No. 3.

F. O. April 18th. 1845.

Sir,

The Earl of Aberdeen has read your Despatch No 5 of the 26th of Feby. last, referring to a Circular issued by H. M's Consul at Charleston, on the Subject of the Sugar Duties Act of the last Session of Parliament, and to the question put to you as to the operation of that Act with respect to Sugar imported into the United Kingdom, the Growth and Produce of the Republic of Texas:—And I am directed by his Lordship to forward to you Copies of the Instructions which his Ldp' addressed to H. M's Consuls in the United States, with reference to the Sugar Duties Act of last Session⁷; and to state to you his Lordship's opinion that under the Treaty between Great Britain and Texas, Sugar the Growth and Produce of that Republic is admissible under the low Rate of Duty

H. U. Addington

⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

⁷The enclosures listed are "copies of the Sugar Duties Act of the last Session of Parliament," and of circulars to consuls dated November 18 and December 24, 1844. These could not be traced.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁸

No. 10.

Her Majesty's Consulate.
Galveston.

April 25th. 1845

My Lord,

In a Despatch which I had the honor to address to Your Lordship on the 2d Instant, transmitted by Her Majesty's Ship, *Electra*, I took leave to express the opinion that the only course now open to the Texan Executive, in regard to the question of Annexation! was "to submit it to the decision of the people."

I have now the honor to enclose a printed Copy of a Proclamation issued by the President of this Republic,⁹ summoning Congress to meet on the Sixteenth day of June next, to determine upon the propositions for Annexation submitted to the President by the Chargé d' Affaires of the United States, on the 31st Ultimo.

I also beg to enclose reports of public Meetings held in the Counties of Liberty, Jefferson, Brazoria and Matagorda, indicating the bent of the popular mind in regard to the future position of this Country. So far as the United States and Texas are concerned, no one appears to doubt that Annexation is inevitable.

The French Chargé d' Affaires and Mr Ashbel Smith left Galveston for New Orleans on the 10th Instant.—After their departure, it was publicly announced that, Mr. Smith had been re-appointed Chargé d' Affaires from Texas to Great Britain and France. On the 17th Instant, a paragraph appeared in the "Texas National Register," a Newspaper of Official character, published at the Seat of Government, defending Mr Ashbel Smith against the charge of being unfriendly to Annexation, and claiming for him the credit of promoting that Measure recently, in his capacity of Secretary of State.

General Houston is named, as likely to be one of the Senators from the State of Texas, in the Congress of the United States, during the Session of 1845-6. The organs of the American democratic party mention him as a probable candidate for the Presidency of the United States, after the retirement of Mr. Polk: It has been for some time understood that this party are desirous of

⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

⁹Unidentified newspaper cutting, from a Galveston paper, April 22, 1845.

having a Military leader, and it is believed, that General Houston will be formally recommended to the support of the democracy by their Veteran Counsellor General Andrew Jackson.

The "Houston Telegraph" of the 23d Instant, (a pro-Annexation Journal) after expressing its regret that the President did not summon Congress to meet at an earlier day than the 16th of June, observes:—"The President, however, has doubtless good motives for delay that are yet unknown to us. We have conversed freely with the Hon. Secretary of the Treasury, and we have learned from him, with pleasure, that the President will cordially cooperate with the people in consummating the great Measure. Although he has been suffering under a severe illness, that rendered him incapable for several days of transacting business, he assured his friends that he would make every necessary exertion to expedite the Measure desired by the people."

The "Telegraph" further observes:—"The object of the Mexican Government is to lie and deceive us, and thus to delay Measures until the opponents of Annexation can gain strength to defeat the Measure. They may dupe some of our Statesmen, but they will not dupe the people of Texas. Their march is onward. Their attention is fixed upon but one object, and they are determined to consummate it, in spite of every obstacle. They have decided in favour of the Annexation of this Country to the United States, and they will proceed steadily, and with unwavering constancy, to adopt appropriate Measures to carry out their decision. The President has performed his part in calling Congress: that Congress will doubtless perform its duty by assenting to the Resolutions of the American Congress.—The next step will be to call a Convention of Delegates to form a State Constitution."

The "Telegraph" lays down the doctrine that neither the President, nor Congress, has a Constitutional right to call a Convention, or to apportion the representation; neither, it maintains,—can this right be assumed without the consent of the people. The journalist then proceeds to say:—"It is important, however, that a Convention should be held at an early day, in order that ample time may be allowed for the Delegates to form a Constitution before the approach of the Sickly Season. We approve, therefore, of the proceedings of the people of Brazoria Co."—(for which I beg to refer Your Lordship to enclosure No. 2.)—"Who have al-

ready instructed their Senators and Representatives to meet at Washington on the 3d Monday in May, and authorized them to assume Conventional powers, and, acting in concert with the Members of other Counties, to call a Convention and apportion the representation. The President, we believe, will approve this Measure, and; if adopted by a Majority of the Counties, will cordially cooperate with them in expediting the Measure necessary to effect this object. This also is the desire, we are credibly informed, of a Majority of the Members of his Cabinet.”—We hope, therefore, that the Members of Congress will hasten with all speed to Washington, and make the necessary arrangements for organizing a Convention.”

A Meeting of the friends of Annexation was held in the County of Harris on the 21st Instant, at which Resolutions were passed assenting to the Measure of Annexation, as proposed by the Congress; and selected by the President of the United States, and expressing full confidence in the honor and justice of the American people

William Kennedy

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. April 26th.

Pro-Annexation Meetings have been held in the Counties of Sabine, Galveston, Harrison, and Robertson. No *Anti-Annexation* Meetings have yet been held. The Galveston Resolutions opposed to a call of Congress by the *people* for the third Monday in May.

W. K.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹⁰

No. 6.¹¹

Foreign Office

May 3, 1845.

Sir,

The inclosed Copy of a Despatch which I have recently addressed to Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico together with its inclosures,¹² will put you in possession of the measures which, in

¹⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

¹¹F. O., Texas, 21, Aberdeen to Elliot, Nos. 4 and 5, April 18, 1845, have been omitted. No. 4 related to British sugar duties and noted transmission of copies of correspondence with British consuls in the United States. No. 5 acknowledged receipt of despatches.

¹²The despatch and enclosures are all in F. O., Texas, 21, and arranged by date are:

Bankhead to Aberdeen, No. 19, March 1, 1845.

concert with France, Her Majesty's Government have determined to pursue with respect to Mexico and Texas in the present position in which those Countries are assumed to be placed with regard to each other, and also to the United States.

In shaping our line of policy, as laid down in my Despatch to Mr Bankhead, we have considered the Government and people of Texas to be upon the whole well disposed to maintain their independence, provided that independence were freely and immediately recognized by Mexico.

Should circumstances have materially altered since the date of your [my] Despatch No 1 of the 23d of January; and, should the Government and people of Texas have either accepted the terms of annexation proposed by the United States, or have shown a decided inclination to annex themselves to the United States, even though Mexico were avowedly ready to recognize their independence, it will be obvious to you that in such case the course of policy which Her Majesty's Government have decided to pursue under circumstances assumed to be different, will be liable to undergo great modifications, if not a total change

It will therefore be for you, in the more correct appreciation of the actual position of affairs which you will be enabled to form when this Despatch reaches you, to determine whether, and how far, it may be expedient for you to act upon the instructions which it contained.

Assuming that no material change will have taken place, it may be useful, although the whole matter is fully set forth in my Despatch to Mr Bankhead, to state here succinctly the course of policy which Her Majesty's Government have determined to adopt. It is simply to offer, in concert with France, to Mexico

Pakenham to Aberdeen, No. 39, March 29, 1845.

Aberdeen to Cowley, No. 46, April 15, 1845.

Cowley to Aberdeen, No. 184, April 28, 1845.

Aberdeen to Bankhead, No. 15, May 1, 1845.

Bankhead's despatch notified Aberdeen that Mexico was now willing to recognize Texan independence, while Pakenham wrote of a change in the Texan attitude. Aberdeen, therefore, instructed Cowley to ask France to join in a "last chance" effort to prevent annexation, but definitely excluding any plan of war or force. France acceded and the despatch to Bankhead urged haste upon Mexico. Then two days later came the present instructions to Elliot (Nos. 6 and 7) with the plan of a "Declaration." This plan arrived too late, however, and was never presented to the Texas government. (For analysis and partial citation of documents, see Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 203-207.)

and to Texas, and through the channel of the English and French Diplomatic Agents in both those Countries, the joint mediation of England and France for the equitable settlement of differences, and demarcation of Boundaries between the two Countries.

The basis of that policy is the immediate and unfettered recognition of Texas by Mexico. To attain this paramount object Great Britain has long employed her own unassisted efforts. The fatal blindness of the Mexican Government to the true interests of their Country has hitherto rendered all those efforts unavailing.

It is possible, however, that fresh representations from England and France combined may at length prevail upon the Government of Mexico to view their Situation in a correct light, and induce them to take, though late, the only step which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, can avail to rescue them from endless embarrassment.

It is not however to be expected that Mexico will consent to acknowledge Texas without having taken good security for the establishment of the common frontier of the two Countries, in a manner conformable to right and justice, and such as shall offer every element of permanency and of security against future encroachment.

With a view to ensure this essential object, the Government of Great Britain and France now come forward to offer to Mexico all the weight of their united influence, provided She agrees to recognize the independence of Texas. As, however, the present consideration of the question of frontiers would probably be attended with much delay, we propose that, that consideration should be reserved to a future but not distant moment, when, if desired by Mexico, the question of Boundaries might be treated under the joint mediation of Great Britain and France.

The Instruction addressed by Monsr Guizot to Monsr. de Saligny, of which a Copy is inclosed in my other Despatch of this date, will shew you that the French Government concur generally in this plan, and that Monsr. de Saligny is directed to concert with you, in case no material change of circumstances should have occurred, of the best mode of prevailing upon the Government of Texas to accept the proffered mediation of Great Britain and France for the Mutual settlement of their differences with Mexico, on the basis proposed

You will accordingly concert Measures with Monsr de Saligny for the accomplishment of this object.

Although the question of Boundary will not, according to this arrangement, be brought on immediately, it will be desirable that, in case Texas should accept our mediation for its Settlement, you should use every effort to impress on the Texian Government the good policy, not to say necessity, of moderating their pretensions with respect to their common boundary with Mexico. It would not accord with the principles of justice, by which the Mediating Powers must regulate their conduct, to countenance the demand by Texas of a line of frontier to which it would have obviously as little founded in right, and to which She might lay claim merely on the ground of expediency without reference to the rights of Mexico.

In all reasonable and equitable pretensions Her Majesty's Government will be found well-disposed to support the Texian Government.

In case, at the period of the arrival of these instructions, circumstances should still, as we hope, be such as to admit of your carrying them into effect, in conjunction with your French Colleague, you will consider yourself at full liberty to open a communication with Mr Bankhead in any Measure which you may deem best for accelerating the attainment of the object entrusted equally to both Missions.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹³

No. 7.

Foreign Office.

May 3. 1845

Sir,

Mr. Guizot having signified to M. de Saligny in the Instruction, of which a Copy¹⁴ is herewith inclosed, and which was put into my hands, by M. Guizot's Orders, by the French Ambassador at this Court, the concurrence of the French Government in the proposition submitted to them on the part of Her Majesty's Government for bringing about by their united efforts, an adjustment

¹³F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

¹⁴Guizot to Saligny, April 27, 1845. The copy was not found.

of the differences between Mexico and Texas, I transmit to you herewith a Copy of the Declaration which Her Majesty's Government proposed through Lord Cowley should be conjointly presented by the English and French Chargé d' Affaires in Texas to that Government for their acceptance and signature.

Provided, therefore, circumstances remain in the state assumed in my Despatch No 6 of this date, you will invite the French Chargé d' Affaires, to join you in presenting this Declaration to the Texian Secretary of State for the acceptance of his Government.

As the Declaration contains nothing more than an engagement on the part of Great Britain and France' to employ their best efforts to restore peace between Mexico and Texas, and to procure the recognition of the Texian Republic by Mexico; together with an engagement on the part of Texas to use every effort to maintain her Independence, I do not apprehend that you will experience any difficulty in procuring the assent of the Texian Government to the terms of the Declaration in question

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

[Enclosure].

Draft.

*Declaration*¹⁵

Her Majesty The Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of the French being strongly impressed with the importance of restoring Peace between the Republic of Texas and the Mexican Republic and of the establishment and preservation of the Republic of Texas as an Independent State under her own national Govt.; Their said Majesties have respectively authorized the Undersigned Elliot Her Britannick Majesty's [chargé d' affaires] and—to declare that their said Majesties engage to use their best exertions with a view to the restoration of Peace at the earliest possible period, and to the recognition of the Independence of the Republic of Texas by the Mexican Republic.

And the President of the Republic of Texas, has, on his part authorized the Undersigned to declare on the other hand that the

¹⁵Blank spaces left for signatures of Saligny and the President, and for date and place.

Govt of Texas will use every effort to maintain the independence of the Republic under its own separate and national Jurisdiction.

In witness whereof the Undersd. sign the present Declaration and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at.....the....day of.....in the Year of Our Lord. 1845.

[Endorsed.]. Draft.

Declaration.

MILLER TO STEWART¹⁶

A Copy.

To.

Mr. H. Stewart

Editor of the Civilian

New Orleans May 9th 1845.

My dear Sir,

From the synopsis of General Houston's speech last night at the Arcade, as it appears in some of the Morning papers of this City, of this date, it might possibly be inferred that he had stated that he had during his presidency been dealing unfairly in his diplomatic intercourse with the European Governments.

This inference would be unjust, and not properly deducible from any thing he said on the occasion referred to. On the contrary he used the opportunity to pay a deserved tribute to the disinterested and open positions and actions of those Governments towards Texas throughout her existence as a Nation. He said, however, that upon the subject of Annexation, he had *coquetted* a little with the United States, upon the principle that a Manifestation of over anxiety would not hasten, but retard the accomplishment of the measure. The term *coquetting* was *not* applied to England or France but to the United States, and used only as a means of inducing them the more readily to embrace and carry out Annexation

Signed W. D. Miller.

The foregoing is a true Copy of the original

Signed Robert D. Johnson.

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

¹⁶This letter was enclosed in F. O., Texas, 16, Elliot to Aberdeen, Private, March 27, 1846, but is here inserted in its chronological order.

BANKHEAD TO ELLIOT¹⁷

Mexico.

20th May 1845.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you, for communication to the President of Texas, a Document containing a full acceptance on the part of the President of this Republick, and signed by Don Luis Cuevas, Secretary of State—of the proposals sent from Texas for the acknowledgment of the Independence of the latter Power.

You will lose no time on your arrival at Galveston to place this important paper in the hands of Mr. President Jones—and you will be good enough to point out to His Excellency that his proposals are returned to him word for word as he entrusted them to your care.

It is a matter of regret to the French Minister and Myself that so much time has elapsed between the presentation of the Articles to this Government—and the moment of their acceptance—but you are too well acquainted with the dilatory habits of Spaniards and Spanish Americans not to be able to explain this Circumstance to the President—The result, however, is very satisfactory, for while Señor Cuevas has thought it necessary to accompany his Signature with some observations, he has not hesitated strictly to incorporate the four Articles in his Communication, and the remarks he makes therewith are of no consequence whatever.—There are two Documents which I sent to you and which have reference to the four Articles. They are, however sent separately, and you will, I doubt not, be able to satisfy the President that they are pressed upon us for the purpose of saving their exaggerated notions of honour and pride.—and not intended by the Mexican Government as in the slightest degree disrespectful to Texas.

The President of Mexico is most anxious that Your best exertions should be used, in conjunction with your French Colleague, that in the Proclamation, which it is hoped Mr Jones will issue immediately upon your arrival, care will be taken that the terms employed therein are general—and as much as possible in con-

¹⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 23. Elliot was still in Mexico at the time this letter was written. The enclosed document, he therefore personally carried back to Texas.

formity with those adopted in the "Imcativa" [Iniciativa] proposed to this Congress.—as should,—most unfortunately, the Congress of Texas defeat the views of Mr President Jones, and accept the égide of the United States in preference to National Independence, it would seriously compromise this Government in their view of the case, if any premature disclosure were made and afterwards disavowed—for this purpose perhaps, a confidential Communication of the enclosed Papers to the President and Government of Texas would be best. Your experience of the Country and it's Rulers constitutes you as the best Judge of how the Affair can best be managed.

The second wish of this Government is as follows, and is equally left to the exertion of your good offices. That the Person or Persons who may be sent from Texas shall be of a conciliatory disposition, and that at the moment of his or their departure he or they shall take the name of Commissioner or Commissioners—and that the instant the Negotiations commence they will bring forward their title of Plenipotentiary.—I am assured that they will be received here with an earnest desire to establish relations between the two Countries upon a basis of good will and mutual advantage.

The Baron Cyprey writes by this Conveyance to the President Jones—I prefer requesting you to be the interpreter to His Excellency of my best wishes for the early and satisfactory conclusion of this long pending question—and I further beg of you to assure His Excellency that my best endeavours will be used in promoting the establishment of a lasting peace between the two Countries—and of aiding the Texan Plenipotentiary in the exertions for that purpose.

You will be good enough to communicate to me any information which you may from time to time think will be useful here.

Charles Bankhead.

Captain Elliot.

P. S. Since writing the above, Señor Cuevas informed Me that the enclosed Declaration contains all his resolution.

C. B.

[Enclosure to Mr. Bankhead's Despatch to Lord Aberdeen.
No. 148. Mexico 20th May 1845.]¹⁸

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Mexican Republick has received from Texas the preliminary conditions of an arrangement or definitive Treaty between Mexico and Texas—which are of the following tenour.

1st. Mexico consents to acknowledge the Independence of Texas.

2nd. Texas engages that She will stipulate in the Treaty, not to annex herself or become subject to any Country whatever

3rd. Limits and other conditions to be matter of arrangement in the final Treaty.

4th. Texas will be willing to remit disputed points respecting territory and other matters to the arbitration of umpires.

The Government of the Republick has in consequence asked for the Authority from Congress which the latter has granted and which is as follows.

His Excellency the President has thought fit to publish the following decree

Jose J. Herrera. General of Division and President of the Mexican Republick to its Inhabitants, gives Notice, that the General Congress has decreed and the Executive Government Sanctioned what follows.

The Government has been authorized to listen to the propositions made by Texas, and to enter into an arrangement or make such a Treaty as shall be fit and honourable for the Republick, communicating it to Congress for their examination and approval.

Miguel Atristaiv—President of Chamber of Deputies.

Juan Rodriguez—President of Senate.

Francisco Calderon—Secretary of Chamber of Deputies.

J. J. Rosas—Secretary of Senate.

National Palace 17 May 1845.

J. J. Herrera—L. G. Cuevas.

In consequence of the preceding Authority granted by the Congress of the Republick of Mexico.—the Undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs declares by Order of the President—that the Supreme Government accept the four above mentioned Articles as

¹⁸F. O., Mexico, Vol. 185. This document is printed in U. S. Docs., Ser. No. 480, Doc. 2, p. 70 *seq.*, but is here reprinted because of the slightly different wording of Bankhead's translation, and the additional signatures.

preliminary to a formal and definite Treaty; And moreover that they are disposed to commence the Negotiation in the way desired by Texas—and to receive the Commissioner or Commissioners that Texas may with this view appoint

Luis Cuevas.

[Enclosure to Mr. Bankhead's Despatch to Lord Aberdeen
No 148 Mexico 20th May 1845].

Translation.

(Additional Declaration)

It is understood that besides the four preliminary Articles proposed by Texas, there are other essential and important points which ought also to be included in the Negotiation and that if this Negotiation is not realized on account of circumstances, or because Texas influenced by the Law passed in the United States on Annexation, should consent thereto—either directly or indirectly, then the answer which under this date is given to Texas by the Undersigned Minister of Foreign Affairs shall be considered as null and void.

Mexico. May 19. 1845.

(Signed) Luis. G. Cuevas.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁹

No. 13.

Her Majestys Consulate
Galveston
May 21st 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a Copy of a Proclamation signed by the President of this Republic on the 6th Instant, recommending the people to elect delegates to a Convention on the 4th of next month, the said convention to assemble at Austin on the 4th of July, for the purpose of taking prompt and definite action upon the proposition for Annexation. This Proclamation has been defended by General Houston and approved by the Mass of the people.

The Congress convened for the 16th of next Month is not expected to be in Session more than a few days. Its principal

¹⁹F. O., Texas, Vol 14.

business will be to signify its assent to the Resolution for Annexation presented by the Government of the United States.

On the 12th Inst. an American Squadron, under the Command of Commodore Stockton,²⁰ arrived in Galveston Roads, from Norfolk in Virginia. The Squadron, which still remains here, consists of the Princeton, War Steamer, the Sloops of War Saint Mary and Saratoga, and the Brig Porpoise, mounting in all, Sixty guns.—The Porpoise has entered Galveston Harbour, having been previously relieved of her battery by the Princeton.

It is authoritatively stated that, in completing Annexation, the United States will not be satisfied with less than the whole of the territory claimed by Texas,—namely to the Rio Grande.

I beg to enclose a Copy of a letter published in the "Galveston Civilian," on the 17th Instant,²¹ by desire of General Houston.—General Houston is at present in Galveston, waiting, with his family, for the departure of the New Orleans Steamer, being on his way to visit General Andrew Jackson, at his residence near Nashville, Tennessee.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²²

No. 16.

On board the Brig of
His Majesty The King of The French
"La Perouse"

May 30th 1845.

My Lord,

In the possibility that a Steam Vessel may be departing for New Orleans when I reach the shore, and with the hope of saving

²⁰Robert Field Stockton of the U. S. Navy. His vessel, the "Princeton," bore the annexation resolutions to the Texan government.

²¹See p. 167. Miller to Stewart, May 9, 1845.

²²F. O., Texas, Vol. 13. Elliot had embarked at Galveston on the British ship of war *Electra*, nominally going to Charleston, S. C. When out of sight of land, he transferred to the *Eurydice*, and reached Vera Cruz, April 11. Thence he proceeded to the capital, and once there Bankhead took charge of affairs and pressed the Mexican government to accede to the Texan proposals. A long delay followed, and much hesitation, irritating to Bankhead. Late in April, Elliot went to Jalapa, near Vera Cruz, and waited for the Mexican decision, which Bankhead was finally able to send him on May 20. Elliot sailed for Texas on the French ship *La Perouse*, and reached Galveston on May 30. Since Bankhead

the Mail of the 16th. June, I have the honour of preparing this despatch respecting my return to this place.

Having had no communication as yet with the shore I am unable to afford Your Lordship any information respecting the Condition of circumstances and feeling in this Country, but I shall of course not lose one moment in placing myself in personal communication with the Government, and I hope I shall be able to induce the President forthwith to proclaim the preliminaries of peace

Before I leave this Vessel I feel it incumbent upon myself to express to Your Lordship my cordial obligations to M. le Commandant Dubremil for the kindness he has been so good as to extend to me. May I hope Your Lordship will take the occasion of this Zealous participation in a Service of some public moment to recommend to the protection of The King's Government, an old and distinguished Officer in His Majesty's Service.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. Galveston May 31st. 1845.

Since I have landed here I learn that the friends of Annexation have succeeded in exciting a hot, and apparently general feeling in favour of their project, and it is no doubt to be feared that the concessions of the Mexican Government will have come too late to act successfully upon the people of this Country. Their humour however is variable, and reflection may yet restore them to a sounder sense of what is best for their own interests. I abstain, however, from dwelling upon such topics till I have had an opportunity of conversing with the President at Washington, to which place I proceed by the boat tomorrow morning in company with M. le Commandant Dubremil, who has a letter from the Baron Alleye de Cypres to His Excellency. The Baron had left it to himself to deliver it in person, or not, as he should judge best, and he has been so good as to accede to my suggestions that it would be desirable to do so.

Charles Elliot.

was the British diplomat in charge in Mexico, Elliot did not report to Aberdeen the details of this negotiation in Mexico. These are to be found in Bankhead's reports, F. O., Mexico, 185.

Major Donnelson the Charge d' Affaires from the United States arrived here this morning from New Orleans.

KENNEDY TO ADDINGTON²³

No 14.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston

May 30th. 1845.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No 3 of the 18th of April, (with enclosures) communicating the opinion of the Earl of Aberdeen that, under the Treaty between Great Britain and Texas, Sugar, the growth and produce of the Republic, is admissible into the ports of the United Kingdom at the low rate of duty—and I beg leave to inform you that I have taken means to bring His Lordship's opinion under the notice of the planting and Mercantile interests of this Country.

William Kennedy.

Henry U. Addington, Esqr.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT²⁴

Consular.

Foreign Office.

No. 1.

June 3d. 1845.

Sir,

I have received your Despatch marked "Separate" of the 4th Ultimo,²⁵ alleging that Mr Kennedy had "behaved to you with great disrespect"—that his Conduct had been so highly "improper that you would have been justified in suspending him at once," that he is not a suitable "person for employment in Her Majesty's Service"; that you have "not the least Confidence in his prudence, or right feeling," that you are "sensible that he is quite capable of making some mischievous publication on the spot," or of other-

²³F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

²⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

²⁵Elliot's charges against Kennedy and the correspondence relating thereto were transcribed by the copyist, but were withdrawn by the censors of the foreign office, presumably under the rule that letters containing reflections on individuals are not to be copied. It may be of interest to note as indicating the liberality of the Public Record Office, and of the foreign office, in opening archives to historical research, that this was the only instance in connection with the publication of this Texan material, in which the censors withdrew the correspondence.

wise creating public "inconvenience," and, finally suggesting that he should be at once recalled.

I regret that you should have thought it your duty to make Charges so serious against Mr Kennedy without adducing any sufficient evidence in justification of them. I regret also the tone in which those Charges are made. You have, moreover, entirely misapprehended your own position and authority, in supposing that you have the power to suspend a person who has been appointed by The Queen to reside and act as Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston.

I have to desire that you will furnish me, at your earliest convenience, with specific information, supported by evidence and statements of fact, upon each of the Charges which you have preferred against Mr. Kennedy, in order that I may be enabled to judge what Measures it may be right that I should adopt in this matter.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

KENNEDY TO ADDINGTON²⁶

No 15.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston
June 10th 1845

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that the Prince of Solms left Galveston for New Orleans on the 4th Instant, on his return to Europe.

The Prince has succeeded (though not without a considerable outlay, owing, as I conceive, in a great degree, to a defect in the original arrangements of the German Association) in planting a Colony, numbering six hundred Souls, on a beautiful and productive tract of land, situated about fifteen Miles above Seguin, a village on the Guadalupe river of Western Texas. The name given to this German Settlement is New Braunfels.—Provided with farming implements and having a sufficient quantity of land under cultivation to furnish subsistence for the ensuing year, the future progress of the Colony may be considered easy and certain.

²⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

The Settlers have neither been molested by Indians, nor visited by sickness,—which may fairly be ascribed to the judicious arrangements of the Prince of Solms, who has encountered the difficulties of his arduous undertaking with a measure of patience, perseverance, and foresight which I believe but few Europeans would have been prepared to manifest, under the same circumstances.

William Kennedy.

Henry U. Addington, Esqr.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁷

No. 17.

Galveston June 12th 1845

My Lord,

The inclosed Copy of my despatch of yesterday's date to Mr Bankhead with the accompanying Copy of a private letter of the same date to him will I believe place Your Lordship in full possession of the state of circumstances here at the present moment. Those communications left these roads this afternoon in the Corvette of His Majesty The King of the French the "La Perouse" and I should hope would be in Mexico by the 22d Instant.

The unexpected departure of the Steamboat to New Orleans tomorrow morning will be my excuse for the few observations I can add to the information contained in the despatches to Mexico. But I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that the altered situation of Mexico, as respects the offer of a just settlement of this dispute will facilitate the preservation of peace in this question, and prevent the intended dismemberment of that Republic.

Whatever of plea or pretext may be strained to vindicate the annexation of the Country in the actual occupation of the Texians to the United States and howsoever practicable or otherwise that may be, it seems totally impossible to divine the grounds which are to justify the seizure of an immense territory by the United States in which the Texians have never had a Settler. For surely not much more serious attention can be given to the present Texian legislative limitation, than to the Act passed through both Houses of Congress and vetoed by General Houston in his first administration, carrying the Western boundary of this Republic to the

²⁷F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

Shores of the Pacific! If the present limits were admitted for one moment, something might soon be heard of General Houston's unconstitutional exercise of the Veto power on that and many other occasions, and of the right inherent in the people to correct the consequences of that arbitrary conduct, and reannex the whole Country involved by Congress in the law in question. In every view that I have been able to take of this very serious question I cannot but think that the recent policy of Mexico, unfortunately tardy as it has been, has still materially and advantageously altered her Situation. And turning to Your Lordship's instructions of the 3d May I hope it will be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government that there has not been the least departure from the principles upon which they were founded, as to the careful absence of any thing in the nature of guarantee, or pledge of assistance, to either party in this contest.

The tone of the President's proclamation²⁸ herewith forwarded will also I trust be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government. It may probably produce considerable effect amongst portion of the people of the United States, and in the difficult circumstances that he is placed, it is not more than truth and justice to say that he has acted with courage, honour, and prudence. The approaching Convention, (perfectly irregular and beyond the Law of itself, assembled to take into consideration the extinction of the Nationality of the Country, and with it the violation of their compacts, direct and implied, with the powers with which they have treaties,) appears to me to be a state of things that had better not have the countenance of any Foreign representative accredited to this Republic; (I mean by countenance, such assent as might be inferred from his presence,) and I shall therefore set out for the United States as soon after the assembly of Congress on the 16th Inst. as I can conveniently get away.

In the brief Note I shall address to the Government on my departure, I shall attribute it to infirm health, which indeed is my sufficient excuse for leaving this part of the Continent without delay. I am also sensible that my continued presence here during the discussions in the Convention would be attended with mischievous rather than advantageous consequences, and I trust my

²⁸The *National Register*, Extra, June 6, 1845.

departure will have Your Lordship's approbation. I avail myself of this occasion to acknowledge Your Lordship's despatches to the 3d May, but what has already been accomplished, and the present temper of this people necessarily relieve me from any movement in the sense of those Instructions.

Charles Elliot.

JONES TO ELLIOT²⁹

[Enclosure.]

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

(Private)

Washington,

June 6th. 1845

My Dear Sir,

I send you enclosed herewith a Despatch from the Baron Aeley de Cyprey. The package for him contains a letter of acknowledgment for his courtesy and kindness, together with a properly Certified Copy of the Proclamation, and some printed Copies, attested by myself in the same manner as those herewith enclosed for your own use

I have as you will perceive made some slight alterations in the Proclamation from the first Copy, but none I think which you will dislike.

Would it not be well that Mexico should make a *formal* declaration of a Cessation of hostilities on her part? I think it would be well although I consider her Assent to the preliminaries, necessarily presupposes, and promises such Cessation. But the people here would be more satisfied and feel more secure if the declaration was made formal and public.

The Bearer of this will be with you on Monday or Tuesday at farthest and will return immediately to this place. Please write by him.

It strikes me that the question of Annexation or Independence will come up to be *decided* by the people of Texas only when the Vote is taken on the ratification of the Constitution which will be proposed by the Convention. This Vote will probably be taken in September or October next. What the state of public feeling

²⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

may be at that time it is impossible to determine. I do not even presume to "guess"

(Signed) Anson Jones.

To Captain Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No. 2 in Capt'n Elliot's Despatch to The Earl of Aberdeen No. 17 June 12th. 1845.

ELLIOT TO BANKHEAD²⁰

[Enclosure]

Copy.

Galveston

June 11th. 1845.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that I arrived here on the 31st. Ultimo, and proceeding immediately to Washington, placed the preliminary Conditions in the hands of the President of Texas on the evening of the 2d Instant. His Excellency told me that the general state of popular excitement in favour of Annexation, so little looked for three months since, could be no sufficient motive with him for failing to fulfil what he felt to be his obligations towards his own Country, towards Mexico, and towards the Powers who had interested themselves in the peaceful and honourable adjustment of this struggle; and that he should therefore, in the course of a day or two, issue a Proclamation, making known the actual situation of affairs with Mexico to the people of this Country, and leaving it to them and their Constitutional Agents to dispose of the result as they should judge best.

With respect to the additional declaration made by the Government of Mexico, he had no hesitation so far as depended upon the Executive, in accepting it. That is, in express terms, he adhered to the declaration he had formerly made to M. de Saligny and myself as to the willingness of this Government to stipulate an indemnity in the final treaty, if the limitary conditions were satisfactory, and he certainly could offer no just objection to the other reservation made by the Secretary of State to Mexico in the contingency of movement in the direction of annexation. But with no firm belief in the final completion of that scheme (for the difficulties appeared to be very great, if not insuperable, both here

²⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

and in the United States,) he cordially hoped that the Ministers of the two Powers would be able to induce the Government of Mexico peacefully to wait the turn of events.

Concerning the appointment of Commissioners to proceed to Mexico, he thought it must be unnecessary to say that in the present temper of the public, and with the close assembly of Congress, such a step would be unsuitable and mischievous; but he might soon be in a situation to adopt that course, and in that case, it might be depended upon that he would have careful regard to your suggestions. I said I was gratified to hear that His Excellency had resolved to publish the Proclamation, but I could not conceal from him my own impression that what had taken place with the authority of the Government since the month of March last when he had placed the Preliminaries in our hands was enough to justify the Government of Mexico in declaring their acceptance of them to be null and void; and further that the course pursued in Texas had left it perfectly open to the Government of Mexico forthwith to take what steps they saw fit for the safety and rights of the Country.

The President told me that he had convened Congress and recommended a Convention in the plain perception that no other means were left to him of averting bad and irreparable consequences. He had no doubt that He had acted wisely for the well understood interests of this Country in those particulars; and he could further assure me that the course most ardently desired by the partizans of annexation here and elsewhere was military movement beyond the Rio Grande by Mexico. Such a step would immediately and decisively accomplish the measure. I remarked that the policy to be pursued by Mexico was a subject to which I was not competent to speak, but I thought it possible that the Ministers of the two Powers might endeavour to induce the Government of Mexico to refrain from onward movement, till some final decision was taken by the people of Texas, as long as this Government and people were confining themselves within the limits of their present occupation. That, however, was mere private and personal opinion upon my part, and the President would have the goodness only to accept it in that sense.

The Proclamation has reached me this day, and I am only prevented from forwarding the Despatches to the "*La Perouse*" at

once, by the unfavourable state of the weather which prevents communication. The Copy herewith transmitted is attested by the President himself. So far as I can observe there is no remission as yet of this feverish excitement in favour of annexation, provoked and kept alive by extraneous agency, and, judging from present appearances, there can be little doubt that the annexation resolutions will be adopted both by Congress and the Convention. But it may I think, be depended upon that the late policy of Mexico, and the present attitude of this Government will have greatly increased the difficulties of the annexation party here, and, most particularly, in the United States.

With firm adherence on the part of Mexico to the protest against annexation, active preparations for defence, and the continued exhibition of the offer of Settlement on the basis of Independence till some decisive action is completed by the people of Texas in the sense of annexation, (unless some forward movement should be made by them beyond the limits of their present occupation, or by the Troops of the U. S. into Texas,) I trust that this very serious business may yet be adjusted advantageously and satisfactorily.

My last despatches from England are of the 3rd May inclosing me Copies of those to you of the 1st Idem: But what has already been accomplished, and the present temper of the public here, relieve us from any necessity of movement at this point under those Instructions

The President desires me to convey to you his best thanks for your kind and able interposition in the negotiations at Mexico.

Signed Charles Elliot.

To His Excellency, Charles Bankhead.
Mexico.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 1 in Captain Elliot's Despatch to The Earl of Aberdeen. No 17. June 12. 1845

ELLIOT TO BANKHEAD⁸¹

[Enclosure].

Copy.

Private

Galveston
June 11th, 1845.

My dear Mr Bankhead.,

Beyond the information furnished in my despatch I have to tell you that the President described the state of feeling here to be that of fever, and like all fevers he said it must run its course for good or for evil.

He ascribed the sudden and general spread of the disease to the alarm excited at Washington (D. C.) by the Anti Annexation Articles in the Government Newspaper, which had led to an influx of Agents specially charged to work upon the people and damage his influence. His simple chance of useful intervention depended in his mind, upon complete abstinence from opposition just now. That would be futile or indeed worse, would fan the flare.

But he thought he observed symptoms of an abatement of the excitement already, and he requested me to conjure the Baron and yourself to keep Mexico from any kind of onward Movement. Such a step he says, would be fatal to the prospect, and the good prospects of averting all this mischief.

I should tell you that I learnt as soon as I landed from a source of information entirely to be depended upon that Commodore Stockton was using every effort to induce the President to issue a Proclamation calling out Volunteers for the purpose of occupy-the Country *to the Rio Grande at once*.

The President frankly admitted to me that such was the case, and told me (I use his own words as nearly as I can remember them) that he said to those parties "I see not one single motive for Annexation if it is not for security and protection, or if we are *to do our own fighting*, and I tell you plainly that I will not be made the scape goat in such an affair as you have proposed to me. The United States Government must take all the responsibility, and all the expence and all the labour of hostile movements upon Mexico. I will issue no Proclamation of the kind, you wish, and authorize no movement *unless Mexico makes a move-*

⁸¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

ment upon us. Somebody else must break up the state of peace. It shall not be me." You will see by the Proclamation that he has kept his word, and I remark already that it is a heavy blow to the violent partizans of the scheme here. Donnelson who arrived from the U. S. the day after I got here, and who I met on his way to Washington will probably enough disavow Stockton and at all events the Proclamation will be a sad disappointment to him, for he will be able to judge of it's effect on the wise portion of the people of the U. S.

I see good reason to think, however, that the Mexican Governmt should concentrate force on the line of the Rio Grande as soon as possible, and do what may be practicable without a moment's delay to protect Matamoras against a Coup de Main. I believe too it would also be well to turn up breast works at the Brassos Santiago, and mount a few heavy guns and Mortars there. I should also particularly suggest that a very careful watch should be had on movements from this quarter on the Commachee and other frontier tribes. I make little or no doubt that they would attempt to tamper with them, and I am also strongly inclined to believe that Stockton's force here has a large supply of arms and ammunition ready for distribution amongst this people.

But if I may venture to offer an opinion I think it would be very unwise of Mexico to take the initiative in hostile or onward movements. That step should be left to the Government of the U. S. which will find it no easy or irresponsible affair during the recess of Congress and in the entirely altered attitude of Mexico as respects Texas, with a closely divided state of parties in their own Country upon the subject, and indeed serious divisions in their own ranks in regards to it.

I forward herewith for the Baron's and your own perusal a copy of a private letter which I have this morning received from the President, and I take the liberty to suggest that it might be of advantage if the Mexican Governmt. would forthwith issue a Proclamation declaring that no onward movements would be made whilst none were made by the Texians, or U. S. troops, that is, in the present state of the relations between the two Countries.

Saligny is at New Orleans and writes to me that he thinks it best in the present state of affairs to remain there till he has received answers to his despatches of the 3d April, which may be

looked for by the "Great Western" on the 9th or 10th Inst. He has begged Elliot⁵² to remain for him at the Mouth of the Mississippi till that date. The "Great Western" will bring dates of the 14th or 15th Ult. I should mention that the President told me in confidence that a considerable number of the Delegates to the Convention ostensibly favourable to Annexation, were not at *all so in reality*, and would go there steadily determined to send such a Constitution to the U. S. as would not be accepted by that Legislature. I give it to you as he said it to me, but can offer no opinion upon the possibility of the Statement

The pinch of the question will be in the U. S. next Session, and if Mexico is *firm* and *moderate*, She will avoid this danger. Houston is gone to New Orleans and the *Hermitage* to sound the depths in those quarters, and calculates his chance of running for President in succession to Polk, and I shall think it very wonderful if they do not continue to catch him, and throw him over afterwards, adroit as he is. He is a fellow of infinite resource too, and under the cards he may be working the right way to get. It would be like him. The American force here consists of "Princeton" (Steamer) "Saratoga" and St. Mary's Corvettes of 20 guns each, and Porpoise 10 gun brig. Their main business here is to, spend money or as they have it in the U. S. to "*log roll*."

I beg to mention to you that I am on the point of leaving this Country for I really do not think it proper to remain here whilst this Convention is sitting. The Measure is purely revolutionary, and I see not suitable excuse for remaining in Texas whilst the people are unlawfully, or at all events beyond the Law, debating upon the extinction of their Nationality, and the violation of their compacts with the Powers who have treated with them. My health too is shaken heavily, and I have private distresses with which I will not trouble you, but they are sad to bear.

If the Governmt. of Mexico have anything to communicate to this Governmt. under present Circumstances, I would suggest that it had better be done directly through the General Officer in Command of the Army of the North, and if this Government should happily defeat the Annexation Scheme, they will be able to communicate freely and directly. Till that Scheme is thrust further

⁵²Captain George Elliot of H. M. S. *Eurydice*.

back than it stands at present, I do not think it right to remain here. The President has behaved as well as he could, and I hope the Governmt of Mexico will carry on any Communications they may have with this Governmt. in a conciliatory spirit and respectful terms. It would be sound policy to do so, and a contrary course would help their enemies.

Very kind regards to Mr [Mrs.] Bankhead and Doyle if you please, with a thousand Compliments to the Baron and his family.

Very sincerely yours.

Charles Elliot.

P. S. I have just recd. a line from Saligny dated 9th June. The Despatches by "Great Western" were looked for hourly, and he would come on by "Eurydice." The President begged me most particularly to remind the Baron and yourself that the *Memorandum of our Conference* should be kept secret.

To Charles Bankhead, Esqr Mexico.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³³

No. 18.

Galveston.

June 15. 1845.

My Lord,

Since I had the honour of addressing Your Lordship on the 12th Inst. I have had an attack of Ague and fever, and finding that the best chance of interrupting this disorder and restoring myself to a fit state for Service is by immediate change, I propose to go to New Orleans by the Steam Boat which has been delayed here till today. I shall wait there for [until?] the President's Message has reached me, and if there should be anything [nothing?] to detain me to the Southward in the circumstances arising out of the Assembly of Congress I shall venture to proceed forthwith to New York, holding myself in constant readiness to return here whenever that step may be necessary or desirable.

The state of my health should not have induced me to leave Texas at present if I did not feel that there can be no reasonable doubt as to the course of the present Congress respecting annexation, and renewed reflection has strengthened me in the impression that I had better not be here at the period of their formal

³³F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

action upon this subject, be it what it may. The continued presence of the American Naval force named in the margin,³⁴ off this Bar, and the circumstances, leave me without doubt that it is the settled purpose of the Government of the United States to avail themselves of any opportunity or pretext to take Military possession of this part of the Country, at least, and by that step so far to commit the two Governments and Legislatures as to diminish all risk of retractation or disturbance here or in their own Country

But I will not dismiss this topic without taking the liberty to repeat an opinion I have in another place expressed to Your Lordship—; that is, that Mexico has much more efficacious Means of responding formidably to forcible aggression by the United States than seems to be generally contemplated here or there. There is more of aptitude in the United States for the accession of territory on that Side, by the mode of gradual encroachment in the unsettled Countries, than by regular Military operations and conquest. And if the policy and resources of Mexico are judiciously directed to prevent the first and arrest the last, I think that the result of regular Military modes of proceeding will not answer the expectation of the persons and councils in the United States intending the forcible dismemberment of the Mexican Confederacy. The danger to Mexico from the United States is in the Settler, and intrigue and conspiracy, not in their Armies and Navies, and the true point to be watched, and placed on a safe footing at once, I am strongly inclined to believe, is Upper California.

Texas, in the actual occupation of the Texians, cannot be safely disturbed by Mexico, and the Country beyond those limits as far as the Rio Grande, is for the most part perfectly desert, and unfit either for settlement, or protracted Military operations. If the Texians and Americans are betrayed as far as the Rio Grande in pursuit of their Aggressive Schemes there may be less difficulty in effectually checking them than is generally believed.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable,

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

³⁴*Princeton* (Steamer), *St. Mary's* and *Saratoga* (Corvettes), and *Porpoise* (Brig).

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁸⁵

No. 16.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston
June 24th 1845.

My Lord,

In the absence of Her Majesty's Charge d' Affaires who left Galveston for New Orleans on the 15th Instant, accompanied by Mr John Macdougall, I have the honor to inform your Lordship that the Congress of Texas (which assembled on the 16th Instant,) has passed a Joint Resolution accepting the proposition for Annexation submitted to the Texan government by the Government of the United States.

I beg leave to enclose a printed Copy of the Joint Resolution⁸⁶ passed by the Congress of Texas, relative to Annexation.

Another Joint Resolution has passed the Texan Congress, authorizing the introduction of United States' troops into Texas.

It is understood that Military occupation will be taken of the tract of Country lying between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; for the purpose of making the latter river the boundary between Mexico and Texas.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

BANKHEAD TO ELLIOT⁸⁷

[Enclosure].

Mexico
June 29—1845.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the 11th Instant containing the Proclamation of Mr President Jones on the receipt of H. Ey. of the preliminary Articles of which you were the bearer.—It is very gratifying to find that the tenour of this Document is so conciliatory towards Mexico, and evidently by it's language desirous of cultivating Peace and Goodwill, rather than the alternative of Annexation.

Senor Cuevas's mind had been much disturbed by the exag-

⁸⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

⁸⁶Not found.

⁸⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 13. This and the following letter are here placed in correct chronological order, though not received and transmitted by Elliot until August, owing to his absence from Texas.

gerated Statements he had received respecting the State of Affairs in Texas but I was fortunately enabled by your valuable assistance to calm down his excited feelings, while, at the same time, I strenuously, and I think with success, conjured him to allow no false or interested statement to urge this Government into any onward, or unfriendly Step while the Measure respecting Texas is pending—but to wait calmly for the decision of the Convention, which by a letter you were so good as to send for Monsieur de Cyprey's and my information, is not likely to take place before October.

I am endeavouring to induce this Government to issue a Proclamation for a Cessation of hostilities, in return for that so spontaneously made by the President of Texas

And Mr Cuevas assured me that no language but that of Conciliation would be used in accompanying the publication of the latter Document in the Government paper here.

Charles Bankhead.

Copy remaining with my papers.

Captain Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 1 in Capt Elliot's Despatch No. 23. to the Earl of Aberdeen. August. 13. 1845.

BANKHEAD TO ELLIOT²⁸

[Enclosure]

Mexico.

June 29. 1845

Sir,

It is with deep regret I learn from your private letter that you think it expedient to leave Texas during the Sitting of the Convention

I am sure you will pardon my earnestly requesting you to reconsider this intended proceeding—for it is absolutely necessary that this Legation should be *accurately* informed from time to time of what is going on in Texas—and, moreover, Lord Aberdeen particularly enjoins you to do so in his Instruction of 3rd May.

I take the liberty of adding that my opinion is fully supported by my french Colleagues and by the Mexican Government.

I send this by H. M. S. *Persian*, and I fervently hope that

²⁸F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

She may arrive in time to prevent your putting your plan into execution.

Charles Bankhead

Copy remaining with my papers.

Charles Elliot.

Captain Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure No 2 in Capt Elliot's Despatch No 23 to the Earl of Aberdeen. August 13. 1845.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT³⁹

No 10.⁴⁰

Foreign Office.

July 3d. 1845.

Sir,

I have received from you no Despatch of a later date than that of the 2d of April, marked "Secret," in which you reported the arrangement into which, in conjunction with the French Chargé d' Affairs, you had induced the President of Texas to enter, with a view to obtaining the recognition of Texas by Mexico. In the same Despatch you mentioned your intention of proceeding in person secretly to Mexico, in order to carry out more effectually the scheme of action thus devised in Concert with the Texian Government.

I have subsequently learned from Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico your arrival in that City, and the success which had attended the united efforts of the Missions of England and France both in Mexico and Texas, by the conditional acceptance by the Mexican Government of the terms proposed to them by the Government of Texas.

I am happy to be able to convey to you the approbation of Her Majesty's Government of the energy and ability with which, in conjunction with M. de Saligny, you prosecuted this matter with the Government of Texas. It might have been preferable, however, that you had not proceeded in person to Mexico; and at all events it would have been better that you had not pro-

³⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

⁴⁰F. O., Texas, 21, Aberdeen to Elliott, Nos. 8, May 19, and 9, June 18, 1845, have been omitted. No. 8 acknowledged receipt of despatches. No. 9 noted the transmission of copies of correspondence with British consuls in the United States relative to the sugar duties, but these copies could not be found.

ceeded thither secretly, or under a feigned name or character, inasmuch as the mystery which necessarily attended such secret expedition was liable to give rise to erroneous notions and false interpretations of our motives and intentions, especially on the part of the United States.

The policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued with respect to Texas and Mexico has been perfectly clear and open. It has never required any concealment. We naturally desired to preserve the independence of Texas, with which State we had entered into engagements, and concluded Treaties, but we also considered that the welfare of Mexico required that She should, if possible, be preserved from immediate contact with the United States.

We thought it probable that upon such separation the peace of the North American Continent, and therefore of the World, might materially depend. We accordingly employed our efforts, but openly and fairly, to accomplish this object. We looked upon it's furtherance as no less desirable for the United States than for Mexico, since we do not believe that the aggrandizement of the United States will in any way contribute to their strength, or to the advancement of the material interests of their people. On the contrary, we believe that such aggrandizement will be found to have a precisely opposite effect, and that it will eventually excite discord in the bosom of that great Country. But such dissention could scarcely fail to act injuriously upon British interests, considering the vast amount of British Capital which is engaged in Commerce with the United States. Our well understood national interests require that the United States should remain peaceful and united amongst themselves; but the system of extention of their territory which they are now pursuing seems to us to place their internal peace and union, as well as the peace of the whole Continent in jeopardy. For that reason therefore, as well as for those above pointed out, we have constantly sought to uphold the independence of Texas. But in pursuing this policy we have no specified British interests in view, apart from general interests, for we do not conceive that any material or direct British interest is involved in the independence of Texas. Had it been so, it would undoubtedly have been the duty of Her Majesty's Government to promote such interests by every fair

means in their power; but we should still have pursued that object as a clear and obvious publick obligation, without the smallest concealment.

I have entered thus at length into explanations respecting the policy of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Texas and Mexico, as well as the United States, with reference to those Countries, in order to demonstrate to you that the Mystery which you unfortunately threw round your recent proceedings was not only unnecessary, but liable to be misunderstood in such manner as to make your policy appear in a light the very reverse of that which it ought to bear.

In doing this I have thought it expedient to point out to you the error into which you have unintentionally fallen, and which is liable to create serious embarrassment and misunderstanding, in order that you may hereafter be enabled to avoid any repetition of it.

I do not think it necessary to enter upon this occasion into the question of the probable result of your late proceedings, since any reflections in which I might indulge must, in the uncertain position in which matters stand at present in Texas, be purely speculative. Her Majesty's Government see no reason to entertain any sanguine hope that the President of Texas will have been enabled to resist the popular clamour for annexation. It is therefore unnecessary at the present moment to give contingent instructions for the guidance of your conduct in the scarcely imaginable case of the maintenance of their independence by the people of Texas. In the event of the annexation of that Country to the United States being completed, you will remain at your post, or at some port of the United States, as you were authorized to do by my Despatch marked "Separate" on the 3rd. of April last, until you receive further instructions from this Office.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁴¹

No 19.

New Orleans.

July 3rd. 1845.

My Lord,

The President's Message,⁴² herewith transmitted, reached me this Evening, and seeing that there can be no further need for my stay in this quarter at present, I shall proceed to New York forthwith, holding myself in constant readiness to return to Texas at any moment that my presence there may be thought requisite or desirable. I learn by private letters from Texas that the Steamer Princeton was despatched direct to Norfolk, with these accounts, so that the detailed intelligence of what has passed in Texas will no doubt reach Her Majesty's Government from Washington before this despatch can arrive in England.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the unanimity of the Vote in the Texian Congress is decisive of the real feeling of the whole people of that Country. On the contrary, these scrambling and hurried proceedings in this grave affair afford reason to think that discussion was considered dangerous, and the acquiescence of persons in that body well known to be adverse to Annexation is only evidence that they were borne down by the apprehension of Violence, or at least by a sense that it was hopeless openly to resist the unscrupulous management and misrepresentation in operation at this moment.

Her Majesty's Government will find in these proceedings of Congress, and the official Correspondence herewith transmitted remarkable proof of the extent to which the people have been deceived and worked upon both in the United States and in Texas. So far as it has yet gone however this Measure is no doubt an immense triumph to the great Slave Trade interests of this Country.

Men, Women, and Children, My Lord, have risen in value at least 30 per Cent since this scheme was proposed by Mr Tyler in 1844; And the Annexation of Texas which some of the Statesmen of this Country have ventured to actuate in the phrase that it would constitute an "Exodus" for their Slave population signifies in the plainer speech, and, more reverent use of terms

⁴¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.⁴²Printed copy of Jones' message of June 16, 1845.

applicable to this painful transaction, that they have robbed a Market from a weak and peaceful neighbour where Slavery had no legal existence for the disposal and consumption of their surplus human produce. Their avowed purpose is that the Slaves are to be worked off in Texas till Slavery can no longer be turned to profitable account, and then that the wreck of the race is to be driven forth into the Mexican Provinces, to mix themselves with the inhabitants of those Countries.

But turning from this extravagance, I take the liberty to offer the opinion that the triumph these parties have achieved will be found to be insubstantial and transitory. Misrepresentation and political intrigue, and disease and sordid Motives of all kinds are of no texture to withstand the right feeling, and sober purposes of the great body of this people on this subject of Slavery. The reaction will be strong, and not slow of coming; and so far as the durability of the institution of Slavery is considered I believe that the Annexation of Texas will by no means work steadily in the sense that its advocates suppose. But there are other consequences to be feared from the success of such schemes as this, and the time may not be distant when it will be manifest that the true friends of the honour, happiness, and integrity of this great Confederacy were those just and able Statesmen who warned their fellow Citizens against the evils of this bad plot.

I learn from a good source this Evening that two Corps of infantry are to be sent immediately to Matagorda by Sea, and that a regiment of Cavalry is to march into Texas from Fort Jessup. It was said that the whole force under orders would not exceed 1,500 men. The Squadron before Galveston had broken up and returned to this Country.

I take the liberty of forwarding Your Lordship the Copy of a Despatch I addressed to Mr Bankhead yesterday, and I would also mention that if your Lordship forwarded me any instructions by the Mail of the 19th May, they have not yet reached me, having probably crossed me on my way up from Texas to this place.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO BANKHEAD¹

[Enclosure]

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

New Orleans.

July 3d. 1845.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that I have availed myself of the engagement of the Congress and Convention in Texas in discussions during the continuance of which I do not think it suitable to remain in the Country, to come on to the United States, with the hope of finding some relief from an Ague Complaint to which I have long been subject in the hot season of these Climates.

Indeed I perceive that in the present temper of the people and the actual attitude of these affairs my presence there would be made the pretext for continued misrepresentation and agitation. I shall go on to New York, but shall of course be ready to return to my post at any moment that my communications from England or other points may render that step necessary. Rumours of the immediate movement of United States Troops into Texas have been repeated several times during my brief residence here, but I think it probable that no step of the kind will be taken until the Government of Texas of it's own accord or under the direction of Congress calls upon the American Chargé d' Affaires to move the Commander of the force at Fort Jessup to advance.

The President's proclamation of the 4th June affords a sufficient indication of the dispositions of the Government of Texas, but it is not so easy to speak favourably of the probable course of Congress. If however the Government of Mexico should have responded to the proclamation of the President by declaring a cessation of hostilities, and shall have caused it to be understood that there will be no Movement beyond their actual lines for the present that is, East of the Rio Grande, I think that some mischeivous schemes will be baffled. Those schemes are, first. The immediate Military occupation of Texas by United States troops, which it is believed would close this Subject beyond all risk of retraction or serious discussion by the

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

next Congress of the United States, otherwise, a doubtful point. And, Secondly, the advance of part of the Force to the Brassos del Norte and left bank of the Rio Grande. Hence all the rumours of the Mexican Movement beyond that river in the prints of this Country and Texas, and the extreme vexation which followed the President's proclamation of the 4th Ultimo.

Adverting however to the movement of United States troops into Texas at this time of year and for the advance to the Rio Grande I would observe that I do not believe there are more than 1500 Men of all arms at Fort Jessup, an insufficient as well as unsuitable force for the supposed objects. The difficulties of movement in the Country through which they must pass, and the absolute necessity of transporting all their Material, both provisions and of War, warrant the opinion that more than half that strength of regular troops would be in the hospitals before they had reached the Trinity. A great part of the Country is desert, and even the cultivated parts of Texas are wholly without the means of supporting in an adequate manner even this small addition to the people upon them.

If heavy rain should fall too, as sometimes happens at this Season there would be no possibility of getting on their Material, and if there should be a want of rain water also must be transported for a great part of the way, for it is not only very bad and unwholesome but extremely scarce over almost the whole face of the Country. The only mode by which I believe it would be practicable to place an organized American force in Texas in any thing like an effective condition would be to convey them from the Mouth of the Mississippi to the places on the Coast nearest to the points they are to move upon. In fact whilst advance by land is out of the question at this Season of the year on account of the heat of the weather (at least beyond the Settlements in Texas) and full of difficulty in the Autumn and Winter Months on account of the state of the routes, movement by Sea is also extremely inconvenient owing to the Shallowness of the water in the Harbours of Texas which would render it necessary to effect the operation in a large number of light Vessels, and the Gulf of Mexico is not at all a secure Navigation for such craft from the beginning of August till after the Autumnal Equinox, owing to the risk of hurricanes.

No person can be more sincerely desirous than myself, that this serious affair may be settled satisfactorily without a Collision between Mexico and the United States but I certainly do believe that the difficulties of movement either by land or Sea (except for a short period in the Spring and beginning of Summer) and the continued Military occupation of the line of the Rio Grande with any amount of regular force that the United States can dispose of will be much greater than seems to be contemplated here. And if the War should be protracted and carried across the Rio Grande I believe that it would require very little skill and scarcely any exposure of the defending force to draw the invading Columns well forward beyond all means of support from their own basis and depots into situations of inextricable difficulty.

From my opportunities of judging too of the fitness of their Volunteer levies for movement into an enemy's Country I should think that the danger and difficulty of invasion would only be greater as that kind of force was more numerous. They are very spirited in and effective in their particular mode of fighting, which is by skirmishing with the rifle, but they could not resist Artillery and Cavalry in a Country suited to those arms, they are not amenable to discipline, they plunder the peasantry, they are without steadiness under reverses, they cannot march on foot, and are in no way comparable to the Mexican force for rapidity of movement or sustaining continued fatigue on the hardest food. The danger to Mexico from this side does not seem to arise from regular military invasion, for which there is no aptitude and insufficient means, but from the gradual and not very slow occupation of the unsettled Countries unless they are timely prevented. And I will take the liberty to add here that from all I have heard both in Texas and this place since I had the honour of seeing you, there seems to be no doubt the greater part of the unusually large emigration of this year towards the Oregon territory is in point of fact intended for Upper California, perhaps particularly for the Valley of the Sacramento and San Francisco Bay.

I believe also that it is accompanied by Agents of the Government of the United States, and I should mention that it is

confidently said here by persons likely to be well informed, to exceed 10,000 souls.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable.

The Early of Aberdeen, K. T.²

[Endorsed] Copy of a despatch from. Captain Elliot to Mr Bankhead. July 3d 1845 Inclosure No 2 in Capt Elliot's Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. No 19 of 1845.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN³

No. 18

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston
July 24th. 1845.

My Lord,

In a Despatch No 16 of the 24th Ultimo, I had the honor to inform Your Lordship of the acceptance by the Congress of Texas, assembled in extra Session, of the terms of Annexation proposed by the Government of the United States. I also informed Your Lordship that the Congress had passed a Joint Resolution, authorizing the introduction of United States' troops into Texas. Of this Joint Resolution I am now enabled to enclose a copy, taken from the "National Register" (Government paper) of the 17th Instant, which has just reached Galveston.

From the same paper I have taken, and enclose herewith a Copy of—"An Act to establish certain Mail Routes therein named and for other purposes"⁴—which I have been given to understand was passed in deference to the wishes of Major Donaldson, United States' Chargé d' Affaires in Texas.—The object of the Act is evidently to assist the territorial Jurisdiction of Texas over the tract of Country lying between the Nueces (*sic.*) and the Rio Grande, (which formed no part of Texas proper) and to establish the frontier line between Mexico and Texas—"up the principal Stream" of the Rio Grande to its Source, thence due North to the forty second degree of North Latitude." The territory over which Post Office and County Jurisdiction is

²Error made by Elliot in copying. The letter is to Bankhead.

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

⁴An unidentified newspaper cutting.

asserted by the recent Act of Congress, comprizes parts of the Mexican Departments of Coahuila, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua and New Mexico.

United States troops, for the occupation of the Western frontier, are daily expected at Galveston. The "National Register" announces that Major Donaldson, U. S. Chargé d' Affaires, has taken leave of the Government. This Gentleman is at present at Galveston, with, it is publicly stated, the intention of returning to the United States on the arrival of the American troops.

Enclosed herewith are Newspaper extracts,⁵ giving the proceedings of the Convention to the latest dates.—The terms of Annexation offered by the United States were accepted on the 4th Instant, with only one dissenting voice (a Delegate from Galveston) and, on the 7th Instant, a Resolution was adopted (with but one dissentient) authorizing and requesting the introduction of United States' troops, for purposes specified.

Her Majesty's Ship "Persian" arrived off Galveston, from Vera Cruz, on the 8th Instant, bearing Despatches for Captain Elliot (which I was authorized to open, in the event of Captain Elliot's absence from Texas)—and a communication addressed to myself—Conveying the earnest desire of His Excellency, Mr Bankhead, to be kept informed of the state of affairs in this Country, especially the proceedings of the Convention. Mr Bankhead's Despatches are dated the 27th Ultimo, at which time the actions of the Texan Congress, in reference to Annexation, was not—it would seem—known in the City of Mexico. I was obliged to detain the "Persian"—(in order to obtain intelligence from Austin) until the 16th Instant, when She sailed for Vera Cruz, which the Commander expected to reach in eight or nine days.—The "Persian" conveyed to Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico intelligence of the proceedings of the Convention, in regard to Annexation; and the introduction of United States' troops; together with a series of printed documents, calculated to explain the course of affairs and the state of popular feeling in this Country.

In a private letter to Mr Bankhead, I mentioned that I had

⁵Unidentified cuttings.

obtained, and had proposed to avail myself of leave of absence, but that if it were his wish, I should most willingly forego my intention and continue at my post. If, on the other hand, he deemed it unnecessary, or unfitting, to communicate farther with Texas, and wished to forward despatches specially to Washington (U. S.) or to England, I should be at his disposal for that purpose, on, or about, the tenth of next Month. There is no British Ship now in Port, nor are any expected until November, and it seemed to me that a rapid Journey to England, in the interval between August and November, might not be without its public uses.

By the Brig "Hope Howes," which left Galveston for New Orleans on the 15th Instant, I informed Mr Pakenham, in brief and general terms of the adoption of Annexation by the Convention—adding that the intelligence was sufficiently accurate to be communicated to Her Majesty's Government.—The "Hope Howes" made a quick passage, and I should think reached New Orleans in time to enable Mr. Pakenham to write by the Mail Steamer of 1st August

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁶

No 20.

New York.

July 28th. 1845.

My Lord,

I have had the honour to receive your Your Lordship's despatch No. 10 and it is a relief to me that there has not been the least departure from the principles recapitulated in that communication, in what has been accomplished with the hope of sustaining the Independence of Texas.

The manner indeed of my proceedings has unfortunately for myself subjected me to comments (and I cannot dispute the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government to disconnect themselves from any thing in their character that they do not like) but there is no objection to the matter concluded, and in that state of circumstances I need not trouble Your Lordship at much

length on the present occasion. The degree in which my visit to Mexico contributed to the success of the negotiations at that place is a point on which I have no remark to offer but I will take the liberty to say that there would have been no hope of securing the time necessary for adjustment there, uninterrupted by disturbing representations from this quarter, if my destination had been known when I left Texas.

Your Lordship will perhaps also give me leave to observe that I have not neglected all calculation of the perfectly probable event of Annexation in spite of the contemplated arrangement with Mexico. Beyond the chance of success (not small in the estimation of the Government of Texas when I left) I thought and I still believe that even if it failed the completion and subsequent publicity of the conditions recommended to Mexico by the Governments of Her Majesty and The King of the French could in no way prejudice the public interest, but would on the contrary subserve them. The want of conclusive proof in the sight of the people of Texas and of this Country, of the dispositions and ulterior purposes of Her Majesty's Government had already furnished the advocates of Annexation with their most powerful means of sustaining it. I believed therefore that moderation on the part of Mexico, even at that late hour, and unequivocal evidence of the character and extent of the arrangement supported by Her Majesty's and the French Governments would deprive Annexation of the chief pretext which had given it so much strength here; fastening the Scheme without chance of evasion upon that mixture of Slave trade and the wrongful motives so little likely to find sympathy with the great body of the Nation in more sober moments, and a more perfect state of information than have hitherto had place.

However Your Lordship may disapprove of any part of my proceedings, I may remark that no more than justice has been done to me in the belief that I am incapable of deliberately intending to injure the public Service. I am as free of such motives as any person in the Service of the Crown, and I meant on this occasion nothing else than to avail myself of the only chance that I saw was left to sustain the independence of Texas by the only means which I believed, with my opportunities of forming a judgment, afforded the least hope of success. It is

equally true that I entered upon the task with extreme reluctance and only in a sense that it was my duty to make the effort at once, for there was not a moment to be lost.

But without desiring to protract the discussion or defence of any further conduct of mine that Your Lordship has thought proper to censure I may at least observe that the mystery adverted to was no more than was necessary to conceal my destination. What has been said on this subject in the press of the United States is merely that kind of unscrupulous attack and misrepresentation to which persons are liable in the discharge of their public obligations, and in this particular case is no more than the natural consequence of a faithful attempt to perform my duty to my own Country, and I must give myself permission to add, no bad evidence of the extent to which the success of these proceedings has been felt to interfere with the easy accomplishment of bad and dangerous schemes.

Let me say in conclusion that it had long been clear to me in the turn that affairs were taking, that the important consideration was not so much the mere Annexation of Texas, as what was to be Annexed under that term of extravagant pretensions, and scant title either of right or occupancy; And I have a confidence that what has been accomplished will help the peaceful obstruction of a spirit of injustice and rapacity against Mexico, and facilitate as safe an adjustment of the question for that Government as their own most unfortunate delay has left any room to make. Their late policy, tardy as it has been, will I hope go far to defeat the purposes of those parties in this Country who deliberately mean the forcible dismemberment of Mexico, and in the main have the effect of limiting any possibly sustainable pretensions of the persons settled in Texas to the alienation only, of the territory in their actual occupation; Or at the very utmost of the remainder of the territory constituting Texas, according to the former divisions of the Country, upon a condition which Mexico would have the clearest right to demand under the fundamental law applying to those regions of her domain, and an obligation of necessity to insist upon for the security of her frontier.

I mean the condition that Slavery should never be introduced into the Ceded Country, and so brought contiguous with

their own to the certainty of constant frontier dispute and raid arising out of the escape of Slaves, and the still worse evil of filling these lands with Settlers of the same kind as those who have already proved so dangerous to Mexico. The proposal of negotiations on this basis would I believe at once put an end to all risk of hostilities against Mexico by the United States, and either frustrate the scheme of Annexation entirely, or at least turn it to a more safe and honourable conclusion for all parties than it can otherwise reach. In conformity with Your Lordship's directions I shall wait here or in this neighbourhood till I am further instructed.

I avail myself of this occasion to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's despatches Nos 8 and 9, and I have the honour to be,

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁷

No. 20.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston
July 28th. 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose herewith a Copy, in duplicate of the Laws affecting Shipping and Commerce, enacted by the Ninth Congress of the Republic of Texas, during the Session of 1844-5.

I also enclose herewith Copy, in duplicate, of two Acts passed at the extra Session of Congress, which assembled on the 16th Ultimo, to consider the question of Annexation, one of which Acts refers to the future Meeting of Congress.—I postponed the transmission of the Acts of the regular Session until the Acts of the extra Session had been published.

The following paragraph, in relation to the erection of a Light House on Galveston Island, appeared in "The Houston Telegraph" of the 7th of May last.

"LIGHT HOUSES. We have been authorized by the Secretary

of the Treasury to mention that he has determined not to conclude any Contract for the erection of the Light House at Galveston, or that at Matagorda. He considers it now so certain the Country will be soon Annexed to the United States, that he deems it advisable to husband the limited revenue of the Country, to defray the expences of the Congress and the Convention that will soon be convened, and he considers that the United States, having ample resources, will erect Light Houses at these points at an early period, far better adapted to the wants of Navigators than any that could be erected with the small appropriations made by our Congress"

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

[Enclosure]. Texas. Affecting Shipping and Commerce, enacted by the Ninth Congress of the Republic of Texas. Session 1844-5.⁸

Tonnage Duties.

An Act "Relative to Tonnage Duties," approved by the President 1st February 1845, provides that "from and after the 1st of April 1845, there shall be levied and collected on each and every Texan vessel, and on each and every foreign vessel entitled by Treaty to equality with Texan vessels, *Note** a Tonnage of Sixty two and a half Cents, for each ton of her burthen, on arriving in a port of this Republic from a foreign port."

The same Act provides that one dollar per ton, as per Register, shall be collected from Foreign Vessels not entitled by Treaty to equality with Texan Vessels, on arriving with Cargo from a foreign port;—*or* any higher rate to which a Texan Vessel would be liable in a port of the Nation to which any foreign vessel, so entering, shall belong.

It is likewise provided that a Vessel of either of the above mentioned classes, on arriving in a Texan port, from abroad, with ballast, shall be liable, on entry, to—"No more than one quarter of the rate of tonnage duly required of her by the preceeding Sections"—and if she depart from the same port in ballast"—No additional amount of Tonnage duty shall then be re-

⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

*Note. The vessels of Great Britain, France, Bremen and Holland.

quired of her" but if She shall depart with outward cargo, or proceed coastwise to another part of the Republic in ballast, and then take in cargo;—"She shall pay the remaining three quarters of her regular rate of Tonnage duty, at the port whence She clears with lading."

Coasting Vessels.

By the same Act, every Texan vessel of foreign build, while sailing under a Coasting License is chargeable with an Annual Tonnage duty of Sixty two and a half Cents per ton, payable on the expiration of the half-yearly License, or, *pro rata*, if the vessel should be lost, or the License surrendered before the term of its expiration.

Transportation of Goods Coastwise

By an Act approved by the President 3d February 1845, it is provided that—"When any vessel arrives in a port of the Republic, from a foreign Country, with goods, wares, and Merchandize on board, destined to another port of the Republic, to which the vessel itself is not destined,"—it shall be lawful to forward such Merchandize, under bond, in a Texan vessel to the port of her final destination—"without exacting payment of duties until their arrival at the second place of their landing."—Consignments, to be entitled to that privilege, must be exigible to, at last, one hundred dollars' duty,—must be entered, at the first port in the usual form—"except that the entry and oath shall specify that the importation is entered for the privilege of reshipment Coastwise subject to duty"—and that no fraud on the revenue is intended by such reshipment, it being requisite that—"Her Merchandize and effects, so reshipped, shall be contained in the same packages, or cases, in which they were imported, unless a change of package should be necessary for their preservation, in which case, they may be repacked before shipment, under the inspection of the revenue Authorities."

Before entry for reshipment is made, bond is to be given to the Collector for payment of—"the full amount of duties on

the effects reshipped, at the end of Sixty days from its date, unless satisfactory proof be produced to the Collector, within that time, that the said effects have been landed, and the duties paid thereon, or secured according to law, or that the said effects have been accidentally lost, or destroyed, before being relanded."

Any Merchandize reshipped according to the provisions of this Act,—“shall be subject to inspection both at the port of its first entry, and at that whereunto it is reshipped—and until it has been duly delivered at the latter, the Revenue Laws shall have the same power over it as in the case of goods entered and landed first from a Foreign port,—and any vessel on which such Merchandize is reshipped shall, from the time it is put on board until the time it is lawfully delivered, be under the same restrictions and responsibilities as if the said vessel had on board a cargo bound direct from a foreign Port.”

Light House on Galveston Island.

In consequence of representations made by Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston to the proper Department of the Texan Government, an Act passed Congress and was approved by the President 3d February 1845, making an appropriation for the purpose of erecting a Light House on the East end of Galveston Island. The Light House and lantern were to be, at least, seventy five feet in height, and the work was to be commenced on, or before, the first day of June next following, and to be completed on the 3d. of February 1846.—For the support of Light-Houses, a Light Tax of three Cents per ton was to be collected on all vessels arriving in the ports of the Republic from a Foreign Country.—In the beginning of March, the Secretary of the Treasury advertised for the erection of the Light House, but the undertaking was soon afterwards abandoned by the Government, in view of the speedy Annexation of Texas to the United States.

Hospital at Galveston.

By an Act approved by the President, 3d. February 1845, for the establishment of an Hospital at Galveston, it is provided

that, from and after the 1st of May next ensuing,—“the Commander of every vessel arriving at the Port of Galveston, shall be required to pay to the Collector of Customs at that port the Sum of fifty Cents for every foreign Male white Cabin passenger over Sixteen years of age, and the Sum of twenty five Cents for every foreign white Male Steerage passenger over Sixteen years of age, according to the list of passengers produced by the said Commander, or his clerk, which list shall be sworn to.”

Chambers of Commerce at Galveston.

By an Act approved by the President, 3d February 1845, a Corporate body was created under the style and title of “The Galveston Chamber of Commerce”—an institution which, according to the preamble of the Act,—“is much required by the Mercantile Community, as tending to diminish litigation, and to establish uniform and equitable charges.”

It is provided that the Act of Incorporation shall,—“be in force, from the passage thereof, for and during the space of twenty years, and take effect from and after its passage.”

Two Acts,

passed at the Extra Session of the Ninth Congress of Texas,—June 1845.

An Act.

Supplementary to “an Act to regulate proceedings in Civil Suits.

This Act provides that, from and after the 27th June 1845—“in all Suits brought to recover the price, or value, of any goods, wares, or Merchandize imported, or Notes given for the same, the fact that such goods, wares or Merchandize, were imported, or introduced, into the Republic, without payment of the lawful Duties, or in violation of any Revenue Law thereof, may be pleaded in defence, and, if established, shall constitute a legal and valid defence in all such cases.”—It is further provided that,—“in cases where such defence shall be pleaded”—and also in cases—“When any Civil action shall hereafter be

brought to recover duties not paid, the party so charged, or implicated, shall not be liable to any Criminal prosecution for the same offence, or non-payment."

An Act.

To alter the time for the Meeting of the Annual Sessions of Congress.

The First Section of this Act,—provides that.—“The Annual Sessions of the Congress of the Republic shall, hereafter, commence on the Second Monday in May, any law, now in existence the contrary-wise notwithstanding.”

By the Second Section of this Act,—“Such of the appropriations of the regular Session of the Ninth Congress, (except appropriations for Foreign Legations) as the President may deem necessary and cannot be dispensed with, are extended, *pro rata*, to the Second Monday in May. A. D. 1846, or until the incorporation of Texas as a State of the United States.

The Acts received the President's approval on the 26th of June 1845.

[Endorsed.] In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch, No. 20. dated July 28th. 1845.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN*

No 21.

New York,
July 30th 1845

My Lord,

By private letters from Texas to the 14th Instant I am informed that a resolution to the following effect proposed in the House of Representatives on the last day of the Session of Congress had failed.

“Resolved by the House of Representatives.”

“That the course of the Executive in relation to the question of Annexation had been unpatriotic and unwise, attempting to thwart the people in their well known wish to unite themselves to the great political family of the United States, and throw them afloat again upon the troubled Sea of a separate exist-

*F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

"ence to be the sport of a policy hostile to liberty in both Hemispheres, and that He may not be enabled to throw further obstacles in the way of this great Measure and ultimately effect it's defeat we recommend to the Convention of the people of Texas to establish a Government ad interim until The Constitution of the State of Texas shall go into effect as being the most certain, effectual and economical mode of securing our Annexation to the United States."

The Convention assembled at Austin on the 4th Instant, and elected General Rusk to be President. An ordinance had been passed with one dissenting voice, consenting upon the behalf of the people of Texas to the terms of Annexation proposed by the Government of the United States, and on the 5th a resolution was passed requesting the President of the United States on the behalf of the people of Texas to send troops forthwith to their frontier

By private letters to the 17th Instant from New Orleans I am informed that the force assembled there under the Command of Brigadier General Taylor consists of two Corps of Infantry amounting to about 1400 bayonets, and also that two Companies of Artillery (180 strong) were at that time coming up the river, supposed to be destined for Texas. It was reported that this force would sail about the 25th Instant for Matagorda in the Steam Ship "Alabama" and three other transports, but this last statement is not made with entire confidence.

A regiment of Cavalry, between 400 and 500 strong was said to have marched for San Antonio de Bexar from Fort Jessup in the early part of this month.

On my way up to the Northward I thought it convenient to pass through the Port of Norfolk but did not remark any particular activity at that point.

Besides the Guard Ship (Pensylvania) there was one heavy frigate alongside the Yard in a state of partial equipment, one or two Sloops of War fitting, and one Corvette in the Stream, armed and equipped, but not manned, her Ship's Company having been recently landed in consequence of fever. The force under the Command of Commodore Conner on the home Station (which comprizes the Service of the Gulf of Mexico) consists, I believe, of One heavy frigate, 1 of 46. 4 or 5 Corvettes, and six

Brigs and Schooners, with two Steam Ships, (the Mississippi and Princeton) but it is said here that it is to be strengthened immediately from the Mediterranean, Brazil, and Coast of Africa Stations, and I heard at Galveston from a good source that Commodore Biddle¹⁰ in the Columbus, was to return from China by the way of the Pacific with part of the East India Squadron. Upon the whole I incline to believe that the force actually on foot has been encreased to the full extent of the appropriations for the Service of the Current year. I have not remarked in the papers that the Squadron has sailed again from Pensacola, where it was when I left New Orleans. H. M. S. Persian was at Galveston on the 14th Inst., but was to sail as soon as the Commander received replies from Washington, looked for on the 16th. I have not heard the purpose of her visit but conjecture that it must have been to carry replies to the despatches I forwarded to Mr Bankhead on the 12th June by the "La Perouse."

With a view to place the Commander in Chief in possession of the latest information I have of the State of affairs in Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, I have taken the liberty to inclose this despatch under a fly Seal to him, with a request that he will have the goodness to peruse and forward it to England by the Mail. I have also forwarded him a Copy of my despatch to Mr Bankhead of the 3d July last

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹¹

No. [22.]

New York.

August. 12th 1845

My Lord,

By papers and letters from Texas to the 24th Ult. I learn that the Convention was still in Session, and that the Several branches of the State Constitution has been referred to separate Committees. It was thought that they would have concluded

¹⁰John Biddle, a distinguished American naval officer. He was stationed on the California coast during the Mexican War. (Appleton, *Cyclop. of Am. Biography*.)

¹¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

their business in the early part of this month, but I am led to understand that some difficulty was contemplated upon the subject of the limits of the State, as also from an attempt to divide it at once into two, which would of itself be a departure from the United States Annexation resolution, and otherwise calculated to embarrass the easy conclusion of the affairs in this quarter.

Another point that is likely to produce dissatisfaction in Texas at least, is the view of the Government of the United States respecting goods to be exported from Texas into this Country after the completion of Annexation. Persons connected with the trade of Texas had formed the idea that Merchandize imported into the United States from there after Annexation, could not be chargeable again in the ports of this Country as coming from a Member of the Confederacy. These impressions had prepared the way for a vast influx of Merchandize from Europe into Texas, and from the United States under the drawback system, with the purpose of an extensive return trade as soon as Annexation were finally accomplished; And it consists with my knowledge that the Government of Texas favoured the purposes of these parties with the intention of helping their own revenue.

The Secretary of the Treasury however in the United States takes a different view of the subject. Without expressing any opinion upon that Gentleman's reasoning, to which I am incompetent to speak, I would merely remark that it is not likely to find favour in Texas, where it should be observed there are many people sedulously waiting the first turn of popular sentiment with the hope of baffling the whole scheme of Annexation.

In the Texian Government Newspaper of the 17th July, I observe that an Act was passed by the last Congress which I have herewith the honour to transmit for Your Lordship's information, and there certainly can hardly be a piece of more noticeable legislation extant in the language of any Country. The vast region Annexed to the County of San Patricio under this unobtrusive head of a Mail line across a Country in which the Americans in Texas had never had a settler, (directed to a point on the Rio Grande, in the long and steady occupation of Mexico) is at least 5 times as large as the whole Country in their actual occupancy, more extensive than the aggregate size of sev-

eral of the largest States in this Confederacy, or than the Co-joint Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal:

It certainly seems to me to be safer for Mexico upon the whole, in the turn that affairs have taken, that the parties in Texas have set out upon these principles and this scale under the auspices of the United States, than that they should have fallen back in the beginning upon the more dangerous plan of quiet and gradual encroachment. Mexico has less to dread from their power to conquer these Countries, than to appropriate them by other principles; And with the attention of the Government of Mexico awakened to the unmistakable intentions of their neighbours, it is reasonable to hope that they will in due season adopt a surer mode of arresting the danger with which they are menaced than they unhappily pursued in Texas from the first moment that they permitted it to be settled by the Americans, till the last hours of it's existence as a separate Country. A sounder policy with respect to other very important and actively threatened parts of their domain is no doubt still within their power; but how soon the opportunity of working upon it successfully and for durable purposes may pass from them, has become to be a disquieting question in many points of view. It is manifest at all events that there is no time to be lost and that their Measures must at once be broad and decisive.

Congress in Texas, before it's separation, had passed an Act changing the period of Assembly of the next Congress to the Month of May 1846, and the President had issued his usual Proclamation under the Constitution of the Republic for the election of Members of that Body on the first Monday in September next.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

[Enclosure]. An Act to establish certain Mail routes therein named, and for other purposes.¹²

Sec. 1.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas in Congress assembled, that a Mail route

¹²F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

shall be and is hereby established from Bexar in the County of Bexar to the town of Laredo on the East bank of the Rio Grande, and from Corpus Christi in the County of San Patricio to Point Isabel near the Mouth of the Rio Grande.

Sec. 2.

Be it further enacted that all that part of the Republic lying between the "Nucas" and the "Rio Grande" rivers from the Gulf to the Northerly One [?] of the Republic not now embraced within the defined limits of any County be and is hereby added to the County of San Patricio, and that this Act shall take effect from and after it's passage.

Approved.

June 24th. 1845

[Endorsed] Inclosure in Captain Elliot's despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen. No 22. August. 12th. 1845.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹³

No. 23.

New York.

August 13th. 1845.

My Lord.,

I have herewith the honour to forward to Your Lordship two despatches which I have recently received from Her Majesty's Minister at Mexico,¹⁴ together with a Copy of my reply to that marked No 2.

Mr Bankhead wrote under impressions which later intelligence will have changed, and when that does reach him, I feel assured he will readily admit that my continued presence in Texas beyond the period I did remain there would have been unnecessary and unsuitable. I did not leave the Country without careful consideration of the situation of circumstances, and I believe that my absence from the Country during the Session of Congress and the Convention has prevented the entire abrogation of the remaining Authority and influence of the Government of Texas.

Inconsiderable as that influence is, Your Lordship will never-

¹³F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

¹⁴For Bankhead's two letters to Elliot, June 29, 1845, see pp. 506-508.

theless desire that it should not have been extinguished, for it may be depended upon that it will be exercised beneficially, if any favourable opportunity or change of public sentiment should come about. I am as near the theatre of those events as I can be in the present state of affairs, without aggravating a mischievous spirit, and I am ready to return to it at any moment that my presence can be useful or prudent.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO BANKHEAD¹⁵

[Enclosure]

New York.

August. 8th. 1845

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches of the 29th June, and feel assured that the intelligence I communicated to you from New Orleans on the 3d Ult. will have convinced you of the hopelessness, and I trust too of the unsuitableness and inconvenience of my protracted stay in Texas at that time.

The result of the Elections for the Convention established the certainty of the adoption of the Annexation resolutions beyond a doubt, and with no instructions from Her Majesty's Government as to the course to be pursued by me in that emergency, and no reasonable doubt that they desired the most perfect freedom of action should be reserved to them if it did present itself, I hope you will agree with me in thinking that it was well I should be out of the Country before the Congress and Convention had formally committed themselves to the policy of Annexation.

In writing to Lord Aberdeen on the 12th Inst. I remarked that, "The Assembly of the Convention perfectly irregular and "beyond the law of itself, assembled to take into consideration "the extinction of the Nationality of the Country and with it "the violation of their Compacts direct and implied with the

¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

"Powers with which they have treaties appears to me to be a state of things that had better not have the Countenance of any foreign representative. I mean by Countenance such as sent as might be inferred from his presence."

I could hardly have left the Country after the late proceedings of Congress and the Convention without some notice of them to the Government, (and recent instructions have satisfied me there was no wish I should allude to them). Upon the other hand I should have had extreme difficulty in remaining there in a merely observant attitude, accredited to the Constituted Authorities of a Country constrained to signify their assent to the extinction of it's National existence.

The immediate turn of events in Texas, however permanent or otherwise that time may prove to be, was unfortunately too certain before I quitted Galveston (for the result of the Convention elections had been conclusive) and from that moment I felt that my continued presence was neither necessary nor desirable.—But beyond any reason of my own to that effect I am fortunately left without doubt as to the general impressions of Her Majesty's Government respecting my continued presence in Texas in the event of the success of the Annexation party there, for in a despatch from Lord Aberdeen dated on the 3d Ult. written in the belief that such would be the case His Lordship had authorized me to act upon a sanction previously given to me to come on if I saw fit to any port of the United States where I should be in the line of my Communications from Her Majesty's Government. Neither does His Lordship in that communication give me any instructions as to the course I should pursue, or the attitude I should observe in the Case which has since presented itself, and I have no apprehension that I shall have acted in opposition to his wishes by retiring from the Country at the time and under the circumstances that I did. The state of my health, poor as it was, should certainly never have induced me to leave Texas then, if I had not felt that with the President's proclamation of the 4th June every thing had been accomplished that it consisted with my means, (under the spirit of my Instructions) to attempt, for the prevention of Annexation, or the mitigation, or modification of it's evil consequences.

And in the further turn of affairs indicated by the Convention elections I could not but see that my continued presence there was not merely useless, but destructive of all hope of the recovery of the people from that condition of delusion into which they had been wrought by the Agents and press of this Country. It was manifest that I could not have remained in Texas during the Session of Congress and Convention without assisting the purposes of the Enemies of a safe and honourable settlement of this dispute for my presence there would have been the pretext for every description of artful misrepresentation and false report. I am sure on the contrary that my departure from the Country after the plain evidence of the ulterior purposes of Her Majesty's Government which I induced the President to exhibit, has already been of service in strengthening a growing return to a sounder sense of the extent of the sacrifice the people were making than had hitherto prevailed amongst them.

If Collision can be prevented between the forces of the United States and Mexico, (a circumstance, however, of which I am in great doubt, for I must admit my own impression that it is the deliberate purpose of the Government of the United States to induce hostilities and so carry all parties in this Country with them) it is by no means impossible that this whole scheme may still fail of realization. I did not leave Texas till all had been done that I could do there, and till it had become clear beyond all doubt that the really important point from which information and action must now be looked for in Mexico concerning this affair was from the S. W. of the United States, and I did not leave New Orleans till I had received the President's Message, and could furnish you some decisive tidings of what was to be done from that quarter.

Our cordial public intercourse, and the kindness and consideration I have always received from you leave me in the full persuasion that you will willingly give your best and most friendly attention to this exposition, and admit that in the state of things known to me in the middle of June, and not known to you before the middle of next Month, I acted with a proper discretion in leaving Texas when I did. I transmit an

extract¹⁶ from a despatch I have recently addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen.

Charles Elliot.

To Charles Bankhead, Esqr.

Mexico.

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.]. Inclosure No 3 in Capt'n Elliot's despatch No 23 to the Earl of Aberdeen. August 13. 1845.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁷

No. 24.

New York.

August 15th. 1845

My Lord,

By the Southern Mail of this Morning I have received a Note from the Government of Texas in reply to one which I addressed to Mr Allen on the 13 June.

I have herewith the honour to transmit Copies of these Communications and to remain.¹⁸

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ALLEN¹⁹

[Enclosure]

Galveston

June 13. 1845

The Undersigned etc. etc. etc, has the honour to acquaint Mr Allen that the bad state of his health constrains him to avail himself of leave of absence to take the benefit of a temporary change of climate.

He would not like to go away, however, in any uncertainty

¹⁶On the margin of the letter, Elliot here wrote "Conclusion of my despatch No. 20 (July 28th, 1845) to Your Lordship."

¹⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

¹⁸The first enclosure, Elliot to Allen, June 13, 1845, is calendared by Garrison as in "Senate Journal, 9th Tex. Cong., extra sess., 67, 68.," but is here reprinted as not generally available. The second enclosure, Allen to Elliot, July 10, 1845, is in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1201-1202, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

¹⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

as to his return, without offering the President his sincere acknowledgments for the constant public consideration and private kindness he has received from His Excellency in his long intercourse with this Government, or without adding to those thanks his cordial wishes for the continued honour and prosperity of the Republic and people of Texas.

He requests Mr Allen to convey these sentiments to His Excellency and to accept for himself the assurances of regard and distinguished consideration with which He has the honour to remain.

Charles Elliot.

Copy. Charles. Elliot. To The Right Honourable. Ebenezer Allen. Washington on the Brazos.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure. No. 1 to Capt. Elliot's. despatch No 24 to the Earl of Aberdeen. Aug. 15. 1845.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁰

No. 25.

New York.

August 22d. 1845

My Lord,

It may be desirable in the present situation of affairs between Mexico and this Country to lay before Her Majesty's Government some authentic means of forming an opinion upon the force of the claim of the persons in Texas to the Country they have legislatively appropriated, so far as that claim is founded upon population and actual occupancy. With that impression I have the honour to transmit herewith a paper headed "Return of the Election for President of the Republic held in the Several "Counties on the 2d day of September 1844"²¹

Your Lordship is aware that the late Election was eagerly contested, and it is probable that the number of persons entitled to Vote, who did not Vote upon that occasion was at least balanced by the number who did exercise that privilege without any warrant of law or permanent footing in the Country. The ordinary estimate of five for each head of a family (a large vote in the case of Texas) would give an aggregate white popu-

²⁰F. O., Texas, Vol. 13.

²¹An unidentified newspaper cutting.

lation of less than 65,000 Souls. And taking the liberty to refer Your Lordship to Arrowsmith's Map, in connexion with the results of the accompanying Return, it will further appear that even of this small population at least $5/6^{\circ}$ are settled East of, or on the Colorado, and more than one half East of, or on the Brassos. In fact a line struck due South from the S. W. point of the United States on the Red river, would pass far Westward of any Texian settlement.

I have been led to draw this subject under Your Lordship's attention at present, from an impression, gathered some time since in quarters where mistake was not likely, that it was at one time the idea of the Government of the United States to limit their pretensions to the Country actually legislatively represented in the Congress of Texas. And it may be that the late prodigious extension of the Country of San Patricio was made in Texas with the purpose to strain their claim upon the Government of the United States within that pretence, before the arrival of the United States troops beyond the Sabine.

In fact it must be admitted that so far as the Act of the Texian Congress is a warrant for the Military occupation of the Country at all by the United States, the Officer in Command of those troops, is as much bound to defend what is legislatively described to be the County of San Patricio as any other Congressional division of the Country. In this view it would of course be justifiable to drive in all the Mexican posts or settlements East of the Rio Grande from 42° . N. to it's Mouth, which amounts however to sheer invasion of Mexico, and the territory acknowledged to be Mexican by the treaties in existence between the United States and that Republic.

Your Lordship will probably remark what proportion the territory in the actual occupation of the Texians bears to the size of the largest and most popular State in this Confederacy. Large as that Country is, and poor as yet of population, the remainder of the unoccupied region constituting Texas according to the *Mexican* territorial division is considerably larger. So far therefore as space is considered, relating to population and it's necessities, there can be no need for absorbing the immense region beyond the just mentioned Mexican division, completing the Texian legislative description of the Country; a region more

than twice as large as that in their actual possession, and containing a Mexican population very little short of their own numbers.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S. I have joined to the accompanying return a letter which I have extracted from a recent United States Newspaper, and so far as I have had any means of judging I should consider it to be sufficiently correct. It connects itself naturally with the subject of this despatch as shewing not only the numbers and situations of the population in the territory claimed to be Texas, but the Citizenship of the parties by whom this dismemberment of Mexico is proposed. With the exception of two they are all born Citizens of the United States, who for the most part have come into the Country, with the bulk of the population, since the declaration of Independence.²²

They at least could have no better practical reason to complain of Mexican oppression, than they have right, or shadow of pretext for giving away to the United States large portions of that Republic, in which there never yet has been a Texian Settlement. I have thought it may be convenient at present to collect any details which may serve to establish the true character of any title to those regions, dependent upon Texian assignment.

Charles Elliot.

A copy of this despatch has been forwarded to H. M. Minister in Mexico.

²²The enclosure was an unidentified newspaper cutting, giving a list of delegates elected to the Texan Convention, with statistics of birth, nationality, etc. It is here printed as not generally available.

ENCLOSURE NO. 2 IN THE DESPATCH FROM ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN NO. 25 AUGUST 22D. 1845.²²

Table of the places of nativity, ages, and residences of the members of the Texian Convention assembled at Austin on the 4th of July, 1845—Furnished by Gen. Besancon.

Name.	County.	Age.	Occupation.	Last residence.	Place of nativity.	Date of emigration to Texas.
Rusk, T. J., President.	Nacogdoches.	41	Lawyer.	Georgia.	South Carolina.	January, 1835.
Anderson, Jno. D.	Gonzales.	25	Lawyer.	Alabama.	Virginia.	January, 1835.
Armstrong, Jas.	Jefferson.	33	Lawyer.	Indiana.	Kentucky.	November, 1835.
Armstrong, C.	Robertson.	37	Farmer.	Tennessee.	Tennessee.	September, 1837.
Baylor, R. E. B.	Fayette.	52	Lawyer.	Alabama.	Kentucky.	November, 1839.
Bache, R.	Galveston.	61	Impost. Inspector.	Mississippi.	Pennsylvania.	April, 1836.
Brashear, Isaac W.	Harris.	34	Farmer.	Tennessee.	Tennessee.	February, 1839.
Brown, Geo. Wm.	Colorado.	27	Lawyer.	Virginia.	Virginia.	November, 1839.
Burrongs, Jas. M.	Sabine.	21	Lawyer.	Alabama.	Tuscaloosa (Ala.)	February, 1844.
Cazneau, Wm. L.	Bastrop.	42	Farmer.	Alabama.	Kentucky.	December, 1830.
Clark, Edward.	Travis.	33	Merchant.	Louisiana.	Massachusetts.	June, 1830.
Caldwell, John.	Harrison.	27	Lawyer.	Alabama.	Louisiana.	September, 1842.
Cunningham, A. S.	Victoria.	34	Lawyer.	Alabama.	Virginia.	April, 1836.
Cuney, Phil. M.	Austin.	36	Planter.	Louisiana.	Louisiana.	November, 1840.
Darnell, N. H.	San Augustine.	38	Mechanic.	Tennessee.	Tennessee.	November, 1838.
Davis, James.	Liberty.	54	Lawyer.	Mississippi.	Virginia.	February, 1842.
Evans, L. D.	Fannin.	35	Lawyer.	Arkansas.	Liberty, Tenn.	January, 1844.
Everts, G. A.	Fannin.	45	Lawyer.	Missouri.	Ohio.	July, 1844.
Forbes, R. M.	Brazoria.	34	Merchant.	Florida.	Virginia.	February, 1836.
Gage, David.	Rusk.	49	Farmer.	Arkansas.	Kentucky.	May, 1839.
Hemphill, John.	Washington.	41	Lawyer.	South Carolina.	South Carolina.	August, 1838.
Henderson, J. Pinckney.	San Augustine.	36	Lawyer.	Mississippi.	North Carolina.	April, 1836.
Hicks, N. W. O.	Shelby.	28	Lawyer.	Tennessee.	Tennessee.	November, 1838.

Table of the places of nativity, ages, and residences of the members of the Texian Convention assembled at Austin on the 4th of July, 1845—Furnished by Gen. Besancon.

Name.	County.	Age.	Occupation.	Last residence.	Place of nativity.	Date of emigration to Texas.
Hogg, Jos. L.	Nacogdoches	38	Lawyer	Alabama	Georgia	January, 1841.
Horton, A. C.	Matagorda	47	Planter	Alabama	Georgia	February, 1835.
Houston, Sam.	Montgomery					
Howard, Volney E.	Bexar					
Holland, S.	Harrison	44	Planter	Mississippi	Virginia	January, 1842.
Hunter, Wm. L.	Goliad	34	Farmer	Louisiana	Virginia	October, 1835.
Irion, Van R.	Washington	26	Planter	Tennessee	Georgia	May, 1836.
Jewett, H. J.	Robertson	32	Lawyer	Maine	Maine	January, 1839.
Jones, Oliver	Austin					
Kinney, H. L.	San Patricio	31	Merchant	Illinois	Pennsylvania	September, 1837
Latimer, A. H.	Red River	36	Farmer	Tennessee	Tennessee	December, 1833.
Latimer, H. R.	Lamar	26	Lawyer	Tennessee	Tennessee	December, 1834.
Lewis, Jno. M.	Montgomery	40	Planter	Alabama	Virginia	February, 1842.
Love, James	Galveston	50	Lawyer	Kentucky	Kentucky	April, 1837.
Lumpkin, P. O.	Houston	37	Farmer	Alabama	Georgia	April, 1835.
Lusk, Sam.	Brazos					
Lipscomb, A. S.	Washington	56	Lawyer	Alabama	South Carolina	November, 1839.
Mayfield, J. S.	Fayette	35	Lawyer	St. Louis, Mo.	Tennessee	April, 1837.
McGowan, Alex	Harris	27	Mechanic	Alabama	North Carolina	August, 1839.
McNeil, A.	Montgomery	38	Surveyor	Mississippi	North Carolina	September, 1837.
Mills, John T.	Red River					
Miller, J. B.	Fort Bend	45	Physician	Kentucky	Kentucky	1827.
Moore, Francis, Jr.	Harris	37	Editor	New York	Massachusetts	1836.
Navarro, J. Antonio	Bexar	50	Agricultur.	Bexar	Bexar	
Parker, Isaac.	Houston	52	Farmer	Illinois	Tennessee	1833.

Powers, James.....	Refugio.....	56	Ireland.....	1823.
Rains, Emory.....	Shelby.....	46	Tennessee.....	1820.
Runnels, H. G.....	Brazoria.....	49	Mississippi.....	1842.
Scott, James.....	Montgomery.....	46	Alabama.....	March, 1839.
Smyth, G. W.....	Jasper.....	42	Alabama.....	February, 1830.
Standifer, Israel.....	Milam.....	64	Alabama.....	1841.
Tarrant, E. H.....	Bowie.....	38	New York.....	1830.
Taylor, Chas. S.....	Nacogdoches.....	31	Mississippi.....	September, 1838.
Van Zandt, Isaac.....	Harrison.....	33	Alabama.....	1831.
White, Francis M.....	Jackson.....	31	Georgia.....	1839.
Wood, Geo. T.....	Liberty.....	33	Tennessee.....	January, 1837.
Wright, G. W.....	Lamar.....	33	Tennessee.....	
Young, Wm. C.....	Red River.....			

²²F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²⁴

No. 22.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston
August 23d. 1845.

My Lord,

Since the date of my despatch No 18, of the 24th Ultimo, troops of the United States have been moved to the Western frontier of this Country. Dragoons, to the amount of about four hundred and fifty, entered by land and proceeded towards San Antonio; infantry, estimated at about fourteen hundred, were transported by water from New Orleans to Aransas Bay, and thence to Corpus Christi and its neighbourhood. I am informed, on apparently good authority, that this force is to be speedily increased to an aggregate of between four and five thousand men. Farther reinforcements, had been shipped at New Orleans, about the 15th Instant, and the whole amount of United States troops now on the Western, or South Western, frontier is stated to be some twenty two, or twenty three hundred men.

I have made particular inquiry on the point, and have been assured that General Taylor, the Officer in Command of the United States troops in Texas, has assumed a position at Corpus Christi, *West of the river Nueces*, and according to accounts published in the "Galveston Civilian" of this day, was "busily engaged in fortifying it."—The occupation of this position seemed to indicate a determination on the part of the United States to follow up the pretensions of Texas to the boundary of the Rio Grande—extending, as mentioned in my despatch No 18, beyond the limits of Texas proper, into the Departments of Coahuila, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua, and New Mexico.

A Military officer bearing despatches for General Taylor, arrived in Galveston, from New Orleans, on the 20th Instant, and left the next day in a revenue Cutter for Corpus Christi.—Apprehension of approaching hostilities between the United States and Mexico has been excited by the Military Movements directed by the latter,—and reports (the value of which I am unable to determine) are current that Mexican troops have crossed to the North Eastern bank of the Rio Grande in considerable strength.

²⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 14.

By the latest accounts from Austin, it was anticipated that the Convention would close its labours on the State Constitution and rise about the 20th. Instant.—I have sometimes thought that it would have been well had I been enabled to obtain information of the proceedings of the Convention from a direct and authorized source. Some arrangement of this kind might also, perhaps, be desirable in the event of hostilities on the South Western frontier. Major Donaldson, Charge d' Affaires from the United States to Texas, sailed in the U. S. Cutter "Woodbury," from Galveston for New Orleans, on the 10th. Instant.

H. M. S. "Persian," which left Galveston Roads for Vera Cruz, on the evening of the 16th. ultimo, arrived at her port of destination on the 24th. of the same Month, and I have learned, from Her Majesty's Consul at Vera Cruz, that the Despatches transmitted by the "Persian" have been forwarded to the City of Mexico the day of her arrival.—As the winds were unfavourable, the quick passage made by the "Persian" appears to be worthy of remark.

Since the communication which I had the honor to address to Your Lordship on the 24th ultimo, I have received no official intelligence from Mexico.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No. 26.

New York.
Augt 31. 1845

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a statement of the United States Naval force in various parts of the World, extracted from the Government paper of the 26th Instant.² Intelligence from Texas to the 30th Ultimo reports the temporary Cantonment of an American force of 11 or 1200 Men on St Joseph's Island (which faces the Coast between the Mouths of the Aransas Stream and the "Nueces,") and from the various accounts I have seen in the prints of this Country I should judge that reinforcements to the extent of about 2,500 Men are now on

¹F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

²Cutting from *The Washington Union*, August 26, 1845.

their way to the same destination, but the whole strength could hardly be completely assembled in Western Texas before the 10th of next Month, at the earliest.

I presume that St Joseph's Island has been selected for the disembarkation of the troops in preference to Corpus Christi because the entrance at that Pass has the advantage of rather more water, than that at Corpus Christi, (about a degree further to the Westward) and probably also because the Coast at that point is rather nearer to San Antonio de Bexar, where I conclude it is intended to canton the troops and form the main depots, upon the ground of it's situation with respect to the main routes into the Country, and superior comparative healthiness. It should be said that there will be considerable inconvenience and difficulty in transporting the troops and Materiel rapidly from San Josephs to the Coast in consequence of the Shallowness of the Bay and the want of a sufficient number of light boats: And if the rains set in as early as September as they have done of late years, the March through the lower Country will be extremely slow and trying

If the Mexicans are advancing rapidly in force, and are accompanied by strong levies of effective and well mounted rancheros, thoroughly acquainted with the Country, and commanded by active partizan Chiefs, of whom there is no want in Mexico, the American force may find it more difficult to establish themselves firmly on their intended basis than appears to have been contemplated. In fact the inconsiderable amount of the force originally sent on, and the hurried and piecemeal manner in which reinforcements are now following strengthen me in the impression that the first movement in Texas was dictated chiefly by a desire to commit the Legislatures and people of the two Countries beyond any change of retraction, and not by apprehension of early irruption into Texas by Mexico.

Upon any other reasoning the manifest course, more particularly at this season of the year, would have been to assemble the expeditionary force at some convenient station in the Upper Mississipi, where it would have been beyond the range of yellow fever, and from which it could have been conveyed by Steam in a few days in complete strength and an effective condition

to the most eligible place of disembarkation, nearest to the points which it was to act upon, or to cover. If there had not been any movement into the Country by the American Government till the Congress of the United States had met, I think there can be no doubt that Mexico would have been contented to wait for the final action of this Legislature, but other motives have been operative in this quarter and I am afraid that it may now be very difficult to avert a collision.

Amongst the impulses disposing the present Government of the United States to provoke hostilities with Mexico (and if hostilities do ensue it must be plain to the World that they have been incited by this Government both primarily and immediately,) would be the desire of a pretext for taking sudden possession of San Francisco Bay; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the Government of Mexico may lose no time in shaping their policy with respect to that part of their territory on large and sound principles.

But whatever the secret intentions, or political necessities or liabilities of this Government may be, as to the temper of Congress and the Country on more mature reflection, and better information than have hitherto obtained, it is certain at all events that the American force in advance has been exposed, in a Military point of view, to serious and perfectly avoidable risks:

And if the Mexican Warfare and policy are vigorously and judiciously managed, they have fairer means of disturbing the early aggressive proceedings of this Government than it was reasonable to suppose would have been given to them.

The outset of these operations has been defective, either as to the need for such haste with a handful of men, or the period at which they have been commenced, or the confused and desultory manner in which the force has been prepared and directed to the theatre on which it is to act, or finally as to the point of disembarkation.

Mexico in my judgment is in a better situation than could have been looked for, to fall at once and at advantage, upon schemes of warfare best suited to her strength and necessities, and to drop simultaneous suggestions of possible accommodation upon principles that will diminish the risk of vigorously pro-

tracted hostilities with the sanction of the Legislature of this Country; and without that sanction the Executive of the United State have neither the power nor the means to do much mischief to any other Country, or their own. Your Lordship will observe by the papers of this Country that the Governor of Louisiana has been called upon by the General Officer in Command of the S. W. division of the Army to reinforce the regular troops in Texas with drafts from the Militia of New Orleans.

They are unfitted for the circumstances and warfare which they would have to contend with in Texas, and will be a burden and an expense rather than of use in this struggle. The Militia best suited to such Service would be the hardy Yeomanry of the Western free States, not the unpractised youth of the Southern Cities, and I feel I hazard nothing in the prediction that if they are detached in force at this Season to the Coast of Texas, they will perish in great numbers, and with great rapidity. Neither can it fail to strike the most careless observer that with the regular force in advance, there is need for keeping the Militia at home, and prepared for Service, to guard against the contingency of negro movement, perfectly probable in the pursuit of a war with Mexico, undertaken mainly for the purpose of prolonging and extending the System of Slavery; a fact, of which it would be irrational to suppose that the Slave population of the United States is not quite aware.

Before I close this despatch I may add that it appears from the casual accounts I have seen in the papers, that a considerable portion of the force sent to Texas is Artillery with an unusually large number of Guns for so small an expedition.—So far as I have been able to judge of the weather and Country in Texas that arm would not be very effective in the warfare there except for a few Months in the year, owing to the dry state of the prairies and rush bottoms in the Autumn and Winter months; and if the war should be carried beyond the Rio Grande the inconvenience would be increased, by reason of the Mountainous nature of the Country, and the impossibility of using any other means of transport than Mules.

During the period of more than three years since my arrival in Texas, there have not been more than 10 Months in all, pend-

ing which Military operations could have been carried on in this Country, owing to deluges at one time, or drought and a want of fodder at another, and the utter impracticability of keeping a force in the field during the great stress of the heat.

With the view to afford the Commander in Chief all the means in my power of forming a judgment on the state of circumstances in Texas, I have taken the liberty of forwarding this despatch to him for his perusal.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable,
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

Private.

New York
August 31st 1845

My Lord,

Since I closed my despatch No 26 of this date (forwarded through the Admiral) I have heard a report which I think it proper to mention to Your Lordship.

It comes to me from a Merchant of great respectability here, and directly to him from a person closely connected with Mexico, and he thinks, likely to be accurately informed

My informant states his belief that letters of Marque have been for some time actually in Rio Janeiro, Havana, and other ports in various parts of the World, ready to be issued by the Mexican Consuls, as soon as they shall know of the commencement of hostilities between the United States and Mexico. I have no means of Judging of the truth of this statement, but Your Lordship will no doubt know what degree of credit should be attached to it. The Gentleman who mentioned the report to me thinks that an early rupture is inevitable, founding his opinion chiefly on the difficulty of restraining the American force in Western Texas.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

*F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN*

No. 23.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston,
September 6th. 1845

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that the Convention assembled at Austin closed its deliberations and adjourned on Thursday the 28th Ultimo.

Enclosed herewith, are—a printed Copy of “the Constitution of the State of Texas,”^u adopted in the Convention, and a Copy of a Proclamation by President Jones—invoking the decision of the people of Texas, in reference to that Constitution, and “the expression of their opinions *for* and *against* Annexation,”—together with their adoption, or rejection, of an Ordinance passed by the Convention, having relation to Colonization Contracts.

It is to be observed that the final Vote respecting the State Constitution and the question of Annexation is to be declared “*vica voce*.”—In the elections of the Republic the Votes, hitherto, have been taken by *ballot*. The opponents of Annexation in Galveston appear to consider that (the open) Mode of arriving at the sentiments of the people, as unfavourable to the uncontrolled developement of opinion.

Appended to the printed copy of the “Constitution of the State of Texas,” is an ordinance adverse to the existing Contracts for Colonization, and calculated, if not to invalidate them directly, so far to impede their operation as to render them useless to their holders—The interests to be affected by this Ordinance are, all but exclusively European.—The German Association, lately represented by the Prince of Solms, forwarded emigrants to Texas on the faith of one of these Contracts.

When General Murphy arrived at Galveston, as Chargé d’ Affaires of the United States in June 1843; he instituted inquiries respecting the Colonization Contracts, and took occasion to denounce the introduction into Texas of Settlers from Europe.—He remarked that—“the inhabitants of Texas wanted

*F. O. Texas, Vol. 14.

^uThe Constitution of 1845.

emigrants like themselves, and no others—Men speaking their own language, and subject to their own customs and laws”

Mr Terrell—lately representing this Country in England—returned to Texas, in the Brig “Hope Howes,” from New Orleans, on Tuesday the 2d Instant.—He appears desirous to correct misrepresentations that have been current of the course pursued by Great Britain in reference to Texan affairs, but Annexation being considered virtually settled, it is not likely that he will be afforded a suitable opportunity for explanation.—The number of those who would testify to that which is right, at the risk of detriment to their worldly hopes, or expectations, is not greater here than elsewhere, and the will of the people being Sovereign, the majority by which it is pronounced is by no means indulgent to openly-avowed dissent, or tolerant of active opposition.—Unceasing endeavours—which circumstances have aided, have been made to render the name of England a bugbear in this quarter, and the fruit of these endeavours will doubtless remain after the object which inspired them is accomplished.

For my own part, I am unable to perceive the advantages to be derived, by the present inhabitants of Texas, from the accomplishment of Annexation, as contrasted with the attainment of peace and independence.—Popular impulse,—(however generated) for the time bears down every suggestion of prudence and public spirit, but the day is not remote when the feverish Joy of the National “espousals” must yield to cold considerations of a State debt, without internal resources for its liquidation—of the litigation of Land Titles before an unfamiliar, and, practically foreign tribunal—and of a State revenue to be drawn from a source inadequate and unwilling—which has never yet supplied one third of the amount that will inevitably be required for the efficient working of the new Administrative machinery.

Since my despatch No 22 of the 23d Ultimo, small bodies of regular troops, and volunteers, with arms and stores, have been transported from the United States to Western Texas. Up to the date of the present communication, no intelligence on which reliance can be placed has, to my knowledge, been received at Galveston from Mexico. The last accounts from Corpus Christi represent Mexican traders as still resorting thither.

In my despatch No 10, of the 25th of April last, I mentioned that the "Texas National Register" (official Journal) had defended Mr Ashbel Smith against the charge of being unfriendly to Annexation. The "Galveston Civilian" of this day, contains a reply to the same charge from Mr Smith himself, of which I take leave to enclose a copy.—It's author is still in the United States.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁶

No. 27.

New York.

My Lord,

September 13th 1845

I have thought it may be convenient to forward for Your Lordship's perusal, the protest of Mr L. D. Evans, a Delegate in Convention from Fannin County (extracted from the Texian National Register of the 14th August) against the passage of the resolutions inviting the troops of the United States into Texas.

Without dwelling upon any particular measure of a Body, unconstitutionally assembled to sacrifice the separate existence, and revolutionize the institutions of the country, Mr Evan's protest has certainly strengthened me in the belief that the movement of the United States troops beyond the Sabine was made mainly to commit the Legislatures and people of the two Countries beyond all possibility of retractation. But beyond that motive, I cannot but think, that the advance of the American force within the territory which the Government of Texas in the preliminary conditions sent on to Mexico palpably admitted to be subject to Negotiation and compromise, affords conclusive proof that the Government of the United States desired to provoke hostilities by Mexico; probably with the view to the sudden seizure of certain positions on the Coast of California. I avail myself on this occasion to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordships despatches to No 12 inclusive, and a Circular despatch of the 30th June.

To The Right Honourable

Charles Elliot

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁷*Private.*

New York.

My Lord,

September 14th 1845

I have the honour to forward for Your Lordship's perusal a series of letters signed J. H. E. dated at Corpus Christi on the 8th, 13th, and 27th August which I have extracted from the New York Tribune of the 12th and 13th Inst

They appear to me to contain a good account of the Country in which the American force is now posted, and I think are otherwise very worthy of Your Lordship's notice. From a paragraph towards the close of the Communication No 1—I collect that it is not intended at present to maintain the positions West of the "Nueces," but I should add that my own private letters from Texas, and the tone of the Government press in this Country would lead to different inferences. I have also extracted the 3d Edition of the same paper of this day's date, containing the latest information which I have seen from the Expeditionary force. This letter is sent to the Admiral for his perusal

To the Right Honourable.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

P. S.

New York. Sepr. 15.

By an American Brig arrived yesterday from Tobasco (sailed on the 20th Ultio) reports have reached this place of a revolutionary Movement in that quarter against the Mexican Authorities

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT⁸

Consular

Foreign Office

No. 3.

September 17th 1845

Sir,

I have read with painful attention the explanations contained in your Despatch, Consular No 1 of 1st of July last, which, in compliance with the Instructions conveyed to you in my Despatch Consular No 1 of the 3d of June, you have given me on the subject of the Charges which you preferred against Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston.

As you have in part expressed concern at having made those

⁷F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.⁸F. O. Texas, Vol. 21.

Charges, and have in part withdrawn from the prosecution of them, I am unwilling to dwell further upon the subject of them, than to express my regret that you should have allowed yourself to have been led away by a momentary feeling of irritation into the serious error of bringing accusations against one of Her Majesty's Subjects, which were calculated so greatly to injure him in the estimation of Her Majesty's Government.

At the same time, however, I make allowances for the hastiness of the act, considering your infirm state of health, at the time at which it was committed, and I willingly acknowledge the candour with which you have admitted your error.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot.

Texas.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT⁹

No. 13.¹⁰

Foreign Office.

September 18th. 1845.

Sir,

I perceive by your Despatch No 23, of the 13th of August, enclosing your Correspondence with Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico on the subject of your departure from Texas, prior to the passing of the Act of Annexation to the United States, that you have somewhat misapprehended the drift of my Despatch No 10, of the 3d of July, with reference to your contingent continuation, or departure from Texas, while the question of annexation was still pending in that Country.

In the uncertain prospects under which that Despatch was written, it was impossible for me to give you fixed and definite instructions for the guidance of your conduct under every circumstance which might arise. Much was therefore necessarily left to your discretion. But you will find it pretty clearly intimated in the concluding part of that Despatch that Her Majesty's Government rather contemplated your remaining at your post until the Act of Annexation should have been passed. As, however, the preceding correspondence between yourself and this Office has left Her Majesty's Government in uncertainty as

⁹F. O. Texas, Vol. 21.

¹⁰F. O. Texas, 21, Aberdeen to Elliot, Nos. 11, July 18, and 12, August 4, 1845, have been omitted. Both acknowledged receipt of despatches.

to whether, on the arrival of my Despatch of the 3rd of July, you might not have already quitted Texas, the alternative of your remaining in Texas, or in some part of the United States, until you should have received further instructions from home, was mentioned.

Her Majesty's Government would on the whole have preferred that you had remained at your post until the Annexation had been formally decided by the Government of Texas; but they are not disposed to blame you for not having done so, and are willing to admit that the reasoning by which you support the expediency of your departure is not without force, although they are inclined to take a different view of the matter, and are of opinion that your waiting passively the vote of Annexation, would in no way have compromised either Your Government or Yourself.

You will still continue to reside in some port of the United States until Her Majesty's Government shall have been able to see more clearly what turn Affairs may have taken, or may be likely to take, in Texas, and to instruct you accordingly.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹¹

No. 28.

New York.

September 29th. 1845

My Lord,

Intelligence from Galveston to the 6th Instant reports the dissolution of the Assembly at Austin on the 28th Ult.

The popular vote on the Constitution was to be taken viva voce, and should it appear by the returns to have been adopted, the President was to issue his proclamation on or before the 2d November next, for the election of the officers and representatives of the State Government, who however were not to enter upon their functions until after intelligence had been received of the acceptance of the Constitution by the Congress of the United States. I learn from private sources of information worthy of credit, that efforts were made to establish an ad interim Government at once, but other influences prevailed. The

¹¹F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

Constitution and authorities of the Republic will therefore continue in force till the Measure of Annexation is completed in this Country; Neither can I dismiss the impression that the Government of Mexico has it in it's power by very prompt and judicious proceedings, if not to defeat this plot, at all events to give it a shape and result that will materially mitigate it's mischievous consequences

My own papers from Texas have not yet reached me, but I have extracted from a Journal of this Country an ordinance submitted to the people with the Constitution of the State. I believe that it is mainly directed against a particular Colonization Contract between General Houston and certain Citizens of this Country, made in the early part of the year 1843, and alleged by his enemies to have been irregularly if not illegally completed. But the Measure may have a more general bearing, and affect interests which Her Majesty's Government would consider it right to protect. I have therefore submitted it for Your Lordship's notice.

The latest dates I have seen from Corpus Christi are of the 16th Instant. The American forces there consisted at that time of about 2,200 Men of all arms, but reinforcements to the extent of about 1500 more were looked for in the course of a few weeks. When the whole is assembled, I remark that at least a third of it will consist of Artillery.

It did not appear that General Taylor expected to be attacked, and nothing certain was known of the positions or extent of force of the Mexicans.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹²

No. 29.

New York.

Sep. 30. 1845.

My Lord,

The accompanying Newspaper¹³ containing a Schedule directing that the Constitution of the proposed State of Texas, as

¹²F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

¹³*The Civilian and Galveston Gazette*, September 6, 1845.

passed by the Body lately assembled at Austin, should be submitted to the people, has this morning reached me in time for the Mail of tomorrow from Boston.

It further contains a Copy of the President's proclamation, from the terms of which it will appear that he has also submitted the question of Annexation or Not to the popular vote; and it occurs to me that there is some ambiguity of expression as to whether that last question is to be taken *viva voce*, or otherwise.

Charles Elliot

To the Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁴

No. 30.

New York.

October 6th. 1845

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's despatch No 13.

I take the liberty to remind Your Lordship that I did remain in Texas till the 15th of June last, that is till the day before the Meeting of Congress when there could be no reasonable doubt that the Measure of Annexation would be formally adopted by that body and the Executive within a very brief period. The Measure was immediately adopted, and I believe that the ill success of the efforts to set aside the Government at once is chiefly to be attributed to my departure before they could be made.

My own view and intention has always been to return to New Orleans in the event of any change of temper or affairs in Texas indicating the advantage of my near neighborhood to that point, and I may perhaps be able to form some judgment in that respect when the result of the election for the 10th Congress are fully known. So far as they have yet been reported there is no ground for movement upon my part in that direction, but I should say at the same time that they do furnish some slight evidence of recovering strength in the Anti-Annexation party in

¹⁴F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

particular sections of the Country; that is, if I may judge from a few of the names of the Elected Candidates.

Should any considerable portion of the new Congress in Texas be wisely and hourably disposed, and should there be the least pretext for retracing what has been done, in the course of the ensuing Congress in the United States, it is probable that the President of Texas will forthwith call a Session, and do what may be in his power to save the independence of the Country. Late though it be, I still lean to the opinion that it is in the power of Mexico to give a shape to these affairs which would effectually break up the present Scheme of Annexation in the United States, and defeat the other dangerous designs with which She is menaced from this quarter. If there should seem to be any necessity for my movement to New Orleans or Texas before I could receive Your Lordship's sanction, I should state my impressions to Mr. Pakenham, and guide myself by his opinions.

Charles Eliot

To the Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹⁵

No. 28.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston

October 16th. 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honor to enclose a printed Copy¹⁶ of a Speech delivered by Mr. Terrell, lately representing the Government of Texas in England, to a party of political and personal friends by whom he was entertained at Galveston, on the 2d of this Month. Although (acting in conformity with a rule to which I have uniformly adhered since my residence at this Consulate) I was not present at the entertainment,—I am enabled to assure Your Lordship that the enclosed copy of Mr Terrell's Speech is deemed by that gentleman to be a faithful record of his sentiments. The party assembled on the occasion was small in number, but respectable; its paramount object was to afford Mr Ter-

¹⁵F. O. Texas, 14.

¹⁶Unidentified newspaper cutting. But see p. 557, Note 18.

rell an opportunity for explanation. Of this opportunity—when time, and place, and circumstance are duly considered—it will be admitted that he availed himself with a considerable boldness.

There are but two passages in the Speech which seem to call for present remark: these I have marked: One, in page 2., adverting to the probable disposition of the Federal Union, in consequence of the extension of the territory of the United States;—the other, in page 3d., commenting upon the alleged design of Her Majesty's Government to effect the abolition of Negro Slavery in Texas.—With regard to the first of these passages, the apprehensions it embodies are entirely speculative, and with quite as little prospect of being realized now as at any previous time:—with regard to the second passage, Mr Terrell errs in attributing the excitement respecting Slavery in Texas to Your Lordship's remarks in the House of Lords,—spoken, if I mistake not, in August 1843.—The excitement had its origin in the town of Houston, in March, 1843, and the leading facts in relation to it were submitted to Your Lordship in my Despatches of the Slave Trade Series for that year. It was immediately after the Movement of which Mr Andrews was the representative in England that the Southern States of the Union appeared to take alarm on the subject of Slavery in Texas, and that direct and strenuous endeavours were made by the American Executive to accomplish the Measure of Annexation as speedily as possible.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁷

No. 31.

New York.

November 14th 1845

My Lord,

I have the honour to forward to Your Lordship a Galveston Newspaper¹⁸ of the 18th Ultimo containing the report of a Speech delivered by Mr Terrell at a public dinner recently given to him by some leading Citizens of that place.

The respect which is so generally and justly felt for him in Texas will no doubt have great weight to his opinions on the

¹⁷F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

¹⁸*The Civilian and Galveston Gazette*, October 18, 1845.

subject of Annexation in point of policy and interest. And he has joined to those views what should be matter for serious reflection throughout the Country, in this honourable exposure of the misrepresentation and indirect proceedings by which the people were beguiled and precipitated into a shameful measure of National annihilation.

Indeed it is beginning to be generally understood by the people of Texas, though probably too late, that the demand for the entrance of the troops of the United States, and the foregone compliance of this Government, were not attributable to any well founded apprehension of Mexican invasion, but chiefly to surrender the Country forthwith into the Military possession of the Executive of the United States, for the purpose of overawing the friends of the independence of the Republic, and of silencing any inconvenient reconsideration of the subject in the Legislature of the United States. A state of actual war with Mexico would probably have that last effect; and a pretext for suddenly engaging the force in Texas in proceedings of still further aggression and invasion upon Mexico, rendering collision inevitable, could always be found at a short notice, in the event of any political pressure upon the administration here arising out of the renewed discussion of the principles and details of the present Scheme of Annexation, in the Congress of the United States.

The latest accounts from Galveston are of the 1st Instant, and at that date the general result of the popular vote on Annexation was not known, but it was sufficiently ascertained that there would be a large majority in favour of it. I remark, however, that the vote taken on the occasion at Galveston, did not amount to much more than half the whole vote of the County. The Annexation party polled what may be taken to be about their whole strength, 270, but the opponents of the measure refrained in a great degree from a viva voce vote which they probably felt in the present temper of the Country, would only unavailingly expose them to suspicion and ill-will. Their vote however reached 121. In Harris County in which Houston is situated, similar feelings seem to have prevailed. Upon the whole judging from the information I have received, I think there may be some ground for the opinion that the Anti-Annexation party is rather

recovering strength, and if Congress in the United States should not fulfill the expectations raised in the Correspondence of Major Donnelson with the Government of Texas, it is possible that the reaction there will be stronger and more general than is anticipated in this quarter.

There is a respectable party in Texas cordially in favour of maintaining the Independence of the Republic, and some of the most influential persons in the Country are probably only waiting for a favourable opportunity, and some turn of the popular tide, to head the movement. At my last dates, the United States force in Texas consisted of about 4,000 troops, and there had been no change in their position.

The continuance of the illicit traffic on that frontier, notwithstanding the presence of the force, strengthens me in an impression I have for some time entertained that it would be a wise and safe policy for Mexico at the present conjuncture, to declare the Brassos San Jago a free port for the vessels of all friendly Nations, admitting goods there on an *ad valorem* duty, not exceeding 5 per Cent. If that Measure were accomplished by a rigid enforcement of the prohibitions against the entrance of goods by the land frontier, I think the land traffic would soon be beat down by the safety and superior cheapness of the other channel. No better mode of checking some of the very dangerous purposes of this Government against Mexico has presented itself to my mind, and I am sure that it consists with the security of Mexico to fall forthwith upon sound means of diminishing the Commercial intercourse with the Americans by the land frontier. The present purpose of this Government is to make Texas the emporium of a great smuggling trade into the Northern Provinces of Mexico, but I believe it is more in the power of Mexico, by judicious courses, to make Matamoros an emporium for an extensive trade with the United States.

If goods can be purchased much cheaper at Matamoros than at New Orleans (or Galveston, as part of the United States) the people in Texas will purchase them there, and they will find their way by that channel through the whole South West of the United States. The Mexicans have but to beat the Americans in a liberal Commercial policy, at their frontier ports, (no hard

task,) and the trafficking spirit of the Neighbouring people will effectually secure to them the fruits of their victory.

I take this occasion to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's despatches No. 14 and 15.

Charles Elliot

To the Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁹

Secret.

New York.

November 26th. 1845.

My Lord,

Since I last had the honour of addressing Your Lordship I have received some information from a quarter where mistakes are not likely, which Her Majesty's Government may desire to know.

The substance of it is that the Executive of the United States is fully committed to the expectations raised by Major Donnelson's correspondence with the Government of Texas, especially as to provision for their debt in some satisfactory form, or the security to Texas of the whole of their legislative territorial pretensions. It seems that Major Donnelson found it necessary to address a letter to this effect to two leading Members of the late Convention at Austin (whose names are known to me) to secure their support. And I think Your Lordship may depend that Mr Polk has subsequently authorized the Agents of Texas at Washington to communicate to their Government his unreserved adoption of Major Donnelson's pledges, and his determination to use all the influence of the Administration to give them full effect.

According to my information it is probable that the President will confine himself in his opening Message to a recommendation of the immediate acceptance of the State Constitution, leaving all the other details, (for fear of embarrassment) to be the subject of a separate Communication, as soon as the main part is carried. I am further informed that one idea of the Government of the United States was to propose to Mexico that the Northern and Western limits of the new State should remain as they are legislatively claimed by the Republic of Texas till the

¹⁹F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

descending line of the Rio Grande reaches the Presidio del Rio Grande (a point noted on Arrowsmith's Map,) and thence, that the lower river and all the Country South and East of the Presidio, as far as the "Nueces" shall be restored to Mexico, the harbour, however of Brassos Santiago, to be ceded to the United States, and the navigation of the river to be common. A further scheme appears to be that the whole Country between the Rio Grande and the Pacific, North of the parallel $36^{\circ}. 30''$. should be purchased of Mexico, and it is the impression of the party by whom I was informed, that no arrangement would be satisfactory to this Government, and a large party in the Legislation of the United States that did not involve the acquisition of San Francisco Bay.

Whether this information is entirely accurate, or to what extent it is, I cannot undertake to say; but it reaches me from such a source that I have considered it right to communicate it to Your Lordship, as well as privately to Her Majesty's Ministers at Washington and Mexico. It is to be hoped that the Government of Mexico, (taking warning by the past, and heedful of the palpable purposes of this Government, and of the people of the growing parts of this Country) will, before it is too late, shape their future policy by a steady regard to the strength and security of the Country in their actual possession, or which they can effectually defend. And if the Government of Mexico will conduct their negotiations with the United States upon these principles, skilfully and temperately, availing themselves of the Sectional jealousies in this quarter, and avoiding any agreement upon the Texas question unless the menaced difficulties in California can be simultaneously and satisfactorily adjusted, I believe that they may lay the foundations of a better balance of political power on this Continent, involving more of security to themselves and all the kindred races, South of them, than there appears to be otherwise much reason to hope for.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT²⁰No. 16.²¹Foreign Office.
December 3. 1845.

Sir,

Your Despatch No. 30 of the 6th of October last, has been received and laid before the Queen.

Until the final Annexation of Texas to the United States shall have taken place, Her Majesty's Government consider it indispensable that you should be at your post at the Seat of Government in Texas, in order to maintain the Communications between the two Governments, and to keep Her Majesty's Government regularly and authentically informed of all that takes place in Texas.

I have therefore to desire that you will forthwith repair to your post, and that you will remain there until you receive orders from Her Majesty's Government to leave it.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot, R. N.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²²

No 34.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston
December 8th. 1845.

My Lord,

In my Despatch No 7., of the 2d of April last, mention was made of certain Military operations contemplated by Doctor Branch T. Archer, formerly Secty of War in Texas, and others. Since that period, Doctor Archer, and the partner of his counsels, General Thos. J. Green,²³ who formed one of the Texian

²⁰F. O. Texas, Vol. 21.

²¹F. O. Texas, 21, Aberdeen to Elliot, Nos. 14, October 3 and 15, October 18, 1845, have been omitted. Both acknowledged receipt of despatches. Aberdeen to Elliot, No. 17, December 3, 1845, notifying Texas that Great Britain will still hold her to her treaty obligations, is in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1203, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

²²F. O. Texas, Vol. 14.

²³Thomas Jefferson Green, b. 1801, d. 1863. A native of North Carolina, he early in life removed to Texas, and was brigadier-general of volunteers in the War of Texan Independence. In 1842, he led the disastrous Mier expedition, was captured, and not released until September, 1844. He published "The Mier Expedition" (1845). (Appleton, *Cyclop. of Am. Biography*.)

expedition beyond the Rio Grande, in 1842, has spent the greater part of their time in Washington, United States, where they appear to have been favourably noticed by the President, and the leading Members of his Cabinet.

Mr Terrell's Speech at Galveston, of which I had the honor to enclose a Copy to Your Lordship, in Despatch No 28, of October 16th, has not been published in any Texan Newspaper save that in which it originally appeared. Nor, so far as my information extends, has it been transferred to the columns of any Journal in the United States. The only notice I have seen of it, East of the Sabine, is contained in a Whig Newspaper, the "New York Courier and Enquirer," which taunts the official Journal at Washington with its silence touching the grave charges advanced by Mr Terrell against the Government of the United States.

Since my Despatch of the 16th, no event of importance has occurred here. In addition to the encampment at Corpus Christi, small bodies of United States troops have been stationed at Austin, Goliad and San Antonio, all of which places are on the Western frontier. The establishment of the force at Corpus Christi was effected slowly, and at a great expense, and an active enemy might have found it no difficult matter to cut off the troops as fast as they landed. The want of good water, with other local causes, has produced much sickness in the Corpus Christi encampment. It appears to me that if war were to be conducted with the same absence of System and prodigality of outlay that have characterized this frontier occupation, a great European Power, having the command of the Gulf, could carry on a campaign in Texas more efficiently and less expensively than the United States—provided always, that the European Power would take the trouble to ascertain what really are the strong and the weak points of American organization. This, experience shows, the pride of an old Sovereignty will hardly permit it to do.

Some artillery and small arms have been landed at Galveston, but the Island remains without regular troops, or defences. This would seem to be a singular oversight, if hostilities have been anticipated; as Galveston is the Key of the Country, and presents

peculiar advantages for the establishment of a large force,—covered and supplied by a fleet in the Gulf.

Annexation having opened a new career to Texan politicians, each party pretending to popular favour and office has been endeavouring to prove itself entitled to the credit of having carried the Measure. The first movement in this direction is ascribed to General Houston, who, in a speech made at New Orleans, on the 28th of May last, is represented to have said that he was the friend of Annexation, although he has “coquetted a little with Great Britain.”

General Houston returned from the United States to Texas in October, and, on the 12th ultimo, attended a Public Dinner given to him at Galveston. This Dinner I was invited to attend, but declined the invitation, for reasons of obvious propriety. Mr Ashbel Smith and the Mayor of Galveston severally called upon me, from General Houston, conveying from him expressions of regard, and of the pleasure he would feel in meeting me. My reply was that I had personally no grounds for ill will to General Houston, but that a sense of what was done [due] to the Commission which I held, must deprive me of the pleasure of Meeting him, so long as the statement contained in the report of his New Orleans Speech—that he had “coquetted” with Great Britain,—remained uncontradicted. It being authoritatively denied that General Houston had made the remark, I suggested that the contradiction, to be of value, should be as public as the report. A public address subsequently delivered by General Houston, afforded a suitable opportunity for any explanation he might deem befitting, but the occasion passed without any reference to the New Orleans Speech;—and there the Matter rests.

The controversy as to who carried, or was most earnest in the endeavour to carry, the Measure of Annexation, has induced the publication of various official and non official documents of which I beg leave to enclose the more interesting: namely,²⁴

²⁴Newspaper cuttings without date or name. Numbers 1, 4, and 5 are calendared by Garrison as in the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, November 26, 1845. No. 2 is in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 123, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II. No. 3 is in *Secret Journals of the Senate*, 294-296. Nos. 8 and 9 (as well as Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 5), were later transmitted by Elliot also (F. O. Texas, 16, Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 7, January 20, 1846) and were stated to have appeared in the “National Register Newspaper of the 29th November last.” . . .

1st Letter of Instructions from the Secty of State of Texas to the Texan Charge d' Affaires to the United States, dated January 20th 1842.

2d. A similar letter, from the Secry of State of Texas, to the Texan Charge d' Affaires to the United States, dated February 10th 1843

3d Secret Message of President Houston to the Texan Congress, dated Jany. 20th 1844.

4th. Letter of President Houston (Confidential) to the Texan Chargé d' Affaires at Washington, U. S., dated January 29th and February 15th 1844

5th Letter (Strictly confidential) from President Houston to General Murphy, U. S. Charge d' Affaires in Texas. dated February 3d. 1844.

6th Ex. President Houston's letter to Certain Citizens of Washington (Texas) dated October 20th. 1845.

7th Ex-President Lamar's letter to Citizens of Galveston, dated November 15th 1845

I also enclose herewith a printed Copy of a Proclamation by President Jones, announcing the result of the appeal to the people in regard to the ratification, or rejection, of the State Constitution, and a printed copy of a Proclamation naming a day for holding the elections under that Constitution.

There are three candidates for the representation of Texas in the Senate of the United States—General Lamar, Houston and Rusk: it is supposed that Houston and Rusk will be elected.

A considerable number of German emigrants have arrived this season. I propose to transmit a return of the whole number to the close of the present year.

William Kennedy

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

No 32

New York.

December 14th. 1845

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that the Constitution of the proposed State of Texas has been forwarded by

¹F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

the Government of that Country to the United States by a special Messenger.

The expectation was generally entertained that there it would be adopted before this Christmas recess. Your Lordship will have better means of judging of the accuracy of that impression than I can furnish, and of all other considerations affecting the progress or final disposal of the Measure by the Legislature of the United States.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²

Private.

New York,
Decr. 14th 1845

My Lord,

I take the liberty to forward Your Lordship the copy of a private letter which I have recently received from Colonel George Hockley of Texas. This Gentleman, who is a person of honour and character, was Secretary of War during considerable part of General Houston's second Administration, and like his friend Mr. Terrell, has always been the steady opponent of Annexation, speaking and voting against it in every phase and stage of the transaction.

May I hope Your Lordship will suffer my Agent in the Foreign Office, Mr Conyngham, to forward me any information, which the Consul General in Guatemala may have furnished respecting the Colonization project noticed by Colonel Hockley

I shall of course be careful not to mention the source from which this information comes, or in any way to commit Her Majesty's Government. But I think Your Lordship will desire to do any thing which can be done properly in furtherance of the wishes of Gentlemen who have always steadfastly and honorably adhered to their pledges, direct and implied, to sustain the separate existence and independence of Texas.

I have mentioned to Mr Conyngham that I have had the honour to address Your Lordship privately on a subject to which I would ask his kind attention, if Your Lordship should see fit

²F. O. Texas, Vol. 14.

to place this letter in his hands and permit him to furnish the information sought. I should also add that I have thought it proper not to apply to any other source either in England or in Guatemala, in case Your Lordship should disapprove of any step being taken in the matter.

In concluding these few lines I would wish to state my impression formed both upon personal observation, and reliable information, that the party in Texas adverse to Annexation is respectable both in point of numbers and character, and there seems no want of reason to think that the time may come, (perhaps at no very remote period,) when it would be well that the leaders of that party should have some ground for believing that their right conduct and steadiness had not been lost upon the friends of the Independence of Texas.

Charles Elliot

To The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

HOCKLEY TO ELLIOT³

[Enclosure]

Copy.

Charles Elliot

Galveston

14th. Novr. 1845.

Dear Sir,

In conjunction with a few of my friends I have it in contemplation to decline any participation in the honors and advantages consequent upon the Annexation of Texas to the United States, and have turned over attention to a new Colonization, and are desirous of some information relative to the Eastern Coasts of Central America. I am informed that a Company of British Capitalists was formed, probably about the latter end of the year 1839 for the purpose of Colonizing at Guatamala, but cannot trace it's progress, or ascertain the fact of any having been made.

I hope that you will excuse the trouble I give in making this hasty request (the boat is leaving, and I have but now obtained your address) that you will give me such information as may be of service relating to this matter, at as early a period as convenient. I presume about 8 or 9 hundred families, or more, can be enlisted in this enterprize, *and some names given to you*

³F. O. Texas, Vol. 14.

with which you have been familiar and *acted with*, whilst in Texas, in case we see a probability of success. Meanwhile we wish the matter to be kept profoundly secret, so far as it can be done. The Company alluded to was styled the Eastern Coast and "Central America Commercial and Agricultural Company." The Directors were P. H. Abbot Esqr. Capt P. H. Bingham, R. N, Charles Bourjet Esqr, John Darrow. Esqr, Wm Hood Esqr., Adam Murray, Esqr, John Spurgin Esqr, M. D., David Pollock, Esqr. I regret that the departure of the Steamer forces me to the abrupt conclusion with which I subscribe myself.

Geo. Wm Hockley

To Captain Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] Capt Elliot's Priv. Decr 14. 1845

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN⁴

No. 36.

Her Majesty's Consulate
Galveston,
December 20th 1845.

My Lord,

In a letter written by General Andrew Jackson, and published some months before his death, he observed—(on behalf of the American people)—"We want Texas because we want California."—The Ex-President might have added,—"*And we want California because we desire to obtain Maritime ascendancy in the Pacific, with the advantages consequent on an easy and comparatively speedy communication with India and China.*"

An Extract (which I have the honor to enclose) from a Despatch addressed by Mr. Forsyth,⁵ Secretary of State of the United States, to Mr. Butler, American Charge d'Affaires in Mexico, shows that, in the year 1835, Texas and California were associated as desirable acquisitions, in the policy of President Jackson's administration.⁶

⁴F. O. Texas, Vol. 14.

⁵John Forsyth, b. 1780, d. 1841, a leading politician of Georgia, holding various State offices, and serving in Congress in both House and Senate, 1813-1819. In 1819 he went to Spain as Minister and negotiated the Florida treaty. He was again prominent in State and national politics, 1823-1834, but in the latter year resigned from the Senate to become Jackson's secretary of state, and held the post under Van Buren also until March, 1841. (Appleton, *Cyclop. of Am. Biography.*)

⁶Forsyth to Butler, August 6, 1835, in which Butler was instructed to

An Extract (also enclosed herewith) from a Speech delivered at St Louis, Missouri, on the 14th October 1844, by Colonel Thos. H. Benton, a Member of the Senate of the United States, shows that the idea of securing an ascendancy in the trade with India and China, by means of Settlements on the North West Coast of America, is not new to the minds of American Statesmen.

The United States have ceased to affect any disguise as to their determination to possess themselves of Upper California, and their ingenuity is actively employed in planning railway and other lines of communication across the Continent, in order that "a new route, almost exclusively American," may thereby be "opened to Asiatic Commerce."

It may be inferred from the pertinacity displayed by American Statesmen in regard to the acquisition of Texas, that they are not likely to abandon any project which may promise an increase of the elements of National power. Such a project may be masked—or it may be allowed to slumber for a time—but it will not be lost sight of—much less abandoned.

Intoxicated by the acquisition of Texas (the Key-stone of the North American System)—an acquisition made with an ease that astonished even themselves, the United States have allowed free scope to the spirit of bold disclosure concerning schemes of prospective aggrandizement. Among their leading politicians, no one pretends to doubt that the Northern Confederacy is destined, and at no remote day, to be the ruling Power of the world—giving to other States the impress of Republican institutions

But of their politicians,—even of the class, professing the most rigid principles of democracy, there are two divisions.—one of which is for immediate extension of territory, regardless of consequences,—the other for what is termed a "masterly inactivity"—that is trusting to the helping influences of time. In risking a collision with old Sovereignities, the former hope for success through the sympathies of kindred opinion—in procrastinating cherished Measures, the latter calculate that a few years will bring within their reach, without cost and without danger,

purchase, if possible, a portion of California to include San Francisco Bay, but not to seek to acquire Monterey. (In U. S. Docs., Ser. No. 311, Doc. 42, p. 18.)

what they—more cautious, or more experienced, or better informed than their fellows—feel and fear, if precipitately snatched at, would be productive of both. The stationary condition of Europe and the rapid progress of the Union are the stimulating topics with the first democratic Section; the concentrated energy of Monarchies, the Military strength of European Sovereignities, and the certainty of an early and vast addition to the already large resources of America, are the prudential pleas of the second.—“We defeated Great Britain when our population was only three Millions, and we are now more than twenty”—say the advocates of instant action—“Be patient, and at peace, for one quarter of a Century”—reply the friends of delay—“and you will have a combination of agricultural, commercial and manufacturing wealth with numerical force, capable of commanding the first place among the Nations. The short term of five and twenty years, with no addition to the ordinary ratio of increase, will exhibit the United States with fifty Millions of inhabitants. Of felicitous events—such as wars between the great European Powers—we shall do well to avail ourselves—but let us avoid a premature expenditure of our resources. By pursuing this policy, Mexico, the West India islands, the trade of China and Hindostan, will, all in good time be our own”

This, My Lord, I believe to be a faithful though brief, transcript of opinion now ascendant in the United States. I by no means assume that either the facts referred to, or the views indicated, will be in the least degree novel to Your Lordship. I take leave to submit them because my opportunities of observation have been good—and because I entertain the conviction that these facts and these views can hardly be too frequent a subject of reflection to the Statesmen who at present administer the affairs of the British Empire.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen K. T.

[Enclosure].

Extract from a Speech delivered at St Louis, Missouri, by Colonel Thos. H. Benton, Senator from Missouri to the United States Congress, on the 14th of October, 1844.⁷

————— “In the year 1818, a Treaty was made to admit the British to a Joint occupation of the Columbia river, and another to cede the South Western part of Louisiana to the King of Spain. A Southern President, and a Southern Cabinet—a Democratic administration and a Southern administration made those Treaties. The Senate ratified them unanimously. The Newspaper Press saluted them with universal applause. The whole Country applauded them. Solitary and alone I denounced them. From the banks of the Mississippi, and from the station of a private Citizen, I denounced those Treaties in which all others concurred. And now I have the voice of a Nation repeating the self-same reasons for getting rid of those Treaties which I gave then for not making them, and recounting, as matter of history, the evils which I then foretold.

“Of the joint occupation Treaty, I then said—it was one sided and partial, yielding our territory, our river and our sea-port to the British, and getting nothing from them in return: that they would kill and expel our fur-traders—occupy and fortify the Country—set up a claim to the whole of it—and either fight us for it,—or offer to compromise by dividing our Country into two unequal parts, and taking the lion’s share to themselves. This is what I then said, and what the event now proves. And I then proposed the termination of all that policy by putting an end to the Treaty; and I urged the preservation of our own rights on the Oregon by Colonizing the Country and giving land to the emigrants. These are the Measures I recommended twenty-five years ago, and which are now pursued in relation to Oregon, and they have my cordial support. To put an end to the Treaty of Joint occupation, and to give land to the emigrants, is now the national policy, and the way to carry the Baltimore resolutions into effect.

“And I went further in my views upon Oregon than the exclusion of the British, and the preservation of our territorial rights. I looked across the Pacific Ocean, and I saw Eastern Asia full in sight. I traced an American Road to India* through our own dominions, and across that Sea!—I showed that a new route, almost exclusively American, was to be opened to Asiatic Commerce, and although the event has not yet fulfilled

my expectations, nor the public mind advanced to my position, yet I still stand upon it and adhere to my vision of five and twenty years ago. I repeat again what I then said: I say the man is alive, full-grown, and listening to what I say (without believing it, perhaps) who will yet see the Asiatic Commerce traversing the North Pacific Ocean, entering the Oregon river, climbing the Western Slope of the Rocky Mountains, issuing from its gorges, and spreading its fertilizing streams over our widely extended Union!—The Steam-boat and the Steam-car have not yet exhausted their wonders. They have not yet found even their amplest and most appropriate theatres—the tranquil surface of the North Pacific Ocean, and the vast inclined plane which spreads East and West from the base of the Rocky Mountains. The magic boat and the flying car are not yet seen upon this ocean, nor upon this plane—but they will be seen there;—and St Louis, in Missouri, is yet to find herself as near to Canton as she now is to London—with a better and safer route, by land and sea, to China and Japan than she now has to France and Great Britain.”

*AMERICAN ROAD TO INDIA:—These words are in small capitals in the published Speech, which, I should suppose, had received the revision of Mr Benton himself, as it was printed, in a pamphlet form,⁸ at St. Louis Missouri, from which place I obtained the copy now in my possession. W. K.

[Endorsed.] Enclosure No. 2. In Mr Consul Kennedy's Despatch No dated December. 1845

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁹

No. 34.¹⁰

Decr. 24th. 1845.

My Lord,

On my way through Washington yesterday where I had the pleasure of some conversation with Mr Pakenham, I learnt that the resolutions annexing Texas to the United States had passed both Houses of Congress, and been approved by the President.

⁸This pamphlet is not generally available.

⁹F. O. Texas, Vol. 13.

¹⁰F. O. Texas, 13, Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 33, December 21, 1845, acknowledging receipt of despatches, has been omitted.

In pursuance to Your Lordship's instructions of the 3rd Instant, however, I am proceeding by Mail to Texas, and avail myself of an accidental delay at this point, to mention that the Messenger of that Government who brought on the Constitution of the new State, and is to take back it's adoption, is still detained at Washington.

Accident apart, therefore, I shall reach Texas in time to make the communication directed by Your Lordship in the despatch No 17, before the extinction of the Government of the Republic.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹¹

No. 38.

Her Majesty's Consulate

Galveston December 31st 1845

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit a Return of the Number of German Emigrants that arrived at Galveston during the year about to close, with the Names of the Ships in which they were conveyed, the Nations to which said ships belonged, and the Ports from which they Sailed.

The European emigration to Texas during 1845, has, with slight exception been exclusively German.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

[Enclosure.]

Return of the Number of German Emigrants that have arrived at the Port of Galveston from the 1st of January 1845 to the 31st of December of the same year, with the names of the Ships in which they were conveyed, the Nations to which said Vessels belonged, and the Ports from which they sailed.

¹¹F. O. Texas, Vol. 14.

	Ship.	Nation	From	Number of Emigrants
Brig	Johann Dethard.	Bremen	Bremen	120
"	Ferdinand	"	"	125
"	Herschel.	"	"	135
"	Arminius	"	"	125
"	Garonne	"	"	136
"	George Delcius	"	"	136
"	Margaretha	"	"	125
"	Auguste & Meline	"	"	147.
"	Weser	"	"	97.
"	Johann Dethard	"	"	130
Ship	Everhard.	"	"	280
Barque	Neptune	"	"	214
"	Hercules	"	"	164
"	B. Bohlen	"	"	184
"	Matador	Hanoverian	"	140
Schooner	Gerona	Hanoverian	"	87.
Barque	Harriet	Belgian	Antwerp	183
Brig.	Alberdina	Oldenburg.	"	77.
Ship	Washington	American	"	185
Barque	Strabo	"	"	169.
"	Sarah Anne	"	"	125

Total number of German Emigrants 3084

[Endorsed] In Mr Consul Kennedy's despatch No 38. dated December 31st 1845.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹²

No. 2.¹³

New Orleans.

Jany. 5. 1846.

My Lord.

I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that I arrived here yesterday morning, a few hours before the departure of a Steam boat for Galveston. Indisposition arising from the ex-

¹²F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

¹³F. O. Texas, 16, Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 1, January 5, 1846, has been omitted. It stated reasons for being unable at present to furnish a detailed list of his correspondence.

haustion of a long journey at this inclement season of the year, prevented me from availing myself of that opportunity: But observing in the Newspapers that the President of the United States had already signed the Annexation resolutions, and forwarded them to Texas by a Messenger, I deemed it suitable to lose no time in placing the Government of the Republic in possession of the Copy of Your Lordship's Despatch No 17 of last year. It was therefore transmitted to the Secretary of State by yesterday's boat, with the accompanying Note.¹⁴ I proceed to Texas in pursuance of Your Lordship's Instructions on the 8th Instant.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁵

No. 3.

New Orleans.

Jany. 8th. 1846.

My Lord,

The delay of a day in the departure of the Steam boat by which I proceed to Texas enables me to forward to Your Lordship a noticeable letter extracted from a newspaper of this City.¹⁶

There may be some exaggeration in this account of the state of the force in Texas, but I have also heard from reliable sources that it is very unsatisfactory. The fact is that it is in a wrong position militarily considered. It should have been cantoned in the neighbourhood of San Antonio which is comparatively healthy, and where there is abundance of good water and forage. That point also covers the main routes into the Country, and owing to the rolling nature of it there, the force and their Material could always be moved in any direction that was necessary— on the Coast they are either in a swamp, for rain of any consequence renders the Country almost impracticable, or there is a drought with a total want of good water and forage. It was only necessary to hold Corpus Christi, or the nearest best water harbour to the

¹⁴Elliot to Allen, January 4, 1846. (In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1203, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

¹⁵F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

¹⁶Unidentified newspaper cutting.

Cantonment of the force with two or three light draught Gun boats, and a small armed steamer, I have long felt satisfied from my experience in this Country that the Americans are better fitted for the acquisition of territory by quiet encroachment than by military operations.

The Officers are almost universally excellent and high spirited, but the Government knows nothing of the care or management of the troops, or the mode of elevating their morals. They are for the most part foreigners too, or not of the good classes of native Citizens, and have necessarily not much pride in their profession. If Mexico were in the situation that it was ten years since I believe that this small force would have been effectually broken to pieces long ago. It was certainly assembled in an extremely confused and incomplete manner, and I am sure has been improperly posted since

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁷

Separate.

New Orleans.

January 8th, 1846.

My Lord,

I beg leave to transmit to Your Lordship an extract from the New York Herald Newspaper of the 22d Ultimo.¹⁸

The pretext for Mr Buchanan's¹⁹ censures was the concealment of the place of my destination when I left Texas in April last, but it may be that the success of my visit to Mexico is the foundation of this irritation. For Mr Buchanan possibly understands that when the popular intoxication has subsided in Texas there may be bitter repinings at the great sacrifice into which the people have been deluded and hurried, and indignation against the acts and devices and motives of the parties by whom, and for whose advantage, the act of excessive folly has been brought about.

Suffer me to remind Your Lordship that the two events of the

¹⁷F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

¹⁸The cutting enclosed is dated December 25, 1846.

¹⁹Buchanan was at this time secretary of state in Polk's cabinet.

dispositions of the Mexican Government towards accommodation on the basis of the independence of Texas, and the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government that these dispositions should be met in a corresponding spirit by the Government of Texas, became known to me within a few days of each other at the end of March last. It had happened that just before that period, with the Annexation resolutions passed in the United States, and a party in power there, deeply committed to the Measure, I had considered that I could be of no further use on the spot for the present, and was in the intention of going to Charleston to meet my family. These intentions were generally known at Galveston when the *Electra* arrived,—but then followed the change of circumstances that led to my visit to Mexico.

The concealment of the place of my destination till something definite could be procured from Mexico, and laid before the public of Texas, was indispensably necessary to protect that Government against the indirect practices and proceedings to which they were exposed. No person was better aware of their situation in that respect than myself, and feeling that it was incumbent upon me in the spirit of my instructions, to second their wise and sincere desire to secure to the people of Texas a choice between independence on honourable terms, and the rash sacrifice of their Nationality, I adopted the course which has brought upon me the reprehension of a Gentleman of Mr. Buchanan's claims to direct and disinterested public conduct, and ingenuous political correspondence.

It was the last chance that was left of preventing serious public mischief, fraught with consequences of the worst description to all parties concerned, and I felt that I ought not to reject it for the sake of avoiding the blame which I knew would be cast upon me in the highly probable contingency that has occurred.

Mr Buchanan's strictures do not affect me, for emulating the plainness with which he has spoken of me in papers that have found their way before the public, I must really say that in my estimation he is no more than the player of a chief part in an unprincipled public juggle, a plot for the spoliation of an unoffending and weak neighbour, brought to pass mainly by the betrayal of certain politicians of their friends and leaders for no

higher detectable interests than their own, and those of land and stock jobbers, and internal Slave trade dealers; a passage, in fine, in that systematic practice of delusion and excitement upon the unreflecting masses of the American people, made drunk with wordy and senseless projects of aggrandizement, and whooped on to clamour for measures alike injurious to the honour and well understood interests of their Country.

Few persons, My Lord, can be better acquainted than myself with the history of the Annexation of Texas, from its origin to its accomplishment; and there is no confusion in my understanding between the influences and means which have compassed it, and the reluctant consent of eminent persons of both the great parties in the Country who have recently voted for it, in a sense, no doubt, that further opposition was unavailing, and would only serve to drive them into private life, at a moment when there is so much need for their efforts to avert worse mischief

It cannot be justly imputed to me, if these papers should ever be submitted to the public, that I am making a general and unfounded attack upon the American people and their institutions. Nothing can be farther from my dispositions and intentions. I have lived more in America than in Europe for the last 30 years of my life, I have as many friends here as there; I have the firmest belief in the suitableness of their institutions as they were originally framed to the circumstances of the case, and to the fitness of those people for such institutions, and I know that there are as many reasonable and honourable persons in the United States as in any other part of the world, proportionably to the population

But it is unhappily equally true that if there were many times more; the course of public events would not be materially altered, for there is a great preponderance of ignorance, prejudice, and rashness, not only in the body of the people, but in the councils of the Nation, sinking more and more palpably to a very low level, by the rapidly deteriorating operation of universal suffrage. I am as sensible as any American can be, that this painful result does not spring from the original principle of their institutions, which was sound, but I believe that some of the most profound thinkers in America, have traced it to the revolutionary change from a representative to a pure democracy; a form of things that

experience has shewn to be unstable, incompatible with peace, true freedom, and the elevation of the character of man; ever leading on the contrary, to the curse of military despotism as an escape from grovelling, and usually blood stained mob tyranny, knave incited.

Persons of high principle and independent conduct find their way less and less into public life in the United States, and it would be a libel to say that the public character of the present Government and Legislature afford fair average means of estimating the amount of public spirit, wisdom, and purity, in the Country. The real standard is much higher than that, but the voice of moderation and wisdom is silenced or borne down by the force of circumstances. These ultra democratic institutions, and the egregious flattery lavished on the people, have also had the effect of stamping a character of excessive exciteability and vanity upon the masses, making them ready instruments in the hands of adroit and reckless demagogues, always striving to over reach each other in practices upon the passions of the multitude. Some of the persons for example in high office to day, are supposed to have been sincerely opposed to the Annexation of Texas, but they nevertheless, in the phraseology of the Country, went in freely for it, as soon as it was clamoured up to be popular, for the sake of what must rather be called tripping up—than defeating, not merely their political opponents, but their avowed friends and leaders, and by this time there are persons of note in the Legislature, of the same party as themselves, striving as hard to out bid and out manoeuvre them.

Wrongful motives and intrigue have been imputed to the Governments of Great Britain and France and their Agents, in the affairs of Texas; with a force of assurance, which is certainly without parallel in the past, howsoever promising the future may be. There was indeed a profession of such motives and conduct in these affairs, but the whole world knows from whence it came, and in that strife of personal rivalry and unscrupulous over reaching which gave a form and substance to what originally was no more than the desperate conception of a feeble and expiring administration, it is deeply to be lamented that claims of the highest

order upon the consideration of American Statesmen, were totally sacrificed.

Mr Buchanan has probably little or no personal knowledge of the Southern parts of this Country, and I think fairly enough of him to believe that if he could witness the shocking increase of the internal Slave trade which Annexation has induced, if he could see hundreds of wretched and innocent persons linked to an ox chain, passing to the Southern Market through what is called a land of freedom, and hundreds more standing day after day exposed for sale, like cattle in the market places, tricked out to catch the eye of criticizing purchasers, their persons arrayed in holiday attire, and their countenances clothed with all the ominous expression of settled grief, and shame, and sullen indignation; I say, I cannot but believe that such a dismal sight, and the reflection it must produce in any commonly generous mind would awake Mr Buchanan's conscience to the fact that there was a worse part, and worse offense in the affairs of Texas, than mine.

Turns in politics are not new to Mr Buchanan, no doubt conscientiously made. Let him assure himself that he could make no more honourable turn, nor more merciful and just to unborn generations, than to repent of the share he has had in this deeply wrongful transaction. Let him strain every effort of his heart and understanding to prevent the old Slave States of this great Confederacy, founded upon the doctrine, true or false, that all men are born equal; from becoming breeding pens of human cattle for the Slave supply of an immense territory, plundered from a Country which had released it from the stain, and misery, and a rottenness that are the sure consequences of the system.

Position and explicable prejudice, joined to the recollection of the elevated characters of some of the chief advocates of this business, relieve them from any suspicion of sordid motive.—Fatally wrong and hasty they have indeed been, but no informed person questions their sincerity, or charges them with purposes of personal advantage. Such considerations cannot be advanced in the case of Mr Buchanan. He is for this worst description of Slave trade, or he is against it. If he is for it, he has acted congruously, but if he is against, his responsibility is as grave as it is possible to conceive.

The calm and deliberate judgment of his Country, and of all the friends of practical human rights awaits Mr Buchanan,—and all the other abettors of this scheme. The passing passions of the hour are with him, but a righteous decision cannot be long averted by fleeting popular excitement, or by the jargon of liberality, or mouthful professions of love for freedom, prefaced to votes and schemes in favour of an immense impulse to the most sordid and cruel oppression extant in Christendom

The Queen's Government know that I have done some things in my humble capacity, for freedom's sake, and suffered some for humanity, and for that sake, and not to satisfy any personal feeling, I make this answer to the light words Mr. Buchanan has spoken of me.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁰

No. 4.

Houston

January 13th. 1846.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that I arrived here this Morning on my way to Austin, but met the President going down to Galveston, to which place he has requested me to return with him.

The Messenger from the President of the United States with the Annexation resolutions duly passed and approved by that Legislature and Government also arrived here this Morning and I am informed by the President of Texas that the Legislature of the Proposed State will be assembled on the 16th Proximo, when the Government of the Republic will be dissolved.

He observed to me that Your Lordship's despatch No. 17, should be acknowledged by the Secretary of State on his return to this place where he was shortly expected; but he would take occasion to converse with me again upon the subject, at Galveston.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

²⁰F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²¹

No. 5.

Galveston

January. 15th 1846.

My Lord,

The President conversed with me to day upon the subject of Your Lordship's despatch No 17 of 1845.

Her Majesty's Government might depend that the Treaties would be fully and faithfully executed by the Government of the Republic of Texas to the last moment of it's existence.

And, therefore, as nothing practical could arise during the brief survival of the present institutions of this Country, involving any question under the principles declared in Your Lordship's despatch, he thought that no more would be necessary, or indeed proper on the part of this Government, than a notice that the Communication had been recorded.

It was true that the Congress of the United States had already passed a law extending the revenue system of that Country over Texas, but that law could not go into operation because it was in contravention of the Constitution of the State of Texas, as accepted by the Legislature and Government of the United States. For that instrument provided that the Government and Laws of the Republic of Texas should remain in force, till the State Legislature should be in Session, and the State Government duly inaugurated.

The imposts therefore would be levied on Merchandize and produce, whether coming from the United States or any other Country, under the tariff law of the Republic of Texas, till all the Conditions and formalities required by the Constitution of the State of Texas were fulfilled.

The Government of the Republic of Texas had no official means of communicating with the Government of the United States; And it seemed to him that the proper mode of bringing this subject to the knowledge of that Government would be to send a Copy of the despatch with the delegation of the State to the Congress of the United States, when those Gentlemen were duly elected, and went forward to prepare their duties

My own task being limited to the communication of the sub-

²¹F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

ject of the despatch, and placing a Copy of it in the hands of this Government, the conversation dropped.

I may mention that importers of goods to Texas from the United States, have been for some time past paying their duties according to the tariff law of the Republic of Texas, under protest, on the plea that the Country is already a Member of the North American Confederacy.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²²

No. 6.

Galveston.

January 18th 1846.

My Lord,

I have never observed any publication, official or otherwise, in the papers of this Country shewing the extent and particulars of the popular Vote on independence or Annexation, which the recent Assembly at Austin provided should be taken *viva voce*; and I made that remark to the President some days since. He said that the particulars had not been published because they had only heard from 20 Counties (there are 36 in the Republic) but so far as he could form a judgement he thought that the whole Vote would be about six thousand

I observed that, that number did not amount to what might safely be taken to be one half of the whole vote of the Country; for nearly 14,000 persons had voted at the Presidential election in 1844. And yet it seemed strange that the Annexationists did not put forward their whole strength on such an occasion, if it were only to establish that vast preponderance in favour of it which has been so much insisted upon here and in the United States.

It was natural to think that persons in favour of the Measure would take some interest or pride in recording a *viva voce* Vote in that sense; and it was equally reasonable to suppose all things remembered, that it's opponents would abstain from writing down their names against the absorption of the Country in the North American Confederacy; An opposition which they had been loudly

²²F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

told would only serve to shew the insignificance of their number. The taking of the Vote, viva voce, contrary to the fundamental rule in their system, is of itself a subject of attentive reflection. Such a course was intended to stifle adverse opinion; And Your Lordship will not be surprised to learn that persons against Annexation generally abstained from recording their refusal to sacrifice independence to the plots and exigencies of dominant parties in the United States. Texas was already in the Military occupation of a force at the disposal of those parties, and the friends of independence, abandoned by their leaders, were naturally completely discouraged.

There can be no doubt that the great majority of the vote actually taken was on the side of Annexation, but in my mind it's shortness of what is known to be the full vote of the Country affords some fair index of the extent of opposite opinion; a party quieter than the successful, but certainly not less weighty in point of respectability and good sense.

The President adverted to the Mass Meetings in favour of Annexation held in all parts of the Country some months before the assembly of the body at Austin. They had left no doubt in his mind of the feeling and will of an immense majority of the people. It is to be remarked, however, that what are called Mass Meetings are usually assemblies of persons of one way of crying out, and there is a proneness on such occasions to exaggerate numbers, and intensity of feeling, and every circumstance connected with them.

The general tendency of the people of this part of the world to excitement and exaggeration, is also always extraordinarily developed in their political heats and the description of their political assemblages and successes. I attach little credit to their own statement on such matters; at all events, exact numbers furnish safer conclusions, and the smallness of the general Vote on this question is most remarkable. The want too, of the official publication of the number of persons actually voting, and the fact that the majority has been deduced from the Vote of 20 Counties only out of 36 (no doubt the most populous in the Republic) are significant circumstances, and may sooner or later be matter of some interest.

The present Government of Texas, fairly disposed I am sure,

were effectually prevented from giving one party any time or reasonable chance to recover from their delusion, or to extend to the other even that limited protection which the ballot would have afforded to persons desiring to save the independence of the Country. In fact the whole transaction is the success of an unscrupulous intrigue, set on foot in the United States for certain personal objects, on false pretences, and carried out from beginning to end by all manner of indirect and irregular proceedings

The opinion of very distinguished persons in the United States has strengthened my own belief that the measure is in a high degree dangerous to the integrity of that Confederacy; And when the popular excitement in favour of it has subsided, it may be depended upon that the manner of it's accomplishment will aggravate the angry feeling of which it cannot fail to be productive.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²³

No. 7.

Galveston.

January 20th. 1846.

My Lord,

I have the honour to forward to Your Lordship the "National Register" Newspaper of the 29th November last, containing²⁴

1st. The proclamation of the President of Texas declaring that the Constitution of the proposed State of Texas adopted by a Convention of Deputies at Austin on the 28th August last, had been Ratified by a Majority of the popular Vote. There has been no proclamation setting forth the popular decision on independence or Annexation, and no publication, official or otherwise, of the amount of the whole Vote on that question, or on the popular ratification of the State Constitution. But I think from the best sources of information within my reach that the whole vote taken is overstated in my despatch No. 6.

2d. The proclamation of the President of Texas directing that

²³F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

²⁴Elliot here lists six of the nine documents already transmitted by Kennedy. (See *ante* p. 565.)

Elections be held for the choice of Governor, and Lieut-Governor, and Senators and representatives of the State Legislature.

3d. Copy of a letter from the Honble Anson Jones to the Honble. J. Reily Texian Chargé d'Affaires to the U. S. Jany. 20th 1842.

4th. Copy of a letter (strictly confidential) from General Houston to W. S. Murphy formerly Chargé d'Affaires of the U. S. in Texas. Feby. 3d 1844.

5th. Copy of a letter from General Houston (Confidential) to Mr Van Zandt Chargé d'Affaires of Texas in the U. S. Jany. 29th 1844.

6th. Copy of a Message (Secret) from General Houston, President of Texas, to Congress. Jany. 20th 1844.

I abstain from making any comment upon some of these papers at present; but this is a convenient occasion to state that there is little doubt of the election of General Houston and the present President to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature of the proposed State.

No person is more sensible than myself of the difficulties, indeed of the dangers to which they were exposed. Neither am I ignorant of the influences brought to bear upon one of them, and the prospects held out to him. The degree in which the first moved his private feelings, and the extent to which the last bewildered his judgment may be hard to distinguish. That both causes operated cannot be denied, but that he was acted upon more by his impulses of attachment for an individual, than by less excuseable motives, I am well assured.²⁵

It is not my purpose however, to dwell upon such topics; but I must remark that the election of these two Gentlemen to the Senate of the United States will be a conclusive answer from Texas to all the false charge respecting British and French intrigue, and undue interference in the Affairs of this Country. They will be sent there not only because it is perfectly known here that those statements have no foundation, but because it will be felt that they have done what they could for the true welfare of the Country, and the leaning they undoubtedly had to the preservation of the independence of the Republic, will not be their worst recommen-

²⁵That is, Houston's personal attachment to Jackson.

dation to the second thought of this deluded people. The friends of independence will be on their side, and the result of the popular vote on independence or the sacrifice of it, convincingly establishes the existence of a much larger party in Texas, rightly and honourably disposed, than could be inferred from President Polk's recent fanciful statement to the American Congress.²⁰

I take the liberty to express the opinion that this transaction, or the manner of it will not be durably felt in the United States to be a satisfactory subject of national congratulation; and I think it will be judged in sound quarters that the figure of the popular Vote in Texas speaks more accurately and authentically upon the subject, than inflated figures of speech. One of the two probable Senators for Texas has been charged in the Government paper of the United States with guilty participation in foreign intrigue (little short of treason, I believe, was the express language) and the other has been denounced over and over again by a representative of the United States in Texas, as adverse to the connexion with the North American Confederacy, and in secret and treasonable understanding with Mexico, and certain European powers.

Their election under such circumstances is irreconcilable with Mr Polk's imagination of "the almost unanimous voice of the people of Texas" in rebuke of the intrigues of Great Britain and France in this Country— They have administered the affairs of Texas during the last five years, they have given the flattest contradiction to Mr Polk's charge of improper interference by Great Britain and France in official papers; they have passed unscathed through all the attack and scrutinizing enquiry to which they have been exposed in that sense, and their election to the Senate of the United States will be the rebuke of the people of Texas for that kind of groundless accusation.

The people of Texas are already beginning to awaken from their delusion, and may soon recollect that there was no movement of active interference in their behalf by the Government of the United States when it was most needed, or until Texas was about to settle on an honourable and advantageous footing without it,

²⁰Polk's first annual message, December 2, 1845, in which he spoke of the "almost unanimous voice" of Texas in favor of annexation.

and particularly, until an approaching Presidential election in the United States made it a convenient subject for speculating politicians to agitate and turn to their own account.

When the people of Texas too, become restored to a sober sense of what is past and gone, it may occur to them that the Agents of Great Britain and France never forget that they were sent to the Government they had chosen, and not to operate upon the passions or prejudices of the unreflecting, or to practice upon leading men in the Country by indirect means, and offers of high place and station, present and prospective.

The President of the United States in his Message closes his reflections on Annexation, with a paragraph, every sentence of which, rightly explained, contains as just a Comment upon the transaction as language could have supplied. "If we consider," says Mr. Polk the "extent of territory involved in the Annexation, it's prospective influence on America, the means by which it has been accomplished, springing purely from the choice of the people to share the blessings of our Union, the history of the world may be challenged to furnish a parallel." The extent of territory involved; that is, territory six times as large as the territory in the occupation of the Texians, belonging to a weak and unoffending Neighbour, and secured to her by treaty. It's prospective influence on America, that is in fact, the prospective influence on America of continued violation of compact, and increasing spoliation by the Government of this Country on feeble Powers.

The means by which it has been accomplished; that is means which cannot bear the light, but springing, according to this account, purely from the choice of the people themselves to share the blessings of the Union. All idea of freedom of choice by the people themselves is purely imaginary. The circumstances and facts of the case contradict it, and at least two thirds of the people abstained from voting at all, or voted against Annexation. Concerning these conceptions of the blessings of the Union, it seems highly probable that a very large part of the people of the Union will determine in no long lapse of time, that a great impulse to the internal Slave trade, and a vast extension of the principle of Slave representation in the Councils of the Nation, are not blessings to the Union, but danger and shame.

Mr Polk is warranted in his confidence that the history of the world may be challenged to permit a parallell to this affair, or it may be added, to the deliberate composure of his account of it.

To The Right Honourable.

Charles Elliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁷

No. 8.

Galveston

My Lord,

Jany. 23d 1846.

I have the honour to forward the Copy of a Circular from the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, extracted from the Union Newspaper of the 8th Instant, which reached this place to day; and I have also to report that the same paper contains the appointment by the President of the United States, by and with the consent of the Senate of Mr Hiram G. Reynolds to be "Collector of the Customs for the district of Texas, and Inspector of the Revenue for the Port of Galveston in the State of Texas."

Your Lordship is aware that the President of Texas considers that the separate Sovereignty of this Republic, and it's Laws and institutions, remain in unimpaired force till the State Legislature shall have assembled, and the State Government has been duly established agreeably to the terms of the Constitution of the proposed State of Texas; the acceptance of which Constitution by the United States in all it's details and to it's full extent, the President says, formed part of the compact between the two Countries for the Annexation of Texas to the North American Confederacy.

It appears, however, from some recent Laws and appointments in the United States, not merely fiscal, but extending the federal Judiciary system over Texas that in point of principle there is a conflict between the Sovereignties, and Legislatures of the two Countries.

I forward for Your Lordship's examination a Copy of the Constitution of the proposed State,²⁸ begging to observe that I have marked the passage bearing on this subject.

To The Right Honourable.

Charles Eliot.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

²⁷F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

²⁸*The Civilian and Galveston Gazette*, Extra, September 6, 1845.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁹

No. 9.

Galveston.

Jany. 26th. 1846.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that the President left this place a few days since to return to his plantation on the Brazos, intending to remain there till it is time to proceed to Austin and meet the State Legislature, convened for the 16th Proximo.

In his absence, and that of the Secretary of State from Austin, I have considered myself at liberty to remain where I am, for I am not in good health; though that circumstance should not have prevented me from proceeding to any point where the Government of Texas was residing, and discharging the duty committed to me in Your Lordship's despatch No. 17 of 1845.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³⁰

No. 10.

Galveston.

Jany. 26th. 1846.

My Lord,

Taking the liberty to refer Your Lordship to my despatch No. 7. I would beg leave to say a few words upon the contrariety between the language which the late and present Presidents of Texas held to me for communication to Her Majesty's Government, and that which has otherwise found it's way before the public.

Your Lordship is aware that they both frequently assured me they preferred the separate existence and independence of the Country, recognized by Mexico, to it's absorption in the North American Confederacy, and that they have both over and over again as well to me, as in formal public papers, expressed their perfect confidence in the friendly and unconditional support and just purposes of Her Majesty's Government.

General Houston ever since I have known him, has always been

²⁹F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.³⁰F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

more emphatic in the expression of his determined opposition against Annexation than the present President, and more sanguine in his avowed belief that the people of this Country would never sacrifice their independence if it's acknowledgment could be secured from Mexico. Speaking of Mr. Jones I believe that he went as far as he could, to secure a wiser and more honourable turn than affairs had taken.

But it is not to be denied that a time arrived when General Houston was acted upon by influence which succeeded, not indeed in engaging him in any active sense, overtly or otherwise, favour of Annexation, (at least till a very late period, and only after the election of the Deputies had made it certain that the Measure would be carried in Texas, or if not after that period, very close upon it). But those influences effectually succeeded to the extent of keeping him passive and observant throughout a critical state of public feeling in this Country.

What the result might have been if General Houston, supported as he would have been, had decisively interposed at an early stage in favour of independence, I cannot say, and I am aware that his situation was difficult. But at all events it is manifest that by openly and steadfastly adhering from first to last to that choice which he sincerely believed to be for the honour and advantage of the Country he would have gained for himself a high and enduring reputation. If General Houston had said some of the things which I have seen imputed to him in the prints of the United States respecting his public transactions with Great Britain and France, I am concerned for him, and if he has not, as I learn that he denies he has, it must be painful to his friends that there has been no public and direct refutation of reports so wrongful and injurious to him.

In concluding, however, I will take the liberty to say that prominent persons in such a political scheme as this, should always be judged with much allowance for varying language, and seemingly changing conduct of affairs. For it cannot be denied that directness would generally be extremely hazardous to them in moments of crisis, and it must also be remembered that their power to avert mischief is quite incommensurate with their political risks. In fact I have learnt in my experience that irresponsible despotism,

as a rule, produces very similar results on persons in high station, whether it be the despotism of a capricious Asiatic Prince, or of multitudes in possession of uncontrolled power, too often taking Council of bad advisers and their own passions, amidst shouts for what is absurd and unjust, and groans for what is wise and right.

The Competitors and enemies of eminent men in either of these cases constantly succeed in casting them into situations in which there is no choice between a complete violation of conscience, or that sacrifice of political prospect. In the first indeed, in addition to the loss of power, there is sometimes loss of life, or chains and banishment, but in some compensation for these occasional cruelties it may be that good councils and justice more frequently resume their sway over a single despot, than over a despotic multitude lashed into a condition of ever recurring excitement and delusion by eager rivals for their suffrages.

It is rather a matter of surprize that there should be so many public men in America constant to common sense and justice, than that there should be many more skilful in catching the turn of events. and unscrupulous in tergiversation; or still greater numbers, drifting with the popular tide, let it run which way it will.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³¹

No. 12.³²

Galveston.

February 1st 1846.

My Lord,

It is currently reported here that the last steam boat from New Orleans with dates from that place of the 27th Ult. and from Washington of the 17th has brought orders to the force at Corpus Christi to advance forthwith to the Rio Grande. But judging from the very short time that the intelligence of the recent changes³³ in Mexico, and the withdrawal, or the reported with-

³¹F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

³²F. O. Texas, 16. Elliot to Aberdeen, No. 11. January 27, 1846, has been omitted. It transmitted printed copies of the *Journal of the Texan Convention of 1845*.

³³The revolution of Paredes against Herrera.

drawal of Mr. Slidell³⁴ from thence could have been known by the United States Government at our latest dates from Washington, it may be that nothing beyond instructions for early movement have come on as yet: But trust worthy information from Corpus Christi as late as the 23d. Ulto I think the American force in Texas may be nearly stated, as follows.

Infantry about	2,600	} at
Dragoons Do	400	
Horse Artillery Do.....	220	
		Corpus.
		Christi

and two troops of Dragoons detached at San Antonio de Bejar and Austin.

Their field Artillery is reported to consist of 12 Guns, and Six of heavier Calibre mounted as battering Guns on their field defences. The Material and efficiency of this part of the force are best spoken of; but their horses as well as those of the Cavalry have the appearance of having suffered severely from bad water and exposure. The people are still under canvass, and I learn that there were about 80 men in the hospitals, and that they have lost rather more than that number by death and the same by desertion. Large proportion of the force are Irish, and Germans and other foreigners; indeed it is said that not more than a fifth of the whole are of American birth.

The swampy condition of the lower Country would prevent them from moving immediately even if the orders have come on, but if the weather should continue fine for 10 days or a fortnight they would be able to do so, and I should add that they have been collecting transport since their arrival in Texas, and I believe have now enough for movement to any points on the lower Rio Grande which they propose to advance upon.

If they do move, the Brassos, San Jago would I conclude be immediately occupied both by troops and by such light armed vessels as could be got into that anchorage. The best water there may be about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but the position would be necessary for their supplies and communications. There is no Naval force of

³⁴Slidell, who was a member of Congress from Louisiana in 1845, was in that year sent to Mexico to "adjust difficulties," but in reality to purchase California if possible. He was unsuccessful.

any kind upon this Coast except one revenue schooner; engaged in a survey under the direction of two officers of the Engineer Corps.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³⁵

No. 13.

Galveston

February 15th. 1846.

My Lord.

I have the honour to transmit the Copy of a Note from this Government, dated on the 4th Inst.³⁶—and in connexion with the subject of it, I take this occasion to forward to Your Lordship the Copy of a letter of instructions which I have this day addressed to Consul Kennedy. Thinking it possible that he might publish some notice respecting these matters, (which appears to me to be unnecessary and inexpedient) I have marked the letter "Confidential."

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T.

ELLIOT TO KENNEDY¹

[Enclosure.]

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

Confidential

Galveston, Feby. 15th 1846

Sir,

If the Master of any British Vessel (arriving at this Port after the Custom House Authorities appointed by the Government of the Republic have retired from the performance of their duties) should apply to you for advice, you will guide yourself by these instructions.

You will counsel him to proceed to the Custom House accom-

³⁵F. O. Texas, Vol. 16.

³⁶Allen to Elliot, February 4, 1846. In Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1204, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.

¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

panied by the Mate of the vessel admonished to be heedful of any conversation that may pass at that place between the Chief person engaged in the Collection of Customs duties and himself. If he should find that he is permitted to enter under any other authority than that of some existing revenue or Navigation law of the Republic of Texas, you will advise him to state that he had arrived here to trade under the treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Her Majesty The Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the Republic of Texas, signed at London November 13th 1840, and whereof ratifications were exchanged at London June 28th 1842, that he claims the rights privileges, liberties, favours, immunities and exemptions secured to Her Majesty's Subjects trading in Texas under that Treaty, and enters protest against all proceedings taken, or to be taken contrary thereto, as respects the Ship of which he is Master, and the goods of her lading.

You will further advise him, as soon as any duties shall be charged against the Ship or Cargo under the authority of any other than some existing law of the Republic of Texas to pay the same, and extend his protest, causing it to be served upon the Chief person engaged in the Collection of such duties. For your more complete guidance herein I forward a Memorandum of the particulars which it may be needful to specify in the protest, together with any others which may occur on the occasion.

You will govern yourself in all matters of Commerce and Navigation affecting British Subjects at your Consulate who may apply to you for advice, upon the understanding that the stipulations of the treaties in existence between Her Majesty and this Republic remain in the same position as if Texas had continued an independent Power, but you will carefully observe that this view is confined to the subject matter of those treaties, and offer no objection or remark upon any other change of authority or jurisdiction.

In case of any refusal upon the part of the persons in authority at your Consulate to extend to you all the rights, privileges, and immunities accorded to Officers in your station by the law of Nations, and stipulated in the 7th Article of the treaty of Commerce and Navigation of the 13th November 1840, you will report

the particulars to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but you are particularly cautioned to conduct yourself with the utmost circumspection, and to avoid as far as may be possible consistently with a due discharge of your duty, any discussion or correspondence with the persons in Authority at Your Consulate.

Till you are further instructed you will be pleased to forward all letters or despatches which may reach you to my address to the care of H. M. Consul, New Orleans.

Charles Elliot.

P. S.

You will be so good as to hand the accompanying letter to the Commander of any of Her Majesty's Ships who may arrive at Galveston during my absence.

C. E.

To Wm Kennedy, Esqr.

H. M. Consul.

Galveston.

MEMORANDUM BY ELLIOT²

Memorandum respecting particulars of protest adverted to in Captain Elliot's despatch to Consul Kennedy, dated Galveston Feby. 15th 1846.

The Ship's name, tonnage, owners, British port of registry, last British port cleared from, general description of Cargo, to what place or places bound, the names of any ports She has touched at during her voyage, date of arrival in the Port of Galveston, statement of communication with the persons declaring themselves to be engaged in the collection of revenue their proceedings, amounts of money charged by, and paid to them on account of the Ship or Cargo, and finally Master and Mate to protest as well as any Consignees of Cargo if they see fit on their own behalf and on the part and behalf of the Owners and all others interested or in any respect concerned in the Ship or her Cargo against.

(Specify here, the name and declared offices of the chief person and any other person or persons engaged

²F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

in the Collection of the required duties or charges, or put on board the ship by the authority of the Collector.)

And against all others whom it doth or shall concern for all losses, damages, costs, expences and prejudices actually suffered or which may hereafter ensue by reason of charging upon and requiring from the said ship, or the goods of her lading in the Port of Galveston in Texas any duty of Customs or imports under any authority other than that of some existing law of the Republic of Texas, and for all and every violation, as respects the said ship and her Cargo, of the stipulations of the treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the Republic of Texas signed at London November 13th 1840, and whereof Ratifications were exchanged at London June 28th 1842.

(Signed) Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed.] In Captn Elliot's of Feb. 15/46.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN³

No 14.

Galveston,
Feby. 16th 1846.

My Lord,

By information from Corpus Christi of the 14th Inst. we learn from what I think may be taken to be an authentic source that the American force there has been ordered to advance upon the Rio Grande as soon as possible. It seems probable that the main body will be directed in the first place upon Point Isabel, and that the Brassos Santiago will also be occupied. These are the avowed objects of the movement, but if any pretext should present itself, I think there can be no doubt that Matamoros will be immediately seized.

In my former despatches I have had the honour to remark to Your Lordship that it seemed to me it would have been proper, on military principles, to keep this small force assembled at some convenient points on the American side of the Sabine, and I feel assured that if that were the case at the present moment, they could be taken to the Mouth of the Rio Grande, and landed there

³F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

in a much stronger and more effective condition than they are now, much sooner than they can arrive from their present position.

I do not believe that their moveable Column will exceed 3,000 Men, and the health and spirit of the troops must have necessarily suffered considerably from a long and unnecessary exposure in a very ineligible position, on extremely bad water. They could not move before the 1st Proximo, and unless the beach is practicable the whole way, which remains to be ascertained, not before a considerably later period, owing to the condition of the praries. Some uneasiness seemed to be felt respecting a small detachment of dragoons.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen., K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁴

No. 15.

Galveston.

Feby. 16th. 1846.

My Lord,

The Government of this Republic will be dissolved this day, and suffering from a recent attack of indisposition I shall take the liberty to proceed to New Orleans for change of air, and wait there for my next instructions from Her Majesty's Government unless any thing should transpire in the mean time requiring my return to this place.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁵

No. 16.

Galveston.

February. 16th 1846.

My Lord,

Before the dissolution of this Government I think it may be convenient to submit some remarks to Your Lordship on an error

⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

which has been prevalent in this Country and in the United States respecting the late negotiations between Mexico and Texas.

In the United States especially it has been generally supposed that it was Mexico which proposed to Texas to acknowledge her independence on the condition that Texas should not Annex herself to that Country in particular, and it was urged that Texas could not have accepted that condition without discredit. Her Majesty's Government are aware that this is a complete mistake in point of fact and form. It was the Government of Texas which proposed, not Mexico, and the proposed condition did not mention the United States. The language was general, and the French Minister at Mexico particularly remarked that that circumstance was important, for a stipulation so shaped could give no just offence in any quarter.

Texas had a right to maintain her separate existence, and it will be admitted that such a course would have been in accordance with her formal declarations to the world, and her pledges, direct and implied, to those Powers, which had only acknowledged it upon the assurance, that she would. With that right, and that obligation of self respect, it is not easy to see why she should not offer to make the stipulation in question for peace sake, in the final treaty with Mexico. It would have been justifiable and honourable, and that cannot be said of this repudiation of independence and Nationality. If the people of Texas had been left to their deliberate choice there is ground to believe that they would have ratified the worthier policy; but intrigue, and factitious excitement, and haste prevailed, compassing an act of folly and discredit; which, however, it is only just to repeat that two thirds of the voters of the Country have failed to support at the polls.

The President of the United States in his opening Message to Congress, has fallen into an aggravated degree of misconception on the subject of this condition, deciding that Mexico had no right or authority to prescribe restrictions on the form of Government which Texas might afterwards choose to assume. Without dwelling on this exposition of the right and authority of Mexico to look to her safety with what care she can, it is impossible to miss the observation of her great need to do so; and it is also requisite to

come back to the facts of the case in this particular, not distinguishable from President Polk's account of them.

It was Texas that was proposing, not Mexico that was prescribing, and there was no question of form of Government at all, before or after, but of the much more vital consideration to Mexico of who was to be conterminous with her. It is a very inaccurate and arbitrary expression of the circumstances of the case, and the motives which influenced Mexico to say that she was prescribing restrictions on the form of Government that Texas might choose to assume. Mexico did no more than accept the exact conditions proposed by the Government of Texas, and execute an additional Act, reserving her rights if those conditions should not be ratified by the people of Texas.

That Act was perhaps superfluous, for the rejection of the Conditions by the Legislature of Texas restored the statu quo, but it is plain that Mexico had a perfect right and some need to provide beyond the possibility of fair question, that her assent to particular conditions offered by Texas was not to be construed into a surrender of a totally different nature and extent, to a third party. If the Act did nothing else, it proved that Mexico had a clear foresight of the pretension and augmentation that might be looked for in the quarter to which the transaction had reference.

Your Lordship will remember that one of the preliminary conditions provided that limits and other conditions should be matter of arrangement in the final treaty. It appears, however, from another part of the Message that the limits of the United States are peacefully extended to the Del Norte already, which expression it is to be apprehended may complicate the difficulty of settlement with Mexico, for in their construction it will be taken to be no more than a formal mode of announcing that the Countries are appropriated, and the treaties violated, though indeed, there is to be no violence for the mere sake of violence. Mexico will hardly consider this to be any thing else than a plain declaration that the dismemberment of their Country has been commenced by the United States, peacefully if possible, violently, if necessary. "Care will be taken Mr. Donelson writes to Mr. Buchanan on the 11th "June 1845" to throw "the responsibility of aggressive measures on "the Government of Mexico".

I cannot but remark, My Lord, that the purposes respecting this out lying territory, and the kind of care which has been taken to cast the responsibility of aggressive measures upon Mexico are copiously developed in the Official correspondence lately laid before Congress by President Polk. With that, and the other evidence before the world respecting these affairs it is certainly sanguine to hope that mankind will join in general sentence of condemnation against Mexico for aggressive and wrongful conduct towards the United States if the Mexican Government and people should see fit to defend their Country against what is not less than invasion, because it is called peaceful extension.

Mr. Polk's judgment of the conclusiveness against Mexico of an agreement to acknowledge the independence of Texas, with or without conditions, at once sweeps over broad spaces of latitude and longitude. It involves the conclusion, not only that Mexico has by her own Act (in a directly contrary spirit and letter) surrendered all right to object to the assignment to the United States by the Texians, of the territory in their actual occupation, but that she has forfeited all claim to immense Mexican regions beyond these limits in which the Texians have never yet had a settler, which have always formed a part of other Mexican States, and which are occupied by a Mexican population scarcely less numerous than the population represented in the Texian Legislature. If such decisions prove conclusive against Mexico, their force will not be the force of justice and reason.

In closing this despatch I venture to say that I was prepared for the disclosures, in the correspondence between Messrs. Donelson and Buchanan respecting the preliminary treaty acceded to by Mexico. Speaking of it in a letter to Mr. Buchanan (August 16th 1845) Mr Donelson complains that "But for that treaty and the proclamation which grew out of it, our position on the question of boundary would have been less embarrassed".— And in another letter to the same quarter (July 16th 1845) he was still more explicit upon the obstructions thrown in the way of particular purposes respecting this important point, by the preliminary treaty and the suspension of hostilities proclaimed by the President of Texas. I had for some time been sensible that the disposal of this coveted Mexican territory was the single considera-

tion left of real moment in these affairs, and that it was highly desirable that colourable Texian occupation should not be suddenly obtruded within it, before this Republic formally signified it's willingness to join the North American Confederacy. The Country in the actual occupation of the Texians is of little value in their condition of a State of the Union, possessing Millions of unoccupied acres of better land, or at least of equal fitness for the same products, and incomparably more conveniently situated for Markets.

Neither can the possession of this territory add to the political strength of the United States, for it is almost bereft of the resources which would help that object, having neither eligible harbours, nor easily navigable rivers, nor any other natural elements of Military power. At all events it had been lost to Mexico long since. Your Lordship however is aware that I was informed of the plots in preparation at that very moment for the seizure of the territory which was not lost to her, nominally to the Texian Militia; really by other Agency, and arms and funds. In view of that circumstance, a suspension of hostilities on the part of the Government of Texas was no doubt an object of importance at that conjuncture. Fully alive to the necessity of speed I travelled without resting from Galveston to Washington after my arrival in the "La Peronne", for I was aware that Mr Donelson would immediately proceed to the same destination, and it was urgent that the acceptance of the preliminaries by Mexico should be communicated to this Government before his arrival there. We met at Houston on my return from seeing the President, and Mr. Donelson must have probably received the proclamation on his way up the Country. This correspondence confirms the impression I entertained and communicated to Mr Bankhead at the time, namely, that the suspension of hostilities by proclamation of this Government had disturbed the fulfilment of dangerous purposes against Mexico.

My share in these transactions has been at once exaggerated, and the source of considerable irritation and complaint in the correspondence here noticed. I shall merely say that I was acting in a sense of duty to Her Majesty's Government, willing to be helpful in effecting a peaceful settlement between Mexico and Texas upon terms of security, honour and advantage to both. But so

far as I was entrusted with the execution of these wishes of Her Majesty's Government, it was incumbent upon me to take every proper precaution in my power, that their efforts in the behalf of one of the ostensible principals of this dispute should not facilitate the intentions of a third party to despoil Mexico of vast regions secured to her by treaty, to which Texas had not a shadow of just claim for Herself, and still less, if less were possible, to assign them to the United States. Contiguity between Mexico and the United States on that frontier will be attended with imminent danger to the stability of the first, and the desert nature of the country between the Rio Grande and Nueces make it almost vital to Mexico that those regions should continue to belong to her.

The safest separation between the Countries that circumstances now admit of, may probably be the course of the Nueces from Mouth to source, a right line from that point to the present South West limit of the United States, and thence continued along the present dividing Meridian.

I avail myself of this occasion to forward to Your Lordship the Copy of a Veto Message by General Houston on a Bill which passed both Houses of the Texian Congress at the beginning of his last Administration, extending the frontier of Texas to the Pacific in the parallel of the Mouth of the Rio Grande; which it may probably be one purpose of Mr Slidell's Mission to Mexico to attempt now for the United States. I have alluded to this subject in my former despatches, but have only recently succeeded in procuring a Copy of this Message.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

[Enclosure].⁶

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

Executive Department.

City of Austin.

Feby. 1st 1842.

To the Honourable the House of Representatives

Impressed as I am with a sense of duty and the true situation of the Country I cannot yield my assent to the Bill "to amend an "Act to define the Boundaries of the Republic of Texas". I trust

⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

your Honourable body will bear with me while I assign my reasons for the course which I feel compelled to adopt.

Texas has heretofore declared by the law of 1836 that her limits should [be] bounded on the West by the principal stream of the Rio Grande to it's source, thence due North to the 42d degree of latitude and the boundary line of the United States. This formed our limits with Mexico, and agreeably to this we have been recognized as independent by the United States, and also by those European Governments with which we have established relations. From these facts it seems to me that *until Texas has it in her power to exercise jurisdiction* it can be of no possible advantage to her, that she should assert any claim which would subject her to derision, or evince her wish to extend her claim to territory *by mere assumption of a right* which she *might* not be able to enforce. The recognized limits of Texas are greater than either her population or resources will enable her *at the time* to occupy.

To extend our limits according to the provisions of the Bill would embrace a region of Country larger than the United States of the North, and include two thirds of the Republic of Mexico. It would take in portions of the States of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Durango, Sinaloa, and all of Chihuahua, New Mexico,—Sonora and upper and lower California. It is also but reasonable to calculate that the inhabitants of those vast regions would not number less than ten Millions. It would then appear curious to Nations in amity with us that a people destitute of means to meet their most pressing wants, and numbering less than one hundred thousand, should assume by a declaratory law that they have a right to govern a Country possessing a population of more than thirty to one. Thus far I am inclined to believe other nations would regard the Measure as visionary, or as a legislative jest, inasmuch as it would assume a right which it is utterly impossible to exercise.

But other considerations of a most grave and solemn character impress themselves on my mind.

The mediation of England has been invoked between the Governments of Texas and Mexico, the exercise of which has only been delayed in consequence of the want of the ratification and exchange of Treaties.

This difficulty will however soon cease to exist. So soon as the exchange of ratifications can take place at London there can be no doubt but that the British Minister at Mexico will be authorized to interpose on behalf of Texas; and unless some obstacle should intervene, we may at no distant period anticipate the most favourable result from the Mediation of that Power in our favour. Should the present Measure, however, be adopted and a proposition be submitted to the Mexican Government we cannot expect that this extraordinary assumption of right by Texas will be overlooked in the negotiation, but would present an insuperable barrier not only to our recognition by Mexico, but would annihilate every hope of an amicable adjustment of our differences. The British Minister would not be authorized to enter into any arrangement, but such as would present Texas with the limits avowed at the time of her recognition and declared by her law, Approved 19 December. 1836.

The promulgation of this Bill if it were to become a law, would suspend all action on the part of Great Britain. To assume a right which we cannot exercise would only work evil, and could produce no salutary result. It would be useless in itself. Indeed a proposition of this character is calculated to irritate and arouse the indignation of every man within the limits of Mexico. And whilst we would thus pursue phantoms as profitless as the present is dangerous, our character for policy, sagacity, and forecast would suffer serious detriment.

I need not assure Your Honorable Body of the ardent desire which I entertain for peace and friendly intercourse with all Nations. So long as we are not on amicable terms with Mexico, so long we will suffer hindrance to our prosperity. The constant cry of invasion will be sounded, not only throughout Texas, but throughout all Nations to whom we are known; and while this is the case we may feel confident that emigration will be impeded, if not entirely prevented. From this source we are to draw both population and wealth, and no matter how desirable our soil and climate might be to foreigners, nor how great their anxiety to make our Country their home, it could certainly be no additional inducement to families that Texas should remain in hostile rela-

tions with Mexico; which might and would at all times render their situation one of unpleasant excitement, if not of danger.

We may regard Mexicans as we may think proper, but still they are men, and entertain ideas of Nationality and some sense of shame and injury. If then they do, the present project must have a powerful influence upon them. Indignity always inspires feelings of revenge. The very thought of suffering a partition of their Country will give them adhesion, and union may render them more formidable than we have found them in times past. It will at all events arouse their energies, incite them to the last effort, inflict great annoyance upon us, and withdraw the attention of our Citizens from the pursuits and profits of husbandry.

Texas only requires peace to make her truly prosperous and respectable. Peace will bring with it every advantage. All that is needful to secure individual wealth is well directed industry, and the policy that will permit the farmer and the mechanic to employ their labour in peace is the only policy that can establish our Country. Without peace, labour and industry, we must with all the boundless natural advantages of Texas, remain comparatively poor and embarrassed.

The present moment is to my apprehension the most unfortunate of all others for the awakening of this subject.

Our fellow Citizen's taken at Santa Fe, if they still survive, are prisoners in the City of Mexico at the *mercy* of Mexicans. Every possible means at my command have been employed to obtain their release and restoration to their friends and Country. Should the proposed project reach the Mexican Capital in the character of a legislative act, no earthly interposition can secure their liberation, and I should deem it the most probable of all other events that they would be executed by order of the Authorities of the Country, and should they escape even this, I would apprehend their destruction by the populace. In a Country like Mexico, demagogues are never wanting to excite the fury and stimulate the bad passions of those to whose favour they seek to commend themselves.

I am therefore satisfied that if any measure could produce injury to Texas, and endanger the lives of our noble, generous and brave fellow Citizens, whose cruel captivity we now deplore, it

would be the passage of this bill. Surely their circumstances invoke of the honourable Congress calm and careful deliberation.

(Signed) Sam Houston.

[Endorsed.] Inclosure in Captain Elliots Despatch No 16 to the Earl of Aberdeen.

Galveston Feb. 16th. 1846.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁷

No 17.

New Orleans.

March 4th. 1846.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit the "Texas Democrat" newspaper of the 20th Ultimo⁸ containing the particulars of the dissolution of the Government of the Republic of Texas.

General Houston and Mr Rusk have been elected to the Senate of the United States.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen., K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN⁹

No. 18.

New Orleans.

March 10th 1846.

My Lord,

I learn that the Government of the United States is taking up some light vessels at this port for the service of the force at Corpus Christi, and also that a small steamer hitherto employed as a passage vessel between that point and Galveston has been chartered by [the United States] for the same object. These indications dispose me to think that the Material at all events, will be re-embarked at Corpus Christi, and transported by sea to the Brassos and Norte. Detachments have been thrown forward in the direction of the Rio Grande, but we have not yet heard that the Head Quarters and Main body have moved.

Unless the American Government has some understanding with

⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

⁸"Extra" edition.

⁹F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

leading persons in Tamaulipas and the contiguous Mexican States, the advance of this small and enfeebled force still further from their resources and communications, and within the perfectly unquestionable limits of Mexico, may prove to be a dangerous movement. If they advance to any distance from their depôts on the Sea shore, they may be cut off without difficulty, and if they remain there during the ensuing hot weather the climate and exposure will be disastrous to them.

I avail myself of this opportunity to transmit a Texian Newspaper of the 3d Instant,¹⁰ containing some extracts from a paper published at Corpus Christi which merit Your Lordship's notice. It is no doubt probably that his tone is attributable to the dislike of the parties interested at Corpus Christi to lose the profits of the continuance of the force at that point; But be the motive what it may, nothing can be better founded than this exposure of the worthlessness of these pretensions to the Country beyond the "Nueces"

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹¹

No 19.

New Orleans.

March 14th 1846.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit the Corpus Christi Gazette Extraordinary of the 8th Instant, containing the General orders issued by Brigadier General Z. Taylor respecting the immediate advance of the American force from that point, to the Rio Grande.

Charles Elliot

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

¹⁰*The Galveston News*, March 3, 1846.

¹¹F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹²

No 4.

Her Majesty's Consulate.
Galveston. March. 16th 1846.

My Lord,

I have the honour to enclose herewith printed Copies of the last Public Address of President Jones, the Inaugural Address of the Governor of Texas, the first Message of the Governor,—and certain Newspaper Articles communicating political rumours, and intelligence of the Movements of the United States troops, heretofore stationed at Corpus Christi.¹³

Generals Houston and Rusk—(as was pronounced likely in my Despatch No 34 of the 8th of December, last) have been elected to the Senate of the United States, by the Legislature of Texas. There were 70 Votes for Rusk, and 69 for Houston. Ex-President Jones was a candidate, and not an unwilling one, as I am told, but his nomination was set aside in preliminary "Caucus."

Officers high in the Engineer Service of the United States have been employed in examining the Coast of Texas, with a view to its defence.—They have, it is said, reported favourably of connecting, by Canals, the lagoons, that fringe the Coast,—for the purpose of opening thereby a line of interior Navigation from the Sabine to the Rio Grande.

In reference to the Movement of the United States Troops to the Rio Grande, mentioned in Enclosure No 4, the "*Galveston Civilian*," of the 4th Instant, observes:—

"We have no idea that they," (the U. S. troops) "will be opposed in their present movement by the Mexican forces; nor do we think expectation of such an event is entertained by well-informed persons upon the frontier.

One result desired, and pretty confidently anticipated, from this Military movement, by the United States, is a declaration of independence by the North Eastern Provinces of Mexico, seconded

¹²F. O., Texas, Vol. 17. This is the last letter from Kennedy in Texas, containing anything of interest. On September 18, 1846, Kennedy left Texas on sick leave and a Mr. Lynn was appointed acting consul at Galveston. His correspondence is confined to the details of his office. Mr. Kennedy never returned to Texas, and formally gave up his consulate in 1850. Lynn's appointment to the place was confirmed May 18, 1850.

¹³All enclosures are unidentified newspaper cuttings.

by the influence of the Mexican General Arista.—After a brief term of probation, these most valuable Provinces are to be admitted to a participation of the advantages arising from an incorporation with the Federation of the North.—Such is the language of American politicians, and I cannot doubt its earnestness.

Whatever may be the issue of the Negotiations respecting Oregon, the United States seem resolved to possess themselves of Upper California. Large parties of armed settlers are proceeding thither from the Western and South Western States, and it is within my knowledge that a number of the most daring and intelligent Americans in Texas are making arrangements for journeying, with like purposes, to the same quarter.

In the meantime, it is hoped that Great Britain's devotion to—"peace, at any price,"—and the satisfaction with Mr Walker's *quasi*-liberal Tariff,¹⁴ will restrain her action until the United States, are prepared, at all points, to contest her supremacy by land and sea.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁵

Private.

New Orleans.

March 27th 1846.

My Lord,

The subjoined letters from Galveston reached me this morning and I think it right to communicate them to Your Lordship. I should mention that Mr. W. D. Miller was General Houston's private Secretary and was with him at this place, when the Speech in question was delivered.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

¹⁴Robert John Walker, United States Senator from Mississippi, appointed secretary of the treasury by Polk, 1845. He was the author of the tariff of 1846, which was considered to have a free trade basis, Walker's principle being that no revenue should be raised by import duties, not directly needed to meet the expenses of the government.

¹⁵F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

JOHNSON TO ELLIOTT

To.

Captain Elliott.

Galveston March 24th 1846.

My Dear Sir,

At the request of General Houston I forward to you the Copy of a letter¹⁶ written by W. D. Miller, which was intended to be published in the "Galveston Civilian"

Signed. R. D. Johnson

A.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOTT¹⁷

No 1.

Foreign Office.

April. 3d. 1846.

Sir,

I have received your Despatch No 13, of the 15th of February enclosing Copy of a Note addressed to you on the 4th of that Month by the Texian Secretary of State in reply to your Note of the 4th of January to him on the subject of the continued Treaty engagements between Great Britian and Texas when the latter should have ceased to be an independent State, and also conveying a Copy of a Confidential instruction which you had addressed to Her Majesty's Consul at Galveston directing him to recommend to all British Subjects trading to Galveston to pay under protest whatever duties might be required of them subsequently to the Annexation of Texas to the United States.

With regard to this latter point Her Majesty's Government consider that the general declaration recommended in the first part of your instruction is quite sufficient for every useful purpose, and that the more detailed protest enjoined in the subsequent part of your Letter might, if constantly acted upon, be productive of inconvenience. I have therefore to desire that you will further confidentially instruct Mr Kennedy not to insist on such detailed protest being recorded on the part of British Traders; but to confine his recommendations to entering a general protest, if such protest should be found necessary. Her Majesty's Government do not desire to incur the risk of an unnecessary controversy with the United States on the legal existence, or otherwise, of the

¹⁶This letter has already been inserted in its proper chronological order. See *ante* p. 486.

¹⁷F. O., Texas, 21.

Treaty engagements with Texas, after Texas shall have been merged in the Federal Union, although they considered it desirable to enter their general caveat on that point with the government of Texas, prior to the extinction of the Republick.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

ABERDEEN TO ELLIOT¹⁸

No 2.

Foreign Office

April 3d. 1846.

Sir,

Your Despatch No 15 of the 16th of February (received at this Office on the 27th Ultimo) having announced to Her Majesty's Government that the Government of the Republick of Texas as an independent State would be dissolved on that day, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government consider your functions as Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and Consul General to the Republick of Texas to have ceased by the fact of the dissolution of the independence of that State.

You will accordingly return to England as soon as you may find it convenient to do so, and you will bring with you the Archives and papers of your Mission, with the exception of such as you may deem it right to leave at Galveston for the benefit of Her Majesty's Consulate at that place.

Aberdeen.

Captain Elliot. R. N.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹⁹

No. 20.

New Orleans.

April 19 1846.

My Lord,

No latter tidings from the American force in Tamaulipas have reached this place than I have recently forwarded to Mr Pakenham, and requested him to transmit to Your Lordship; namely of the 1st Instant from the Brassos Santiago. Our last dates from Galveston are of the 15th Instant, but it is possible that the ac-

¹⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 21.

¹⁹F. O., Texas, 16.

counts from General Taylor's Head Quarters may in future come sooner, direct to this place or Pensacola, than by the way of Texas.

There was very tempestuous weather with heavy rains between the 2d and 6th of this month, as far to the Westward on the Coast of Texas as we have yet heard from, and if it extended to the Coast of Mexico as far as the Mouth of the Rio Grande (which is probable, being an equinoctial gale) mischance may have befallen some of the transports, ill provided with ground tackle, and insufficiently manned. At all events the difficulty of discharging and transporting the Material to General Taylor's position, about 24 Miles from Point Isabel, will have been much increased, and the advancing Mexican reinforcements will have had more time to arrive at Matamoros before the supplies from the Brassos Santiago had reached the American force. Their separation from their resources has certainly given the Mexicans, particularly if they are in the strength reported, a favourable chance of compelling the invading force to retire rapidly, if not of striking a still more decisive blow.

The U. S. Vessel of War "Porpoise" sailed from Pensacola a few days since, ostensibly to Haiti, but it has occurred to me that her destination may have been Chagres, with instructions to the American Naval force in the Pacific.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁰

No. 21.

New Orleans.

April 21, 1846.

My Lord.

The accompanying intelligence²¹ from the American force in Tamaulipas reached this City late last night, and I forward it without delay in the hope of catching the Mail of the 1st Proximo from Boston.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable,

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

²⁰F. O., Texas, 16.

²¹*The New Orleans Daily Picayune*, April 21, 1846.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²²*Secret.*

New Orleans.

April 21. 1846.

My Lord,

In my despatches from Texas in the early part of 1845 I had the honour to communicate to Your Lordship the general scope of a strange and dangerous plot against Mexico which it was hoped to set on foot through the Government and Legislature of Texas.

A main feature of that scheme, Your Lordship will perhaps remember, was to induce the removed Indians on the Western frontier of the United States (Cherokee and other tribes) by bribes of land in the outlying Mexican regions legislatively appropriated by Texas, to press on into New Mexico; and thence into California; following up that movement with other emigration as circumstances and policy might suggest.

I have grounds for thinking that this part of the scheme has been strenuously urged at Washington, that it has found favour with the present administration, and that they are disposed to do what they can to carry it out. In fact it seems a treaty has been recently concluded between the United States Agents and the Camachee and kindred tribes guaranteeing to them large tracts of these Mexican regions. The motive for such a compact at present is transparent, and I need not suggest to Your Lordship that it will not be better respected than any other of these treaties when it suits the convenience of other Settlers to replace the Indians, and press them farther on into Mexico. Indeed I may remark incidentally that a resolution has been passed by the House of Representatives at Austin (March 31st) asserting the exclusive right of the State of Texas to all the soil within the limits of the Republic of Texas, refusing to recognize any Indian title in those regions, and denying the right of the United States to make any treaty of limits with the Indian tribes ranging therein, without the consent of the Government of the State of Texas.

It is probable that this resolution was aimed directly at the treaty in question, and by that means to compel some satisfactory settlement of the Texian debt in exchange for this spoliation of Mexican territory

²²F. O., Texas, 16.

It is a strong impression in the quarter from which I derive this information, that the leaders of the Southern democracy will endeavour to defeat the notice by sending it back to the House in such a form as will ensure it's rejection there, and he believes that a main motive of their desire for the adjustment of the present difficulty²³ with Great Britain is to be able to turn with more safety and effect to the dismemberment of Mexico. The person who has furnished me this information has afforded me proofs of fidelity at various times during my Service in Texas, and has good means of knowing what is really intended respecting Mexico, by prominent personages at Washington.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁴

No. 22.

New Orleans.

April. 25th 1846.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that a Bill is pending at Austin entitled "An Act to ascertain and establish the public debt, and to define how the same is to be paid."

It had not passed at the last accounts but I think it may be convenient at once to report the principles on which it is proposed to make adjustments, and generally all that has yet transpired concerning the disposition of the public lands claimed by the Republic of Texas.

With that view I have the honour to forward a newspaper of yesterday's date²⁵ in which the subject is succinctly exhibited, and I would also submit to Your Lordship's notice, in the same newspaper, a letter written by General James Hamilton to General Burleson of Texas.

I have no knowledge of the nature of the communication of the Texian Commissioners to Her Majesty's Government during the Negotiations in England, preceding the treaty of 1840, or of any

²³The controversy over the Oregon boundary was thought at this time to threaten war between the United States and Great Britain.

²⁴F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

²⁵*The New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, April 24, 1846.

subsequent communications from them in Your Lordship's possession, but I conclude that the point of possible Annexation to the United States must have received attention at that time. There could hardly have been any failure of earnest assurances by the Commissioners, of the capacity and steady purpose of Texas to maintain her independence, and it is possible there may be much similarity between the argumentation to Her Majesty's Government in 1840, in support of the acknowledgment, and to the people of Texas in 1844, in recommendation of the sacrifice of that independence.

I think Your Lordship will also pause upon the paragraph respecting the difficulties which might have ensued respecting Mexican obligations to British Subjects, in part security for which, as is correctly stated by General Hamilton, many millions of acres of the domain claimed by Texas had been mortgaged to the Mexican bond holders. But the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas by Great Britain was simply and singly the admission of what was solemnly declared by Texas to be a fact, and which it was believed upon the faith of that declaration would remain a fact; namely, that Texas had, and would preserve a Sovereign, separate, and independent existence. The limits of Texas were not a matter of question, and the acknowledgment of independence had no connexion with, or bearing upon the public debt of Mexico to British Subjects, and the inherent liability of all the territory constituting Mexico at the period of the contract of those debts, to a fair share of the responsibility for them. If every State in Mexico, one after the other, had declared their independence, the public debt of Mexico would still remain to be adjusted, and with the debt, the justice and necessity that each Member should assume it's proportion of the charge.

It is altogether shadowy to hint that when Texas agreed to hold herself responsible for a certain amount of the Mexican debt, if Mexico consented to acknowledge her independence within a specified period, that Great Britain by being a party to that arrangement consented to forego all claim upon the territory claimed by Texas (four fifths of which have never been in her possession) if Mexico did not acknowledge the independence within that period. As I understand that subject, that was a specific

agreement in the event of the occurrence of a given state of things, a definite settlement of the proposition for which Texas was to be responsible, in that state of things. If it did not obtain matters reverted to their former attitude.

That agreement too was necessarily made with reference to the territory in the actual occupation of the Texians, for I am of course perfectly aware that Her Majesty's Government never attached any weight to the extravagant territorial pretensions of the Republic of Texas. The legislative branches of that Government involved, as Your Lordship knows, the whole territory to the line of the Pacific, between the parallels of the Mouth of the Rio Grande and the 42 of North Latitude. It can hardly be pretended in any quarter that the approval of their President would have completed a title to those limits, yet in point of fact there is no better title to the immense regions now claimed, than one word more, and another signature. Texas might as justly have annexed the Country to the Isthmus of Darien as to the Rio Grande and upwards to 42 N.; and the pretensions of the United States founded upon the law of Texas, or upon any other pretext, to those regions, followed by force, are undisguisable violations of treaty, and invasion of the Mexican territory

The sacrifices of the separate existence, and independence of Texas are sacrifices of those particular things by the people in the actual occupation of a particular territory, not a warrant for the invasion and further spoliation of Mexico by another power, and still less a discharge of the obligations and liens upon territory as completely free of control by Texas as the Coast of California. General Houston [Hamilton?] in his letter appears to have reasoned for the benefit of the Creditors of the Republic of Texas respecting debts contracted by that Republic, on the doctrine that the existing Sovereignty is responsible for the debts of the former.

That no doubt is a sound principle, but it may be remarked that there is a difference between the former and inherent liabilities of the territory constituting Texas, and the liabilities contracted by the Government of that Republic. Both the first and the last remain to be provided for, but the last, so far as the people of Texas are concerned, are subject to the effect of an express stipulation between the United States and the Republic of Texas, that the former shall under no pretext be liable for

them. The contract between these parties is, that Texas shall keep the debts of the Republic, and that the United States shall leave Texas her domain, necessarily not defining the limits of that domain, which the United States had no more title or power to do than to define the domain of Guatemala. The United States, also, with the permission of Texas, reserved the exclusive right of making and concluding treaties of limits.

Her Majesty's Government are aware that Mexico would never have concluded a definitive treaty of peace with Texas, unless Texas had agreed in the final treaty to such money stipulations as would have partially compensated Mexico for being left with the whole burden of obligations contracted by the Confederacy of which Texas formed part of the domain.

Charles Elliot.

To The Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁶

No. 23.

New Orleans.

My Lord,

May 1st 1846.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's despatches No 1 and 2 of this year.

The inclosure is the Copy of a letter which I have written to Mr Consul Kennedy in pursuance of the instructions in Your Lordship's despatch No 1.

I proceed to New York this evening and shall repair to England from thence with all convenient dispatch.

Charles Elliot.

To the Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

ELLIOT TO KENNEDY²⁷

[Enclosure.].

Copy.

Charles Elliot.

New Orleans.

Sir,

May 1. 1846.

Having reference to the Confidential letter which I left you on

²⁶F. O., Texas, Vol. 16. This was the last letter to Aberdeen written by Elliot while in America, as chargé d'affaires to Texas.

²⁷F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

the 16th February last, I have now to acquaint you that I have had the honour to receive a despatch from The Earl of Aberdeen dated on the 3d Ultimo, directing me to instruct you, confidentially, to confine your advice to British Subjects at your Consulate who may consult you upon the subject of payment of duties, to the general declaration recommended in the first part of my instructions, and to omit any advice to make the more detailed protest recommended in the following part of those instructions.

To prevent misconception I recite below the portion of my former instructions to which you are now directed to confine yourself in any advice that may be sought of you upon this point, by British Subjects trading at your Consulate.

"If he" (the Master) "should find that he is permitted to enter under any other Authority than that of some existing revenue or navigation law of the Republic of Texas you will advise him to state that he had arrived here to trade under the treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Her Majesty The Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the Republic of Texas, signed at London Novr. 13th. 1840, and whereof ratifications were exchanged at London June 28th 1842, that he claims the rights, privileges, liberties, favours, immunities, and exemptions secured to H. M. Subjects trading in Texas under that treaty, and enters protest against all proceedings taken, or to be taken contrary thereto, as respects the Ship, of which he is Master and the goods of her lading."

(Signed) Charles Elliot.

[Endorsed] Inclosure in Captain Elliot's despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen No. 23.

New Orleans, May 1, 1846.

To William Kennedy Esquire.

H. B. M. Consul.

Galveston

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN²⁸

36 Wilton Crescent

My Lord,

June 18th. 1846.

I have the honour to report that I arrived here on the 16th Instant.

²⁸F. O., Texas, Vol. 16.

Deprived of my post by circumstances in Your Lordship's knowledge, I beg to express my readiness, and I hope I may add my earnest desire for early re-employment, for I have no fortune, and a large family entirely dependant upon me. So far as my Services and career may properly derive advantage from a very kind as well as just estimation by the Head of the Department under which I have had the honour to serve for the last 12 years, I certainly submit this application to Your Lordship with feelings of perfect confidence.

Charles Elliott.

To the Right Honourable.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

KENNEDY TO PALMERSTON²⁹

Private.

24. Rue de Villiers

Neuilly, Paris.

March 27th. 1847.

My Lord,

I have the honor to submit to your Lordship the following extracts from a communication which I have recently received from a Correspondent at Galveston. The writer, is a native of North Carolina—of the Democratic party—and a professor of liberal opinions in regard to trade. He has filled situations of trust in Texas, and is, I doubt not, a faithful echo of persons well-informed, with respect to the Matters to which he adverts.—As to the war with Mexico, he observes.

. . . "I do not believe we shall end the War short of the occupation of the City of Mexico by our troops, or of clearly manifesting that its occupancy is, beyond all doubt, within our power. When we do this, we shall be enabled to demand and secure a peace on such terms as will be both honourable and

²⁹F. O., America, Vol. 476. After the Texan Republic ceased to exist, British consular correspondence from the state was classified under F. O. America. This correspondence has been examined for further material on the Texan Republic, but the letter here printed is the only one found. It is to be noted that Kennedy is here writing to Palmerston, who has replaced Aberdeen at the foreign office, so that Kennedy's implied reflection on Aberdeen's policy is not in itself proof that Kennedy had desired Great Britain to pursue a more vigorous policy in the years 1841-1846. Nevertheless, it is probably true that Kennedy always regarded Aberdeen's policy in Texas as over cautious.

just—And not before.—In making peace, I presume the Government will insist on, and exact, full indemnification for the expenses of the war, and that the compensation will be in territory South of Oregon and the Rio Grande.”

He thus notices the prospects of a liberal Commercial policy in Congress.

. . . “The factious party spirit—to call it by no more opprobrious a name—Manifested by prominent Members of the Whig party in the United States, relative to the war, is discreditable to us as a Nation.—A spirit almost as censurable, is also manifested by a portion of the Democratic party in opposing the levying of certain Moderate duties on foreign Articles, (now admitted free of duties) until the establishment of peace. You are aware of my warm advocacy, as an American politician, of the freest possible commercial intercourse of my Country with the world. One of the most essential differences, as you know, of the two great parties in this Country is in reference to the wisdom and policy of Government in this respect. The Manufacturers of the United States have been, and still are, attempting to exercise the same power and control in causing to be protected by Government their interests that the landholders in Great Britain have so long profited by, in the protection afforded them by the existence of your Corn Laws. Necessity, added to the experience of an enlightened public, has, at length, caused this principle to be abolished in England. I ardently hope its downfall is permanent, as the new System not only affords greater benefits to much the largest number of British Subjects, but to Britain herself as a nation, and to the civilized World generally,—especially the United States, by the sale of her surplus bread stuffs etc.—Indeed one of the principal causes of our success in being enabled to adopt a system of *ad valorem* revenue duties, was the enactment of your liberal Tariff. Those in this Country with whom I concur in political opinion have never since 1817 until the last Congress been enabled to pass a Tariff for Revenue purposes without admitting the principle of fostering, by protection, the interests of our Manufacturers.—And—I regret to say—that it is very questionable whether that Tariff, will be sustained by a Majority of the Nation at the next Presidential election. The

recent Whig Majorities in the large and influential States of Pennsylvania and New York give the advocates of untrammelled intercourse cause for apprehension and alarm.—I am certain that nothing will be left undone by the Manufacturers which can be accomplished by them to fix upon the United States, as a permanent system, this unjust taxation—a taxation which affords a bounty to one part of the community and entails an impoverishing result upon the other.”

So much for my correspondent: for my own part, I have never regarded the existing Tariff of the United States as any thing more than a bait for the Calhoun Section and—above all—as a sop to quiet Great Britain during the Annexation of Texas and the dismemberment of Mexico. I have officially recorded, for the satisfaction of my conscience, my conviction that the policy which *reconciled* the Union to the acquisition of Texas was the extension of the home-market—or what may be termed the home-market—and an Anti-European Tariff. We might have prevented Annexation—such at least is my opinion—without a war—not having done so, we must prepare for its consequences.—Aggression against British North America it seems not too much to anticipate as among probable Contingencies, should the general state of affairs be favourable, and an American Army amounting to fifty or sixty thousand men return home flushed with the subjugation of Mexico.

At the period of the Annexation of Texas, it occurred to me that European Powers might some day take advantage of the precedent. From what I now see, it seems to me perfectly clear that the four great Continental States will act more closely than heretofore upon a similar System.—Even at present, how few of the Minor States have more than a *quasi* independent existence!—. Policy propels, and *necessity may* propel, some of these States towards the Shores of the Mediterranean, and *there* English interests demand vigilance as keen and action yet more direct and peremptory than even in North America. I venture to advert to these points with a full recollection of Your Lordship's Statesmanship in 1841—which had then—and has, (more intelligently) now, the cordial admiration of one whose judgment may be of little weight but is, at all events, unbiassed and independent. In

opposition to prevailing opinion at the time, my regret was that more had not been done in the same direction. Why should not we attach the Arabs to our Standard—looking to the inevitable war—and by Colonizing thinly settled islands relieve our people and, ultimately, perhaps, enlarge the basis of the domestic empire?

But I crave pardon for placing these disjointed thoughts **before** Your Lordship—the emanation of Moments which sickness rendered solitary.

William Kennedy.

Viscount Palmerston. G. C. B.

CORRIGENDA

P. 317, "Kennedy to Aberdeen" should read "Kennedy to Elliot."

P. 319, note 7, should read "See *ante* pp. 202-204."

P. 435, note 7, should read "See *ante* p. 349, note 8."

P. 460, first line at top, for "removal" read renewal.

P. 463, note 40, should read "See *ante* p. 445, note 20."

P. 476, the reference at end of note 5 should read "See *ante* p. 435 *seq.*"

P. 531, the reference at end of note 14 should read "See pp. 506-508."

P. 556, the reference at end of note 16 should read "See p. 557, Note 18."

P. 557. The last sentence of despatch from Kennedy to Aberdeen, No. 28, is confused. The lines should be read in following order: 1, 3, 2, 4, etc.

P. 585, the reference at end of note 24 should read "See *ante* p. 565."

P. 611, the reference at end of note 16 should read "See *ante* p. 486."

References to "The Quarterly" in every case have reference to the "Southwestern Historical Quarterly," published by the Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Texas.

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